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ABSTRACT

In a comparison of the educational systems of Israel and the United States, extensive observations are reported from field studies of representative samples of elementary and secondary schools in the two countries. Special attention is given to provisions made by each of the educational systems for education of subgroups within the respective populations. Chapter headings related to the Israeli study include: A method for the anthropological study of national educational systems; new nationhood in an Israeli context; Israel, its organization of group relations--persistence and change; persistence and change in Israeli education; decentralization, demons, and democracy; sources of change in education; Israel's silent generation; and the Israeli legal system. Chapter headings related to the United States study include: Identification with schools; training for opinions; differential education; a source of change in education; and Israel and the United States--education in perspective. A taxonomy for the content analysis of Israeli curricular materials is appended. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (JK)

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A TRANS-NATIONAL STUDY OF FORMAL EDUCATION ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

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The State University of New Jersey

New Brunswick, New Jersey

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND EDUCATION IN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES

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September 1, 1969

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Table of Contents

Summary Page 1

ISRAEL

Foreword 3

Chapter I Introduction 5

II A Method for the Anthropological Study of National Educational Systems 25

III New Nationhood in an Israeli Context 54

IV Israel: Its Organization of Group Relations -- Persistence and Change 82

V Persistence and Change in Israeli Education 124

VI The Schooling Industry 158

VII Pejorative Pygmalians 225

VIII Decentralization, Demons, and Democracy 270

IX Sources of Change in Education 340

X Israel's Silent Generation 368

XI The Israeli Legal System 389

UNITED STATES

Foreward 407

The Sample 409

Identification With Schools 490

Training for Opinions: "Every man has a right to his opinions" 502

Differential Education 546

A Source of Change in Education 559

Israel and the United States: Education in Perspective 565

Appendix (Taxonomy for Content Analysis) 577

Summary

This is a report of research conducted in Israel and the United States into their respective educational systems. Field work in Israel was carried out by the writer from September 1967 through the summer of 1969; field work in the United States was carried out in one area by Mrs. Vera-Mae Fredrickson from July 1968 through July 1969.

One of the things that I have tried to do in this research -- and I make no claim that this is in any way original with me -- is to reverse one of the assumptions that often underlie investigations of educational systems in modern societies. Generally, social scientists view educational processes in terms of their inputs into growing members of the society in the hope that they will be better able to understand the outputs: the society's value system, psychological features of the population, intellectual capacity, motivation, and the like. There can be no question that education is a set of inputs, or that it systematically seeks to shape the minds of the polity. However, there are many more sources of motivation, personality, cognition, identity, and the like, than education alone. One of the assumptions that seem to underlie many studies of education is that these sociopsychological process are the end-products of the educational system of the society. One of the basic assumptions of this research is, instead, that it is the educational system itself which can be treated as an end-product. A society's educational system is one institution among many whose activities are shaped and determined by the overall structure of relations among groups within the society at large. The underlying premise of my activities in this study has been: as they live, so they teach.

Although we can speak of a particular society -- such as Israel -- as a nation, it is also imperative to bear in mind that almost every nation is a heterogeneous entity, though some are more heterogeneous than others. Almost every nation is composed of a variety of groups -- social classes, ethnic groups and sometimes castes, people of different cultural backgrounds, religious and non-religious groups, economic groups, age groups, and the like -- and regions, each with its own problems, orientations, and interests. Similarly, just as it is possible to speak of a nation's educational system or institution, it must be borne in mind that this system is as varied as the groups that make up the society at large. In fact, even in a society like Israel in which the attempt is being made to centralize the educational system into a single network -- reflecting the basic interest of a state in establishing uniformity and building a single national culture where several subcultures have existed from its beginning -- it is more profitable and accurate to speak of a nation's educational subsystems. Naturally, these subsystems are interdependent. But if it is possible to speak of a nation's social system regardless of its internal variety -- as, for example, in terms of the relations among its groups -- it should also be possible to speak of its educational system, no matter how internally varied that may be, in similar terms.

Thus, my work has been devoted to a demonstration of the concept that one way in which it is possible to distinguish among nations is by looking at their kaleidescopic images through one institution at a time. While much more research along these lines is necessary, it can be assumed that a nation's educational system is the most sensitive of all its institutions to the society's legitimating activities, to its organizations of group relations, and to the constant and regular process of change that characterizes both of these.

Regardless of its territorial size, a nation is a very large place. It is therefore necessary to have a method and a set of concepts appropriate to investigating such questions. In addition to the substantive findings of this research in the United States and Israel, which I regard as significant, the major outcome of this investigation can perhaps be considered to be methodological A method was developed and applied for the study of a nation's total educational system. It is based on anthropological concepts, but it nevertheless bypasses the traditional anthropological method of community study. Moreover, the method is also designed to make it possible to study other institutional matrixes on a national basis, in addition to education. The method is described in detail.

In the area of substantive findings, this research brings to bear several bodies of data which cast considerable doubt on such concepts as "cultural deprivation" as they are currently constituted. They also shed considerable doubt on the advisability and desirability of localized (or "decentralized") control over educational institutions; instead, these data seem to indicate the social and educational egalitarianism, curricular consistency, and higher educational standards are facilitated and enhanced by centralized educational controls at the national level.

Foreword

To a very large extent, the results of an anthropological study of a society -- to say nothing of a comparative study of more than one -- provide a distorted picture of the group's way of life. This report is no exception. While there have been some notable exceptions to this in the anthropological literature, especially during the early years of the discipline's concern with small, homogeneous, and relatively slowly changing societies, this consideration has been especially important as anthropologists become increasingly concerned with special aspects of social systems -- such as kinship organization, cognition, various aspects of economic activity -- and with heterogeneous societies, such as modern nations.

This is not only true in connection with anthropological investigations in the United States,but also, and perhaps especially, in Israel. Since this report is intended primarily for an American audience, it may even be possible to disregard this problem in connection with the United States, since American readers, or those who have had first-hand familiarity with life in the United States, can automatically or unconsciously fill in the gaps left by an anthropological report, of let us say, its educational institutions. But the problem becomes sharper in connection with a society like Israel, with which many readers may not have first-hand familiarity and which, unavoidably in the present state of world affairs, tends to evoke a variety of symbolic associations.

In a paper to be published shortly, Eric R. Wolf suggests that the task currently facing anthropologists in their study of modern nations is to "engage ourselves in the systematic writing of a history of the modern world in which we spell out the processes of power which created the present-day cultural systems and the linkages between them." This report is intended as a modest contribution to this end.

But it must also be recognized that the study of power is the study of only one aspect of a society's way of life. The mass of ordinary men in any society are not directly familiar with the exercise of power -- this is almost by definition -- and are not particularly preoccupied with it, except with its results, which are often usually so disguised that they are not recognized as the products of power relations and activities. In Israel, for example, as in many other modern nations, power resides in the hands of those who control the importation of capital and its distribution throughout the society. But this is not the concern -- or even part of the awareness -- of the small shopkeeper or clerk, the machinist, the farmer, the teacher, the driver who hauls people or industrial or other products, and others. Instead, he is concerned primarily with getting from one day to the next, and only occasionally with the vague distant, and unpredictable future when he thinks about his children as mature people.

From the point of view of an Israeli, however, there is a salient omission in this report which probably makes its portrayal of Israeli life almost entirely unrecognizable. I can best put this in perspective in the following way. In the United States today -- and this has been true for many generations -- there is not a single living person who experienced and recalls the achievement of national independence. In Israel, on the other hand, almost half of the adult population is able to recall this event at first hand. When Israelis speak, as I have heard many of them, of the Israeli experience in terms of "the miracle -- the simple miracle -- of our being here, just being here," they are speaking of their own perception of the central concern of their lives. But this is not an anthropologist's concern. I recall an evening at the home of an Israeli friend -- a middle ranking bureaucrat in a quasi-public institution who, more than two decades ago was responsible for an act of sabotage against the British Mandatory government which made headlines throughout the world, and which is still a legendary point of reference for many Israelis -- who was responding to some pointed queries from an English-speaking visitor about Israeli institutions of (what can only be called) apartheid; the Israeli's wife had fled from Nazi Germany as a child with her parents and siblings. "Of course I know about that," he said quite passionately. "We should try to change that, it is not good. But really, I don't give a damn. We're here. We Jews are here," he added very slowly, as though waiting for each word's echo to die down before he went on to the next word. "Everything, anything is worth that. Yes, there are prices that one pays for living here. But I don't give a damn about them. We're here."

This is not empty rhetoric; it can easily be observed and appreciated by even the most unsympathetic -- and unempathic -- foreigner as, for example, when he listens to an immigrant from a North African country speak in awe about standing on the soil of the Holy Land (after more than 15 years of being in the country) or when he watches the scores of thousands of people (largely separated by socioeconomic and ethnic strata, of course) dancing and singing joyously in the streets of every city and town on the eve of Independence Day. If, on such an occasion, an Israeli stops to think about the exercise of power in his society -- if he stops to wonder about the months of preparations and decorations that went into such a nationwide celebration as an aspect of the exercise of power -- and even if he did not question his own sanity at such a moment, he would simply say, "I don't give a damn."

But that is precisely the point at which an anthropologist does.

I

Introduction

This research, as it developed in the course of actual field work, was primarily concerned with a comparative study of education as an aspect of sociopolitical organization in the United States and Israel. Like political systems themselves the research evolved in unexpected directions; unlike the former, however, in connection with which we are often required by our disciplinary constraints to eschew valuations of desirability and undesirability, I believe that it can be said unhesitatingly that the directions taken by the investigations were desirable and happy ones. For the benefit of those readers who may be concerned with the discrepancy between what was originally proposed to the Office of Education and what was actually done during the course of the investigation, it will help to explain some of the reasons for the directions taken.

One of the major concerns expressed in the original proposal to the Office of Education was a methodological one, namely, the problem of finding means of bridging the gap between the view implicit in traditional anthropological community studies -- which grew out of investigations of stateless tribal societies -- and the realities of centralized political systems in contemporary or modern states. My own dissatisfaction with the compromises struck by anthropologists and political scientists, though implicit, were neither deeper nor shallower than those of others. There was a fortunate coincidence between this dissatisfaction and my first observations of the social landscape of Israel shortly after my arrival there in September 1967: the small size of the country made it possible to see what may not have been so readily observable in a physically larger country and what I had not realized from library research in preparation for the investigation, namely, that social complexity and heterogeneity do not necessarily coincide with the physical relationships among the groups that make up a modern nation. More concretely, the superimposition of Israel's social map on its physical or territorial map revealed quickly that it may be possible to study the educational system of the nation as a whole within a very limited physical space. The key element in my thinking of the implications of this was the realization that it is possible to conduct such a study while -- or, perhaps more accurately, by - bypassing the traditional anthropological method of community study. This led to the development of the method described in detail below and to the abandonment of the original plan to study education in a limited number of social subsystems.

This change in research procedure actually facilitated the achievement of the first two major objectives outlined in the original proposal to Office of Education: to study (1) the relationship of educational institutions to the pressures for the integration of the society as a whole (p. 1) and (2) patterns of access to different segments of the educational system (p. 8). The third proposed objective, to study the psychosocial consequences of formal education (p. 9), was abandoned during the second year of the investigation because of a simple but unfortunate consideration. The latter objective required the administration of a nationwide questionnaire in both the United States and Israel. In Israel, the sample was to consist of 1,200 respondents. During the pre-test phase of this research when I accompanied interviewers, it became painfully clear to me that there is no survey organization in Israel capable of carrying out such interviewing adequately and that the results would be highly dubious with respect to reliability and validity. The decision to abandon this part of the investigation in Israel also led to my decision to abandon it in the United States -- where these considerations, of course, did not obtain -- since the data would be non-comparative and because so many other studies in this sphere have already been conducted that the questionnaire that I had planned to have administered would merely have duplicated previous ones. The money thus saved was put to excellent use in other directions which further facilitated the achievement of the first two objectives. Specifically, the money thus saved made it possible to carry out formal content analyses of educational policy materials, curricular guides, and other materials. Since one of the goals of this research is to evaluate the relationship between educational policy and behavior in the schools, the formal analysis of policy materials can be regarded as an indispensable element in the investigation. The taxonomy used in these content analyses is provided in an appendix to this report. This, too, can be regarded as an important methodological contribution to the study of educational systems and is designed for use in other societies in addition to the United States and Israel. Such extended applications of the taxonomy of the content analyses will provide a basis for the quantitative comparisons of educational systems.

Data gathered subsequent to that decision -- wholly unanticipated -- justified it even further. Israel's population structure was changed entirely by the mass immigration (or importation) of Jews from North Africa and Asia, in addition to others, in the early 1950s. These immigrants and their offspring now (in 1969) constitute more than 50% of the population. (This is one of the central factors in Israeli social and educational organization, as will be seen below.) They largely occupy the status of second-class citizens or, to use current terminology, suffer from many discriminatory policies. Many of these people either did not have any exposure to the Israeli educational system at all -- having come there after the age of 14 -- or had minimal exposure to it. While an electronic processing of the survey data would have made it possible to analyze responses according to age of arrival in Israel, it would not have provided little more than superficial information about the quality of experience subsequent to immigration. One of the goals of an educational system is to instill a sense of identification with the nation, especially in times of crisis. Despite official Israeli claims that there was 100% -- and sometimes "more than 100%" -- response to the mobilization call for the war of June 1967, there was actually less. Many men who had immigrated from North Africa and Asia -- pejoratively known in Israel as "Orientals" -- refused, in at least two major cities, to answer mobilization calls saying, "This is an Ashkenazi [i.e., European] war, go fight your own war." Even if I knew about this at the time that the questionnaire was planned -- and I did not -- it would have been impossible to get truthful answers to a question which asked whether the respondent answered his mobilization notice in May or June 1967. Hence, it would have been impossible to say whether, to what extent, and among whom actual experiences of discrimination in daily social living outweighed the effects of education. From what I have been able to learn -- and this is an area of Israeli life that is completely shrouded in secrecy, for a variety of reasons -- this group was too large to have been brought to trial and, also for a variety of reasons (not the least of which is that it would constitute admission to one of the most important criminal offenses in Israel), no one could have been expected to admit to such refusal, especially more than a year after that war. At least another decade will have to elapse -- and a few more wars (which will undoubtedly take place) -- before a survey instrument will be able to provide evaluations of the relative effects of formal education and extra-curricular discrimination. All things considered, then, I believe that the decision to abandon this (third) objective of the research was a fortunate one.

This is not to suggest that this problem is unique to Israel; it also appears to be imminent in the United States. For example, although Negroes until recently comprised more than 10% of United States military forces in Viet Nam (and more than 20% of combat forces there), there appear to have been very few clashes between Negro and white personnel in that area. However, the Defense Department's Director for Civil Rights was reported in the New York Times on April 13, 1969, to have said that "the problem of racial unrest, tension, and violence in Viet Nam is serious and comparable to the potential for racial disorder within the continental U. S." He also expressed fear that a sharp increase in tensions between white and Negro troops may occur when hostilities cease.

Clearly, the educational systems of the United States and Israel cannot be examined alone as determinants of relations between groups in the respective societies. Much more research will have to be conducted before we have a sufficiently clear picture of the relationship of education to the overall social system to enable us to evaluate the contribution of education to people's identifications with their society.

Another problem in this connection, and to begin with substantive materials, is that the 1967 war -- journalistically known as the "Six Day War" -- seems to have constituted a watershed in Israeli history, social organization, and education. While this in itself is an easily documented fact, it is still difficult to know what events in connection with that war led to its constitution of a watershed. Much still remains unknown about the events surrounding that war, especially domestically. One of these has just been mentioned. Another is that Israel was on the verge -- or was faced with the threat -- of a military coup several weeks before Israel's initiation of hostilities on June 5, 1967. While some developments in Israel in mid-1969, especially in its political-party system, can be traced directly to that threatened coup, very little can be learned about its ingredients; Israelis are extremely reticent about it. Hence, it is not possible to make direct connections between educational developments subsequent to the war and the events surrounding it. This is an important consideration which should be kept in mind while reading this report because field work began in Israel during the school term which followed the war. For example, I suspect that the haste with which the educational reform of 1968 was decreed and implemented, classroom content (some of which can only be referred to as jingoistic and racist), quasi-official libels in the educational sphere, and the failure of an attempt to integrate two schools (which were in my sample of observed schools) were somehow related to these events. Whether or not they actually were will have to await the publication of memoirs-of-dotage in another decade or so, when political scores have been settled and forgotten (or are not longer relevant) and members of the Israeli General Staff on active duty in 1967 are no longer subject to court-martial.

These are not bits of cocktail-party-gossip-cum-science. Rather, they are illustrations of the data that constituted a large part of the research in Israel. A national educational system is made up of many different elements which -- at least on the surface -- seem to have little to do with each other. Among these are the minutiae of classroom events and political transactions in a country's social localities, textbook materials, administrative decisions, policy at the "highest" levels, and tensions and equilibria which one only senses or intuits, whether he is an observer or participant.

For example, the Israeli Ministry of Education, in 1968, commissioned some Americans to write a new textbook in biology for "Oriental" -- but especially Iraqi-descended -- schoolchildren, on the grounds that the textbooks in use for "Western" children are beyond the comprehension of the former. (The significance of this book will be discussed below.) Now, an integral part of Israeli "educational policy" is actually the existence of separate policies for children of different ethnic groups, as it is in many parts of the United States. In Israel, these are defined as "Western," "Oriental" and "Arab." Settlements -- and therefore schools and curricula -- are usually divided along these three lines; "Western" and "Oriental" Jews represent two rather polarized socioeconomic and political statuses within one caste, and all Arabs (and, to a large extent, Christians, whether Arab or European) constitute another, and inferior, caste. These divisions -- not only educationally but also politically, socially, economically, and in matters of legal personal status -- have always existed in Israeli life. (In this report, unless otherwise noted, the term "Israeli" refers to the Jewish sector of the population from 1920 to the present. I have been able to document my hypothesis that the Israeli state, in the sense just noted, came into existence in 1920, rather than in 1948 as popularly believed.) Taking the war of 1967 as a landmark, if not as a watershed, this was defined by Israelis -- whether correctly or otherwise is beside the point -- as a war of survival against the Arabs, who are generally viewed as a single group. Domestically, as noted above, unity among the Israelis themselves was far from complete; disunity was primarily along ethnic lines within the Jewish caste. (Those who were opposed to the war on political or pacifist grounds are generally associated -- correctly -- with opposition to Israeli discriminatory policies along ethnic and caste lines.) With a few minor exceptions, Israeli Arabs are excluded from the Israel Defense Forces and, thus, from participation in the country's military operations.

The heart of the strategy of the 1967 war was the air-strike at Egyptian air bases which -- and the point has never been lost in Israeli awareness -- in effect won the war during its first 90 minutes. The pilots of the Israeli air force are exclusively "European," often members of kibbutzim, from which "Orientals" are almost systematically excluded. Prior to the 1967 war, "European" Israelis were extremely apprehensive about the reliability and perseverance of "Oriental" soldiers. While almost all of the latter acquitted themselves superbly in battle, especially in the tank corps, precisely the same question was uppermost in the minds of the Egyptian high command. For example, Hassanein Heikal (the editor of the semi-official Cairo newspaper "Al Ahram"), who is probably the most influential policy maker in Egypt, wrote on June 2, 1967 and again on March 7, 1969 that if Israel's neighboring states could keep her engaged in a war for a least a month, the discipline of the Israeli army would collapse and its enemies would win a war handily. Few Israelis would disagree with this evaluation and it is felt -- sometimes explicitly on both sides of the cease-fire line -- that this is because of the unreliability of Israel's "Orientals."

Thus, an important aspect of military policy seems to be based on ethnic considerations. Leaving aside the question of whether Israeli apprehensions in respect to its "Oriental" population are the outcomes of a self-fulfilling prophecy, there is hardly an aspect of Israeli official policies into which such distinctions and considerations do not enter. This includes educational policy, as noted, as well as actual behavior in the classroom. Before going into some detailed examples of this, which I will do in a moment below, what I wish to emphasize is that nothing in a nation's educational system -- whether United States, Israeli, or any other -- can be studied and understood except as part of a whole.

In the United States, petty states have often had separate educational policies for different ethnic groups, most notably in the South. In California, there are also special curricula for children of migrant workers, who are mainly Mexican-American, and special curricula are currently being developed there for schools with large sedentary Mexican-American populations. In Alaska, special curricula for Eskimos are being considered. However, because of Federal policies, these programs are being designated as "enrichment" programs, to be added to conventional courses rather than replacing them. They are generally regarded as means of facilitating acculturation. Recently, when militant black groups at a junior college proposed that the school should become all black, responsible personnel in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare retorted that the government would not support or condone segregation in education.

Although the United States also is characterized by, among other things, important differences between groups in respect to educational and other modes of disenfranchisement, these lines of inequalify constitute a significant dimension of non-comparability with Israel. The mere presence of inequality among groups within a national society does not, by itself, provide a basis of comparison with other societies in which there is also inequality. One of the most outstanding differences between Israel and the United States in connection with education -- and other features of social organization -- comes in connection with change. In Israel, as will be discussed at greater length below, almost all change is instituted from "above," that is, from state agencies. In the United States, on the other hand, the strongest current pressures for change seem to be from "below," that is, from small groups with their own vested interests among the polity. Whether these pressures will eventually result in fundamental change in the relations among groups within the society is another matter, and it is still too early to tell whether, for example, current pressures for change in elementary and secondary schools and universities will result in permanent change. In Israel, change is often initiated "from above" in the name of advancing the social opportunities specifically of Asian and North African immigrants and their descendants. In other words, only certain of the disenfranchised groups are the explicit objects of initiated change; Arabs are excluded from this. In the United States, on the other hand, although Negroes constitute the most important disenfranchised group in the population, the tendency in recent years has been to refer to the needs of "ethnic minorities" in general, as an overall category, rather than to Negroes per se. It is possible that this terminology provides flexibility of action for special-action groups, since explicit definitions of goals in social change would be more rigidly circumscribed if they were defined in terms of benefitting Negroes per se. When changes are defined as benefitting minority groups -- which can be said to include American Indians -- it is much more difficult to oppose them than if they were confined exclusively to Negroes. This flexibility could not be achieved in Israel in connection with Arabs, for example, since the majority of the population would reject them outright.

Despite this occasionally overwhelming interdependence of the parts, it is necessary to establish a taxonomy -- however arbitrary -- which will enable us to organize and handle them in some systematic fashion. To this end, and without claiming that this is the most advantageous procedure, I am going to divide the data of this investigation into two categories: the "culture of the schools" and overall "social policy." The former, of course, is an unfortunate term or concept because it is inaccurate. Schools do not have cultures any more than do kin groups or haberdashary stores and they do not perpetuate themselves, but the concept is sufficiently suggestive to set off a body of data dealing with events that take place within a school's fences or walls. "Social policy" must be divided between "educational policy" and "other (or non-educational) policy." Educational policy will refer to directives and statements of purpose directly affecting schools which emanate from sources outside the physical boundaries of the schools themselves. Other or non-educational policy will refer to directives, statements of purpose, and other influences impinging on schools and on educational policy which emanate from sources outside the schools themselves and from sources outside those in which educational policies are made. Thus, for example, non-educational policy covers the gamut of events from those dealing, for example, with the military policies discussed above to the vaguest kind of pressure represented in the statement of a pretty girl of 23, "As soon as Ashkenazim find out that I'm from Tunisia, even though I look European, I can feel that wall going up, that barrier, that withdrawal"; or, to balance that sentiment, the assertion by a woman in reference to someone, "He's not a human being -- he's an Ashkenazi."

But the dichotomy between educational and non-educational policy is more easily stated than adhered to. For example, the establishment of Development Towns in Israel was a product of non-educational policy, as will be described below. Nevertheless, Development Towns are governed by special educational policies which are, in turn, products of the overall special status of these settlements. In fact, the special status of Development Towns — aside from their habitational settings -- is the sum of the special labor, industrial, health, welfare, managerial, educational, and other policies which govern them. The dividing line between non-educational and educational policies is thus very thin, if not often invisible. In other words, the taxonomy just suggested is largely an observer's artifact, not a reflection of reality.

The guiding question in this regard is, to what extent and in what ways is the culture of the schools a reflection or implementation of social -- educational and non-educational -- policy? This will be the substance of Chapter II.

This report is necessarily incomplete. As of this writing, important data continue to be gathered. Furthermore, a systematic analysis of many bodies of data cannot be undertaken until all the data have been gathered, that is, until after the formal period of investigation has ended. The data collected in this research are so varied, voluminous, and complex that their analysis will take at least another year. In addition, it will also be necessary to compare the data gathered in this research with observations made in other societies by other investigators in order to provide the kind of perspective that a study like this requires. This research has been so time consuming that it left little -- and often no -- time for reflection about its comparative status.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that a study like this has been attempted. While it may have been foolish to plunge where others have been sufficiently cautious not to tread, there are several other liabilities that accompanied the attempt, although the gains have far outweighed them. To put the matter bluntly, an investigator carrying out a study that no one else has done previously often does not know what he is doing; having no models go guide him, he often spends a considerable amount of time trying to develop and focus goals and to uncover sources of data which can be exploited. Inevitably, this leads to the expenditure of more unproductive energy than is the case in most research; but such occasional floundering is to be regarded as an investment, not only for the present research but also for investigations by others who will week to apply the same methodology and theoretical framework.

Perhaps the most important result of this research was the development of a method for the study of a national educational system; the importance of this goes beyond the perimeters of education, however, because it is also a method for the anthropological study of a national culture.

Method and substance are inseparable, and it is largely because of this that the analysis of the data collected will have to be done carefully and over an extended period: it will be necessary to make certain that the method used does not dictate the conclusions arrived at. Specifically, one of the premises of the method used in this study is that a nation's educational system is a microcosm or mirror of the overall social organization of the nation. While it may appear at first that the method dictated the findings in this respect, and that no other conclusions were possible, this danger is lessened by two elaborations in the research. The first is the application of the method to the history of the society's educational system; the diachronic replication of synchronic processes and relationships suggests that the theoretical framework, and the method, are valid. Second, if it can be shown that similar relationships exist between another institutional matrix and the overall social organization as were found in the study of the educational system, the validity of the method and theoretical framework is thereby underscored. This cautionary measure was undertaken as part of the Israeli research by applying the method to the study of the Israeli legal system. I began to lay the groundwork for this during the first year of field work; the results were sufficiently promising to warrant intensive research in this sphere during the second year, and this was done. Sufficient research has been carried out in the United States by sociologists, political scientists, and others in connection with the legal system to make it possible to dispense with another study as part of the present research.

The historical research into Israeli education -- going back to about 1913 -- is taking much longer than had been anticipated. This research is mostly archival, and Israeli archives are in an incredibly bad state. While this has important cultural implications -- paralleling Israelis' pronounced lack of interest in their own history -- much of the analysis of these documents will have to be continued after August 1, 1969. This material consists of letters, pamphlets, documents of the Va'ad Le'umi (the National Committee, the official government of the Jewish sector under the British Mandate), the Jewish Agency (also part of that same sectorial government), and the like. The simple act of locating these documents and other materials after it was learned that they existed has taken an incredible amount of time. Once located, there is no difficulty in having them copied; in fact, archivists in Israel are more than delighted to find someone who is interested in their dust catchers. The most that could be done so far in connection with them is to glance at their contents as they come into the tray of a rather ancient and slow Xerox machine. These perusals indicate that the time spent in locating the materials has been more than justified, if only because they seem to bear out historically the hypotheses and processes in the study of contemporary Israeli society.

One of the overall and general aims of this research, as noted above, has been to try to see whether it is possible to break into the chicken-and-egg circle that characterizes most social science research -- including research into education -- and to learn whether it is possible to approach some sort of conceptualization of "cause" in respect to the sources of educational policy and practice. Naturally enough, once one starts with a bias which assumes that cause can be found, the chances are great that he is going to find it. My own predilections in this regard are spelled out explicitly in my edited books Man in Adaptation: The Biosocial Background and The Cultural Present and in "Schools and Civilizational States." However, I have not relied entirely on this theoretical bias but have tried to show empirically that this is possible.

This was done by what I consider a major departure from most educational research into the relationship between education and social organization by studying the educational system as a whole -- from nursery school through the university -- rather than by focusing on any one or several of the system's parts. To put the matter pejoratively for a moment, a tradition has developed in research into education which considers certain aspects of an educational system as "off limits." Specifically, there has been the tendency to eschew analyses of university personnel within the same framework as personnel at other levels of the educational system. That is, this tradition dictates that one should view the pronouncements and activities of university professors in a different framework than that which is used in connection with, let us say, elementary school teachers. While this tradition is itself an important datum, it has also had a curious effect -- if not a deleterious one -- on studies of educational systems. One of these consequences has been to permit the continued analysis of educational systems in terms of their own ideologies. This has tended to reinforce the chicken-and-egg approach and has inhibited attempts to break into these academically perpetuated circles.

To illustrate, and to return to the theme of the interrelationship among a society's parts, one of the currently fashionable tenets of educational research is the concept of "cultural deprivation." At one point during this investigation, I was struck by an uncanny similarity between the use of this concept by teachers at the lower grades of the Israeli school system and the professional writings of social scientists and educationists in Israeli society. Specifically, I noticed that this concept seemed to have distinct racist connotations and was being used as a rationalization -- if not legitimation -- of a systematic denial of access of certain groups in the society to the desiderata of social life.

One of the things which emerged from this realization -- and similar relationships were found to obtain in the United States research in this project -- was that there is an important base of common agreement between many social scientists or other observers of the educational scene, on the one hand, and the citizens and policy makers of the respective countries, on the other. But this correspondence goes even deeper. One of the results of this research -- unsought and unanticipated -- is that the two are in each other's service; they are of a single piece. Specifically, there has emerged a distinct thread that runs through social science (anthropology, sociology, political science) in a society, educational theory and policy, formal political policy, and behavior in the classroom. Take, for example, the following items in Israeli society which appear to have little, if anything, in common: The Absorption of Immigrants, by S. N. Eisenstadt; the ritual repetition in sociological and political science publications of Israelis that Israel is a "socialist democracy"; the statement by Carl Frankenstein, Israel's leading educationist theoretician that "Such is the nature of our ethnic problem, which is seriously aggravated by the fact that the 'differences of level' are a result not only of different social and educational experience but also of structuralized cultural patterns of long standing" (Between Past and Future, p. 15); the public assertion by Pinhas Sapir and Golda Meir that "the party and not the street will decide who will be Prime Minister" after the death of Prime Minister Eshkol in February 1969; the scapegoat of a particular teacher being unable to see the blackboard from a seat in the middle of the classroom; and Israel's radio emphasizing repeatedly during the week of March 9, 1969, that the artillery barrages at the Suez Canal early in the week were according to the reports filed by UN observers there, initiated by the Egyptians, but neglecting to announce that the barrage of March 13th was reported as having been initiated by the Israelis.

Eisenstadt's book, which is probably one of the best known to emerge from Israeli social science, purports to deal with the problems faced by Israel as a result of its immigrant population which, when the book was published in 1954, constituted 68.6% of the population. Actually the book deals almost exclusively with immigrants from North Africa and Asia, who made up only 26.9% of the population at the time and almost totally overlooked the processes of absorption in the 41.7% of the population who had been born in Europe and in the Americas. One easily gets the impression from that book that Israel's problems stem from abroad, particularly from its "Oriental" immigrants.

Eisenstadt makes a similar point in his latest publication, Israeli Society, in which he points out repeatedly, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly, that the disenfranchised status of the immigrants from North Africa and Asia is due primarily to "self-segregation." This is palpably unture. Frankenstein's statement is also part of the Israeli "Establishment's" systematically fostered ideology that most of the country's problems stem from the immigration of these people, whom he frequently classifies in his works as "primitive." This received reinforcement from the ritual statement that Israel is a "socialist democracy," suggesting that it is basically an egalitarian society and that its internal pressures -- via-à-vis those from abroad, as just noted -- are positive. (It is difficult to reconcile Israelis' claims to socialism with the fact that it is probably one of the most nationalistic societies in the world and that its economy is controlled by 17 families.)

Israel's government -- its cabinet and Prime Minister -- are chosen in private by its major power brokers; in 1969, these were Sapir (who, more than anyone else in the country, controls the importation and distribution of capital) and Meir (who is Israel's foremost political hatchet-man and who succeeded Eshkol as Prime Minister). One of the principal concerns of Israel's political "Establishment" is to retain power for as long as possible in the hands of immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially that group known as the "second aliyah," the second large scale wave of immigration after 1870. Most public opinion polls in 1969 show the Eastern Europeans to be among the least popular choices for the office of Prime Minister, the most widewpread choices being Moshe Dayan and Yigal Allon, both of whom are Israeli born. (Israel's previous Prime Ministers -- David Ben-Gurion, Moshe Sharett, and Levi Eshkol -- were also immigrants from Eastern Europe.) In addition to the understandable desire of a particular group to keep power in its own hands -- "power is its own reward" -- a far more important consideration in the minds of the Eastern Europeans seems to be to keep power out of the hands of Israeli born people, since a very large proportion (45%) of the native born are descendants of parents born in Asia and North Africa (15% are children of native born Israelis and 39% are children of parents born in Europe and the Americas). Were the principle to be established that people in power can be Israeli born, the "danger" of an "Oriental" have access to power would be a real one for those currently in power. In this case, too, policy appears to be dictated by attitudes toward those from abroad, as even the native born children of Asian and North Africans are popularly known and treated.

Now let us move abruptly from the level of policy-making on high to the mundane of a particular 10 year-old boy who has such bad eyesight that he cannot see the blackboard from the center of the classroom. As noted above, he is the teacher's scapegoat. Not coincidentally, he is the darkest-skinned child in the class. One day, while the teacher was writing an assignment on the blackboard, a baloon burst in the class. Without turning around or asking who burst the baloon, the teacher said, "Joseph [the name of the boy being discussed], why did you do that?" When he protested that another child (a girl) had done it, and when his claim was corrobated by the other children in the class, the teacher said that it must have been an accident; if Joseph had done it, she went on, she would have known that it was deliberately done. Joseph, of course, as his teacher loses no time in pointing out to herself and to an observer, is an "Oriental."

There is no need to point out the significance of the omission of UN observers' reports of Israel's responsibility in initiating military engagements while the state-owned radio loses no opportunity to cite reports of Egyptian belligerency.

To return to the point that I began to make earlier, the many threads in a social system are of a piece, and I deliberately began with a few instances from supposedly "high-level" social science, which is often assumed to be very far removed from everyday events in the market place of cultural transactions and social events. None of us may like this -- in fact, I sometimes find the shoe fitting just a bit too snugly -- but one of the things that has emerged from the present research is that social scientists have been very much in the service of the "Establishment" which supports them by having developed a very peculiar kind of scotoma. We have written many descriptions of elementary schools; of secondary schools; of college and university systems; of social science theory and assumptions; and of national (political) policies. But we have kept semi-colons between them; we have failed to see and examine their interrelationships and interdependence. As a result, we have served well those people whose greatest investment is to maintain the status quo in the sociopolitical system and we have assuaged our own guilt in providing the legitimating rationalizations for what goes on at the microscopic levels of daily life in the corner grocery store (or supermarket) or in the school conducted in a fire trap.

This is not to say that we have not written our "critiques" of education and other aspects of society. But I question their claims to being critiques at all. I do not gainsay the value of books describing the brutality of purported education in Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other schools which cater predominantly to Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and other disenfranchised children. What the present research -- which has viewed the total Israeli educational system as a whole, including its universities -- suggests is that such studies are lacking and misleading as long as they fail to include schools which are separated only by a fence or are a few blocks away and which do a very good job in teaching their children, and as long as they fail to relate what happens in both to what goes on in the universities, including the pronouncements of the people who teach in these universities. This research, I believe, leaves no doubt that there are a cluster of pejoratives -- "cultural deprivation," "Oriental" (in Israel), "sub-culture," and the like -- which influence perception of students and adults and, in turn, behavior toward them. These pejoratives are of academic manufacture, advertisement, promotion, and distribution. Another integral part of this total system is the constant reinforcement that these basic social attitudes receive in the form of financial rewards, as in research grants, job promotions, film contracts, and the like. I will return to this below in a separate chapter.

Just as no one wants to be the things that pejoratives denote, there are desirable standards which everyone wants to reach, or to which he at least enjoys aspiring. Thus, it is insufficient to point to current academic fashions in respect to education without also noting the melioratives, the sanctioned and desirable goals that bear on education and its study. The most noteworthy of these is "modernization" and "development" in its many guises: educational, political, economic, technological, and others. Everyone wishes to be "modern" rather than "culturally deprived" or "primitive" or "backward." But these melioratives are part of the same package as the pejoratives; hence, they serve many of the same functions.

In the United States and Israel, as the present research has shown, as have others, education is inseparable from the ideology of "modernization." Cutting across all the technical definitions of modernization in social science jargon is the underlying assumption that modernity is that which is current, especially in the nations which dominate the international scene today. One of the most important of these is the United States, among whose major exports throughout the world are the concepts of "cultural deprivation," "culture" and "sub-culture," "developing nations," "modernity," and the like. A very important feature of the association of contemporary education with modernizations is the concern with economic investment. Thus, it is not accidental that such works as Education and Economic Development and The Profitability of Investment in Education were published in the United States in 1965 and in Israel in 1966, respectively.

While this concern is culturally plausible, it reveals more than is perhaps intended. The central question in concerns with economic investment is, where -- or to whom -- is the payoff, who profits from the investment? Naturally, as most such analyses as those cited point out, different degrees of educational attainment provide commensurate profit for the individual. But it is naive to assume that profitability from educational investment stops with the individual since, in most (if not all) industrial societies, his labor is a commodity in which a larger organization itself invests and from which it hopes to derive a profit. In most cases, the profit to the employing organizations is much greater than to the individual who generally realizes only a very small part of the profit on the investment. Curiously, however, these organizations are almost never mentioned in discussions of economic investment in education. In the United States, these analyses almost always omit mention of the major banks -- Bank of America, First National City Bank, Chase Manhattan, and the like -- or the principal manufacturing corporations, such as the Generals (Motors, Electric), Standard Oil of New Jersey, Du Pont, the construction companies employed in Viet Nam which have made such great profits for American policy makers, and the like. In Israel, these analyses almost always omit reference to the major banks -- Bank Le'umi, Bank Hapo'alim, Discount Bank -- or to the principal manufacturing corporations, especially the agricultural producers for export (such as the kibbutzim) and the monopolistic distributors of their products, all of whom are owned by the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor), and the mineral cartels, almost all of which are owned by the Histadrut and whose policies are usually set by the same people -- most of whom come from the 17 families that control Israel's economy -- who control the major banks.

Now, there are two separate but interrelated aspects to this which bear on the present research. All of these organizations depend on trained and skilled personnel; "modern" societies are now organized in such a way that almost the only places where the appropriate skills can be acquired are in schools. Engineers, economists, chemists, physicists, social scientists who help draft policy, and the like, are products of schools. Hence, it occasions no surprise -- and this is far from original with me -- that it is in the interests of the major producers and controllers of capital to maintain schools.

Equally important, these controllers of the importation of capital are also the principal determinants of domestic social policy. This, too, occasions no surprise. But one of the outstanding features of these sets of relationships is that almost all such organizations are the outstanding non-governmental agencies in their respective societies which have strongest international involvements. In Israel, this was measured by use of international telephone and telex; there has not yet been the opportunity to collect comparable data in the United States, but this will be done and it is hypothesized that similar relationships will obtain.

In Israel, there is a remarkable overlap between the people who control and manage these firms (they also intermarry with great frequency) and those who oligarchically choose the country's Prime Minister, cabinet ministers, and other policy makers. These political officials are those who determine educational policy. Elsewhere (in "Schools and Civilizational States"), I have defined this group which controls international investment and domestic policy as constituting a society's "elite."

I do not want to discuss here the hypothesis that I presented in "Schools and Civilizational States," that schools were originally developed historically to train elite personnel, that is, those who were selected for manning the boundary roles which mediate one society's relationships with others. Suffice it for the present that those children in Israel who are expected to fill such roles when they become adults receive considerably different schooling than those who are expected to fill only domestic roles. What is important in the present context is that the concept of elites suggests the standard and conventional notion of social "class," however that is defined. One of the principal results of this research is that this concept is of limited use in the study of an educational system: the quality of student-teacher interaction, openness of the school (principal, teachers, students) to new ideas, adherence to curricular standards, quality of instruction, and students' relationships to schooling itself.

Specifically, it was found that there can be -- and often is -- a much closer correspondence between schools catering to children of extremely different socioeconomic statuses than among schools which contain children of similar socioeconomic standing. Existing social science theory had led to the expectation that the "culture of the school" will be similar (in Israel, for example) among those schools that serve the children of unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants from North African and Asian countries; as a matter of fact, this is an almost universal belief and a basis of official policy in Israel. The present research has led unequivocally to the conclusion that social class is not a predictor of school behavior and activities; while it is still too early to tell -- largely because the factors in Israeli society that have led to this conclusion are still in their inchoacy and there has not yet been the opportunity to examine data from other societies in the light of it -- social class may also be unimportant as a predictor of scholastic achievement, as measured by, let us say, college and university degrees. (Unfortunately, I have not yet had the chance to read the "Coleman Report.")

What this research points to instead is that a far more reliable predictor of educational -- or educationally related -- activity is the nature or quality of social boundaries characterizing a group within the society in which a particular school is found. With less jargon, this means that the nature of schooling within a nation will depend on the extent to which the group in which a school exists is open to outside influences -- especially those of the central state -- and is free of local vested interests, such as those of religion, ethnicity, special economic considerations, and the like. Thus, if we find that two groups of vastly different socioeconomic and ethnic composition are equally open to state (or statist) influences, their schooling will resemble each other more than will two representations of the same socioeconomic "class" and ethnic compositions when one is in open and the second is in a closed group.

To clarify this, let us take two extremes of openness and closure of groups in Israel. At the extreme of the most closed groups, that is, those that are most insulated against outside influences, are a number of groups in the urban sector of the society (such as religious segments of the population, who maintain a considerable degree of autonomy in their schools) and the kibbutzim (the so-called communal settlements); at the other extreme is the settlement system known as Development Towns (a type of settlement which, unlike the kibbutzim, is unique to Israel).

According to accepted social science theory, it would be expected that urban schools in general would most closely subscribe to the educational desiderata, as represented by central state policy. (The goal of the Israeli Ministry of Education is to reach the point represented by the possibly apocryphal statement by a French Minister of Education, "When I look at my watch I know what every child in France is learning." While this goal is far from having been achieved, it is being neared. My analysis of the history of Israeli education, starting from around 1913, will show the concrete steps taken in this direction.) In view of the central role played by members of kibbutzim in the political and economic life of the society, it would also be anticipated that their schools, too, would be close to the norms of the central state. On the other hand, Development Towns, whose populations are widely regarded in Israel as representing the "backwaters of the society," being made up by and large of unskilled and semi-skilled and barely literate immigrants from North Africa and Asia, would have schools that least conform to central state standards.

In general, the very opposite turns out to be the case, though with some important qualifications. In urban centers,the quality of instruction, scholastic achievement, conformity to Ministry of Education curricular requirements, pupil-teacher relations (for example, as measured by the frequency of prohibited corporal punishment), training for sitting for examinations, and the like, conform most closely to central Ministry standards in non-religious schools attended by children of people who are most closely associated with the state's controlling agencies, that is, those who are most closely dependent on the state. On the other hand, even at the same socioeconomic levels, every time a factor representing localized vested interests is introduced -- especially religion, ethnicity or caste -- as a criterion of selecting a school's student population, the urban school meets Ministry standards less and less. For example, let us take two schools in an Israeli urban center attended by the children of state bureaucrats. In one of these schools, we also find the children of North African and Asian immigrants who represent the other end of the socioeconomic continuum. In other words, it is a fully "integrated" school, to use currently fashionable terminology. This school represents the "ideal" type of school from the point of view of central state policy. In the second school, in which there is also a high proportion of children of state bureaucrats, children of North African and Asian immigrants and children of unskilled and semi-skilled workers are quite systematically excluded. (This particular school is popularly regarded by Israelis as perhaps the best school in the city.) By any number of measures -- training and comprehension in arithmetic, science training, exposure to varieties ofintellectual influences, training for examinations, and the like -- this school does not conform as closely as the first to state standards and requirements. Now, let us take a third school into which the religious factor is introduced, in addition to the ethnic one; this is a state-supported religious school, but of the same socioeconomic standing as the previous school. Although arithmetic and mathematical training is higher in this school than in the second, it is far below either of the other two by all other criteria. In other schools in the same urban center, when low socioeconomic standing is added to the religious and ethnic considerations, the quality of schooling falls to the bottom of the heap, and children there acquire only a minimal fraction of the learning that obtains in the first three schools.

Now let us turn to Development Towns. In order to understand the relationships of these settlements to Israeli society, it is necessary to provide a physical picture and to contrast them with other centers of population. Cities in Israel are like most of their counterparts in other societies: as one approaches them by car, train, or plane, their density builds up gradually from their peripheries; there are scattered houses and shops on the outskirts which become more and more concentrated and densely settled as one approaches the center. But the picture is different in connection with Development Towns. Imagine that you are driving along a plateau or up and down hills and valleys for dozens of miles with nothing to be seen except sand or ashen rock with little but scrub on either side of the road or on the horizon. Suddenly -- without hint or warning and with no reason to expect it -- a town of high-rise houses in different colors rises out of the ground. These buildings may be arranged in a gigantic circle or octagon, but their density is uniform throughout the town, and even the shopping center in the middle of the town does not seem to break the concentration of uniformly built houses. As one drives through the town or along its perimeters, it stops as suddenly as it began and evidence of habitation ends in a rear view mirror as abruptly as it appeared when first approaching it.

The position of Development Towns on the Israeli social map is as unusual as their physical sites. Development Towns -- not kibbutzim, which are inhabited almost exclusively by Europeans and decendants of European immigrants -- represent one of the most unusual and exciting innovative experiments in man's history of settlement patterns and, particularly, urbanization. They represent Israel's unique contribution to the evolution of social and political organization. (I will not go into the question here of why this tends to be unrecognized by Israeli social scientists; it is a very complex question, but some hints may be gathered from this discussion.)

Development Towns in Israel are the offspring of a series of fortuitous accidents in conception. From the widest point of view, the first element is the fact that Israel is an industrializing society. One of the most important characteristics of an industrial society is a degree of freedom from habitational limitations that is greater than at any previous stage of socioeconomic development. At pre-industrial stages of development -- especially before contemporary sources of energy (such as electricity), modes of communication, means of transportation, and the like -- villages, towns, and cities were settled at important crossroads, at riverbanks or junctures of rivers, in fertile places, and near important sources of minerals. In other words, there were "understandable reasons" for their settlement. In contemporary industrial societies, on the other hand, urban centers can be developed for reasons that are purely political or militarily stragetic, and independently of habitational considerations.

In the early 1950s, Israel's population was nearly doubled within less than two years by the sudden immigration of whole communities of Jews from North Africa and Asia, most notably dramatized by "Operation Magic Carpet," the removal of the entire Jewish population of Yemen to Israel by airlift. This was as sudden as it was unexpected, and it caught every sector of Israeli society unprepared. The problems presented -- and the strains placed on existing institutions -- were a combination of realistic factors and pressures emanating from existing Israeli social patterns at the time. Realistically, these immigrants had to be fed, housed, cared for medically (bubonic plague was not unknown in Israel at the time), clothed, their children schooled, and productive employment found for people among whom were many who had only vaguely heard of industrialization.

Culturally, they presented other problems. The first was that many, if not most, Israelis could not understand what these people were doing in Israel. Ideology concerning the "ingathering of exiles" notwithstanding, there were important gaps between the values of the dominant European population and the "Oriental" immigrants, as those from North Africa and Asia were called almost immediately and pejoratively. The politically and numerically dominant Europeans were, to a large extent, products of the abortive 1905 revolution in Russia. They were politically motivated, self-consciously European, longing to lose their identities as Jews, and committed to agricultural and other manual labor for a variety of reasons. The new immigrants who came en masse from North Africa and Asia were almost entirely different, and shared little else with the Europeans except their designation as Jews. They had no socialist ideology, they had experienced none of the traumatic experiences of European Jews during the period 1934-1945, they had no desire to lose their identities as Jews, and they were horrified at the idea that Jews would do agricultural and other manual work since, as a result of decades of policies in their countries of origin, Jews were confined to shopkeeping and other activities which deprived them of access to land and labor organization, two of the more important activities which could provide people with a power base. More important, perhaps, was -- and to a large extent continues to be -- a different attitude toward the state of Israel and its institutions. Simply put, the original immigrants from North Africa and Asia -- to distinguish them from their contemporary children who have since been born in Israel -- feel that their most important attachment is to the Land of Israel. These are the people who continue to remain in awe at the idea that they are on the soil of the "promised land." Their orientation is physical, territorial, if not somewhat mystical. This is the enduring quality of their presence in Israel. They could not care less about social and political institutions because -- in addition to their secular quality -- these people, like most peasants almost everywhere, had come to believe that social and political institutions are ephemeral, exploitative, corrupt, and designed to squeeze the peasant dry.

Moreover, the North African and Asian immigrants had little or no experience with the bureaucracies of European countries. The pre-1939 Jewish population in what was then known as Palestine was probably one of the most highly politicized populations that had ever existed, at least in modern history. These original settlers knew what political institutions are and their political manipulative instincts were as natural to them as their heartbeats. The same was true of the pitiful survivors of the German concentration camps and gas chamber crematoria. By definition, those who survived that cannibalistic purge were often those who were most adept at bureaucratic manipulativeness, who knew how to exploit existing conditions for the supreme purpose of physical survival. The North African and Asian immigrants had none of these techniques in their repertories. There are many descriptions of their helplessness and confusion when faced with the expertise of the Israeli bureaucrats into whose hands they were suddenly and unexpectedly placed at the terminus of their migration. Important in this connection is that these immigrants were generally from the lowest strata of the Jewish populations of their countries of origin. The more well-to-do, educated, politically adept, and nationally committed either remained in their home countries or migrated to France and other Western European countries.

What is more, almost none of the immigrants from North Africa and Asia spoke Hebrew or Yiddish or any of the European languages -- Russian, Polish, Balkan languages, or German -- that predominated among the settled host population; very few settled Israelis at that time spoke French and Spanish with facility. (An important and continuing source of tension in Israel until the death of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in February 1969 was his habit of conducting much of his business in Yiddish, a bastard language entirely unfamiliar to immigrants from North Africa and Asia. The current Prime Minister, Golda Meir, occasionally uses Yiddish publicly.) Also, many of these immigrants were dark skinned and spoke Arabic, a factor which tended to associate them in the minds of many Israelis with the hated Arab caste; the Israeli ideal is the aryan: tall, slim, blonde, and blue eyed.

Perhaps the problem presented by the "Orientals" can best be described as a cross-cut of instutional and racist strains. Institutionally, the North Africans and Asians came in families, and often in kin groups from which they did not want to be separated. Kubbutzim, on the other hand, were settled originally by unmarried people without any kinship connections, and they are primarily designed to recruit poeple who are without kinship affiliations. On the other side, the racist attitudes of the Europeans, added to these problems. This can be illustrated by the following incident.

In 1947, thousands of the survivors of the German concentration camps were in camps in Cyprus awaiting entry to Palestine. One day, the news swept through the camps that a ship full of Moroccan Jews had left Africa for Palestine and would first stop in Cyprus. Within a matter of hours, the information was passed around in the form of, "The blacks are coming," and people began to surmise that the Moroccans would be given the same medical and dental screenings as the Europeans. Perhaps fearing some kind of contamination, the European refugees threatened to burn down the medical and dental clinics unless they were assured that the Moroccans would not use them. The Joint Distribution Committee, which had a major share of the responsibility for the camps' administration, removed the clinics from the camps to safeguard them.

Thus, in the early 1950s, the dominant question in Israel was, "What do we do with them?" The kibbutzim -- which opened their doors without question to the immigrants from Europe -- would have none of the North Africans and Asians; combined with the latter's revulsion at manual labor together with the problem of kin-affiliation, this has led to the development of an Israeli ideology that these people were completely unsuited to "cooperative" living. The cities and their existing institutions could absorb relatively few, and these were effectively segregated in slums and distinct housing projects. The vast open spaces of the Israeli countryside provided an almost readymade solution, and Israel embarked on its inadvertent "experiment" of the Development Towns.

The essential fact about Development Towns is that they were not only established by state decree and their inhabitants moved there by the state regardless of personal preference, but Development Towns are maintained now and controlled entirely by central state agencies. In these towns, autonomy in decision-making and implementation is virtually non-existent. This is reflected kaleidescopically in respect to education: there are no indigenous vested interests to interfere with the implementation of governmental educational policies. Where special group interests do appear -- as in the existence of state-supported religious schools -- the consequences are similar to those that obtain in urban areas. Thus, the atmosphere and activities in schools in Development Towns most closely resemble the much higher socioeconomic schools in the urban area, with commensurate differences in state-supported religious schools. I will return to the implications of this below when discussing the possible conclusions that can be drawn from these findings in respect to the current controversies in the United States (and Israel) concerning the decentralization of control over schools. What I want to stress here is (1) the conclusion that social class is not the best predictor of a school's ambience, (2) that the best predictor is the relationship maintained by a group in which a school is found to the surrounding world, especially the state, and (3) that the schooling of people who are being prepared for elite status -- that is, the children of elite personnel -- does not necessarily conform most to the explicit and formal educational policies of the society.

A similar problem has existed in the United States during its post-frontier history. Between 1890-1930, 22.3 million people emmigrated to the United States from Europe. Between 1940-1967, 30.5 million persons migrated from rural to urban areas, of whom 21 million were Negroes. By 1968, only about one million Negroes remained on farms. (This migration from rural to urban areas appears to have stabilized. There has been no appreciable shift in rural/urban population figures since 1967.) These shifts are generally regarded by demographers, social scientists, and politicans as a mjaor source of contemporary urban problems in the United States. As in Israel in the 1950s, the dominant question in the 1960s in the United States is also, "What do we do with *them*?"

These are the basic parameters of the present research. At this point, I want to turn to a consideration of the method that was developed and applied in the course of this research.

II

A Method for the Anthropological Study of National Educational Systems

Almost all of the world's people now live in national-state systems, but the worldwide developments which have produced this situation -- which have been accelerating since 1945 -- have outdistanced anthropology's methods and concepts. Instead of developing a discipline that is relevant to national social systems, which are now the contexts of almost all cultural phenomena, most of our efforts continue to be devoted to refinements and improvements of a Boasian and Malinowskian anthropology.

With a few important exceptions,which have exhibited a growing interest in the study of the interrelationships of the local community and the national (or "complex") society, most discussions of the anthropological study of national social systems have been singularly free of methodological concerns per se. Rather, they often convey the impression that anthropological field research in national societies requires somewhat harder work and an ability to cope with a larger number of variables than had been the case in the study of stateless primitive societies. While this impression corresponds to the realities of field work -- without suggesting that field work in stateless societies is necessarily easy -- it does not suffice to take our traditional procedures of investigation and transplant them with only minor modifications to the settings of national study. My purpose here is to describe a method of anthropological field research that conforms to certain aspects of the realities of national social organization.

My reason for doing so can be stated briefly. The emergence of national social systems in sociocultural evolution represents a watershed, especially in respect to the locus of decision-making and implementation. Prior to the development of national social systems, the most important decisions -- as, for example, the organization of labor, access to sources of extrapersonal energy, the allocation of a livelihood -- were made and implemented in the community or some other local nexus. This local unit was the individual's effective world and it was here that he usually found his anchorages. Correspondingly, the local decision-making and implementing unit became anthropology's major focus of study; the overwhelming bulk of the ethnological literature is based on these stateless local nexuses. There was thus a close correspondence between sociopolitical reality and anthropological method: the anthropological view of the total society paralleled that of the people studied.

In this sense, community or other local studies were a means to the end of understanding the total society. Unfortunately, in time, this goal was lost sight of because, in part, it was so much taken for granted, and the means became ends in themselves. I do not gainsay the importance of community or other local studies (about which I will speak below); nor do I intend to suggest that a discipline's goals cannot be changed. But we will sacrifice too much that is worthwhile if we allow this alteration in ends and means to take place without trying to retain that part of our anthropological tradition which is worth retaining, even as we reorient our goals. We may, instead, be able to keep the best of two worlds.

It is worth retaining our concern with the total society. For the overwhelming majority of the world's people, The National Society is -- or is rapidly becoming -- the total society. But since the organization of this world has changed -- not only from stateless organization but also from its pre-industrial forms and relative societal isolation -- it is necessary to make correspondingly significant adjustments in our methods, perspectives, and concepts. When the analyses of the data gathered are completed, and when the financial side of research life brightens a bit (this is very expensive research), I hope to complete the application of the method in the United States and also apply it in other societies. Modifications and elaborations in the method will certainly result from these extended applications.

Method is almost always underlain by theory. I have alluded to one aspect of the theory to which this method is tied: the concern with the total society. But this needs further elaboration.

In their field investigations of the ongoing social systems of stateless people, anthropologists dealt with politically self-regulating and self-determining groups and institutions, habitational and other factors in the milieu which limited such autonomy notwithstanding. However, when anthropologists and others began to study the social systems of contemporary nations, they found that they were dealing with communities and institutions that are not self-controlling, regulating and determining. The premise that the methods devised in the study of primitive societies could easily be transposed to the study of modern nations -- given its first legitimacy by Wissler in his introduction to the Lynds' first study of Middletown, and then given wider currency by the studies of Warner and others -- was a serious fundamental error which was based on a misunderstanding of how different social systems function.

For purposes of this discussion (and this is also an important substantive issue), it is necessary to distinguish between nations whose rulers give the impression of effectively increasing centralized control throughout their realms (e.g., the U.S., U.S.S.R., Israel, Western European countries) and those in which the members of local communities seem to be successful, at least for the time being, in resisting such centralized control (e.g., India, Switzerland, Egypt, many Latin American countries). The former are my point of reference in the formulation of this method. This is not because of any ethnocentric bias. Instead, it is because these are among the goals of almost all national rulers, and they provide some of the most important characteristics of national social processes. Whether there is a standoff between local and national nexuses (as, for example, in Switzerland) in which neither end of the sociopolitical continuum seems to be succeeding in making its interests the dominant ones in the society's scale of values or whether the two are engaged in active struggle (as, for example, in India) with the outcome uncertain, the antagonism between state and local boundary systems is nevertheless present and provides a consistent point of comparison among nations. Similarly, the institutional foci of success and failure in this regard vary from nation to nation, and this is one of the most important substantive areas of research. For example, one of the stages on which the struggle in India is waged is linguistic, though there are others, while in Latin America and elsewhere the antagonism may center on, among other things, land tenure. In the United States and Israel, both of which are nearing the completion of their overall centralization, the centralization of education is one of the last bastions of local autonomy; at the same time, however, they started on their paths toward centralization by different means, Israel's first successes in this regard having been in its military and police organizations, while those in the United States were concentrated in the economic and communications spheres.

In contemporary national societies, especially in the most centralized, though this varies considerably from one nation to another, communities "lack the power to control the institutions that regulate and determine [their] existence", in the words of Vidich and Bensman in Small Town in Mass Society. Local life is based largely on the techniques, equipment, products, values, and motivations that originate in distant places. In other words, the community in a modern nation is constantly dependent on cultural imports (ibid.: 81); it is a fragment -- not a microcosm -- of the societal whole. Contrasted to life in primitive (especially stateless) societies, everyday experiences in the communities of modern nations give the individual a feeling of remoteness from the major centers that control his life, such as those of industry, commerce, the regulation of labor, and politics. This feeling reflects the realities of the organizations of these societies.

What is more, it can almost be said that most people no longer live in communities, but rather in institutions. This is not only true of highly industrialized societies but also, at a rate that rapidly increases annually, of most of the world. Whether a person is an assembly line worker, a clerk, or a university professor, he gains his livelihood from a job that is part of a national -- or even international -- institution; he can move from one part of the country to another, and even from one country to another, in search of advancement, higher income, greater security, freedom from seasonal unemployment, or other benefits. The topics with which people concern themselves in their daily conversations are increasingly national (or international), rather than local. The conversation at next week's faculty cocktail party in New York will differ only slightly from its parallel gatherings in Atlanta, Chicago, San Francisco, and Seattle; much the same is true for comparable groupings in other strata and occupational groups. This is even more noticeable, with fewer variations from stratum to stratum or from one occupational group to another, in a country like Israel, which is even more highly centralized politically in many spheres of activity than the United States.

Increasingly, the controls to which the individual responds, the rewards and satisfactions which he seeks and experiences, his frustrations and the opportunities and limitations which he exploits are tied less and less to the resources and sentiments of his community. Instead, his significant controls and rewards derive from a national labor union or supplier, profession, political party, or even an international network of one kind or other. While these developments are most noticeable in the daily lives of people in the upper socioeconomic strata, they are not confined to them, and they have deep repercussions for people in the other layers of society because they establish the standards for patterns of living in the society as a whole. There are, of course, instances in which some groups in a national population are excluded entirely from the influences of nation-wide institutions; these occurences must also be regarded as aspects of national policy and need to be viewed within the same frame of reference. The point is not that advertisements for national and internation travel, for example, are directed to a minority of the population; rather it is that almost the entire populace is exposed to such communications and they soon come to learn, almost without realizing it, that these appeals embody the bedrock values that are an integral part of contemporary life. Similarly, recruitment of workers is increasingly at national (and even international) levels rather than, as before, exclusively at the local or community level. It is to this reality, among others, that we must adjust our field methods

Hence, one of the principal choices facing anthropologists in their studies of modern national societies is whether to continue to focus on the community regardless of its cultural position in regard to the wider societal setting, or whether to continue the traditional concern with self-regulating, controlling, and determining representations of the total society, even if they are not located in the local community. These are not necessarily exclusive alternatives; it is possible to combine them, and I will return to this below. But I have stated them as exclusive alternatives here for heuristic purposes; I want to focus more sharply on a method for the anthropological study of national educational systems which bypasses the traditional method of community study and which emerges out of electing the second of the two alternatives.

The cornerstone of this method is the study of one institutional matrix at a time throughout a national society. One advantage of this, among others to be discussed, is that it will contribute to the correction of a flaw that appears in a wide variety of studies. One example of it is in studies of education, in which we have been treated to a spate of reports demonstrating -- as though it was necessary -- that the children of economically and politically disenfranchised groups receive schooling which bars them from full participation in the society's economy and political system. These reports are not without value, since consciences tend to atrophy without reminders. But what such studies fail to show -- and I regard this as axiomatic, rather than hypothetical -- is that such educational disenfranchisement is an aspect of national policy; and, in this, these studies contribute to the continual gloss of the concrete activities by which this disenfranchisement is maintained. They avoid coming to grips with the sources of national power and its exercise -- or its effective resistance -- at every level of the social system. A nation's cities, racial and ethnic enclaves (often mistakenly called ghettos), social classes, regions, and the like, are integral parts of a larger national social system; each is maintained by and because of the others within that system. A basic change in the relationship of one of them to the others inevitably leads to changes in the others. Educational, legal, labor, health, and other policies in a city's ethnic enclaves must thus be seen as an aspect of national policies in their respective spheres. Since the education (or other institutional experience) of the unskilled lower classes exists alongside the professional upper strata's -- and are controlled by the latter -- they must be studied and described in tandem. What I am suggesting is not new; it is merely an application of the rhetoric of social science which asserts that all the parts of the whole must be understood in relation to each other and to the whole.

A nation is a society which is made up of many communities and regions, classes (and sometimes castes), ethnic (and sometimes linguistic) groups, economically and otherwise specialized groups, a variety of daily cycles and life styles, and the like, all of which are centrally controlled by a set of interlocking agencies or bureaucracies which are more or less differentiated; these agencies constitute the state, and the people who control them speak and act in the name of the state. In turn, these agencies are unified into a single political and administrative entity under a single person, by whatever name he is distinguished. The office of this person is the central one of the state's agencies and he is the key actor in the ceremonial, economic, political, military, legal, and administrative life of the society; this does not mean that he is necessarily the person with the greatest power. In these terms, "nation" is the territorial representation of the society, while "state"is its political representation.

Thus, every nation is a heterogeneous entity, and each is characterized by a unique patterning or organization of relations among its constituent groups. Hence, the study of national social systems is the investigation of the organization of relations among the groups that make up a society. Elsewhere, I have suggested that the principal groups of a society, especially nations, can be conceptualized in terms of boundary systems. In some nations, as in contemporary United States, most of the major boundary systems are territorially based (in its intricate relationships of towns, urban centers, and petty states); in some, as in Israel, most are socially -- rather than territorially -- based (in its system of castes, ethnic groups, the Histadrut or General Federation of Labor, the Jewish Agency, kibbutz and moshav federations, the religious sector, the army, and political parties which cut across and often determine the existence of different territorial units); in others, as in India, though in varying degrees, the major boundary systems are made up of cross-cutting social and territorial groups.

It is characteristic of the people who speak in the name of a state that they seek to unify the nation that they control. They seek to do so not only by means of the "noble lie" (as Plato referred to it), or ideological appeals and rhetoric, but also through the direct exercise of power and control over various -- and sometimes all -- spheres of social activity. But whatever the means -- ideological, economic, laws governing sexual and other behavior, systems of political parties, and the like -- the goals of unity and uniformity are basically achieved at sword's point and to the accompaniment of the jangle of prison keyes. Hence, the central agencies or bureaucracies of the nation -- the state -- are among the groups making up a nation. (In what follows, when I speak of the state I use the term as nothing more than a convenient and parsimonious symbolic abbreviation of the individuals who control the nation's centralized agencies, who speak in the name of the state or by whatever name it may be known [e.g., the federal government in the United States], and who have the power and authority to enforce their decisions and policies.)

More than that, the state is the most important group (or set of groups, i.e., agencies) in the society. Not only do its component bureaurcracies unify and control but they are -- or seek to become -- the only truly nationwide (or national) institutions. This position is almost always gained at the expense of local boundary systems. When there are non-state nationwide institutions (e.g., autonomous trade unions or industrial monopolies), the state will attempt to usurp their functions or encourage competitors. Failure in this is often an accompaniment of attenuated or withered statehood.

Viewed thus, a state can be conceptualized as a central transmitting station from which responsible personnel in each of its component agencies send out messages to the entire nation with respect to the agency's allocated competence and interest. These messages are the state's policies. Thus, for example, the agency that is entrusted with the educational sphere of activity transmits its -- that is, the state's -- educational policy-messages to the entire nation; the bureaucracies that are given responsibility for military, labor, financial, other economic, legal, health, welfare, postal, and other spheres of social activity send out their respective (state) policy-messages. Naturally, in many societies, there are often jurisdictional disputes and overlapping responsibilities among the various central-state bureaucracies, and this presents special problems to the society as well as to the investigator. Ideally, however, each is specialized and differentiated, and it is to this situation that I refer here. Furthermore, not all national societies establish centralized control over the same spheres of activity, although those just mentioned, tend to be brought under centralized control in most. For example, unlike many other nations, the United States does not have a centralized agency overseeing religious activity. Very few nations have established centralized control over family and kinship relations, although some aspects of these spheres are brought within the purview of different central bureaucracies, such as law, various spheres of economic activity, and welfare agencies. While the questions of why some spheres of activity are centrally controlled and regulated in some societies but not in others, and why some spheres of activity are almost never centrally controlled, contain some of the most important keys to the nature of state organization, and are matters for substantive comparative research, they are too complex to go into here.

Moreover, not all states use the same institutional means and at the same rates to achieve national homogeneity and integration. As noted above, centralization can be achieved in different nations, and in varying combinations and permutations, through the educational system, codes of sexual behavior, religion, police and criminal law, military organization, linguistic policy, and the like. In some nations, attempts are made to establish uniformity through almost all major institutional means at the same time. While in others only a few are used, at least initially. It is only through unions of field and comparative-historical studies that it will be possible to determine which institutional means are the most effective in breaking down local boundary systems in the service of effective centralization under different historical and geographical conditions. In any case, culture- and time-bound slogans like totalitarianism, democracy, socialism, freedom, and others, have no place in such research.

One of the goals of each of the agencies that constitute the state is to have its policy-messages received and implemented in the same manner by all the groups -- communities, social strata, ethnic and occupational groups, and the like -- in the society. In actual fact, however, it is extraordinarily rare for this to happen; a state's messages have different "fates" at the various "receiving stations." Some receive and implement the state's message-policies with almost perfect clarity while, at the extreme that is least desirable from the state's point of view, there are some in which people give the impression of being barely aware of them and they almost fail completely in their implementation. Thus, one group in the society may receive and implement the educational policies of the state very closely to what is intended, but only partially responding to its labor policies, and hardly at all to its policies in respect to law. (Many Israeli kibbutzim approximate this situation.) This may happen for a variety of reasons. For example, the controllers of a state agency or their local representatives many only halfheartedly, or even not at all, transmit policy-messages and the means for their implementation to certain groups (as in connection with education among some sectors of disenfranchised groups in Israel and in the United States) or certain groups may maintain such firm boundaries that they exclude these policy-messages in great degree (as in the ultra-religious sector in Israel or in some of the United States' petty states).

I take it as axiomatic that each of a nation's centrally controlling state bureaucracies and its associated sphere of activity is a microcosm of the whole, synchronically and diachronically. Each will replicate the others and the organization of group relations in the society. While a state is more than the sum of its parts, each of its centralized matrixes can be regarded as a miniature replication of the total society for purposes of investigation. Thus, borrowing the anthropological concept that a culture is a religious system, or a kinship system, or a cognitive system, or an educational system, and so forth -- that is, that a culture is any one of its parts -- it can also be said that the variable outcomes of a state's policies throughout the nation constitute the national social system (in the sense of the total society). But since it is difficult to study an entire state system without an incredibly vast team of field workers -- each of whom requires at least two consecutive years in the field and his own staff of assistants and consultants -- it is more manageable (or more realistic at present) to apply the axiom stated above: to study the state-national system through one of its bureaucratic matrixes, and its related sphere of social activity, at a time.

An analogy at this point is helpful. Just as Y chromosomes are repeated in almost each of the cells of a man's body, so will a national society's basic patterning of the organization of group relations be repeated in each of its centralized bureaucratic matrixes and in the "fate" of its policies in its associated sphere of social activity. For example, one of the problems in many nations in connection with education is the issue of the unequal distribution of educational opportunity and privilege, or what is popularly called educational discrimination. If unequal distribution of opportunity and privilege is an aspect of national policy generally -- as it clearly is in Israel, as reflected in the outcomes of centralized policy in such major spheres as labor organization, income distribution, the control of energy systems, access to positions of power in political parties, law, health, housing, and the like, ideological claims to the contrary notwithstanding -- it can also be hypothesized that such policy will also be carried out in the educational sphere. Conversely if it is observed that unequal distribution of opportunity and privilege is an important feature of education in a society (as in Israel), it can then also be hypothesized that such inequality will also be an important aspect of policy in other spheres.

But it is unusual, to say the least, for a nation to exhibit perfect consistency in this regard. For example, while the unequal distribution of opportunity and privilege along caste, class, and ethnic lines (among others) is an important feature of Israeli social organization, its armed forces constitute a partial exception. As Israelis in all walks of life themselves put it, "the army is the only democratic institution in the society," the only institution in which a man advances solely on the basis of ability and performance; it is also, in the eyes of many Israelis, the only institution in the society that is fully committed to a fully representational way of life. Nevertheless, this is only partially true. These standards apply only to Jews and, with the exception of a few sedentized Beduins, excludes Arabs. There are a few other exceptions, even among Jews, but they are minor and relatively insignificant. Furthermore, this situation is beginning to change as an accompaniment of alterations in the organization of relations among the groups that make up Israeli society; this overall transition began in late 1967, but is only indirectly related to the war of June 1967.

While it could be maintained that such lacks in consistency in the organization of group relations are aspects of change, this is true by definition rather than by deduction. Like any society, a nation is a changing system although, for reasons that cannot be gone into here, national societies are generally more rapidly changing that stateless societies. Further, industrial nations exhibit an increasingly rapid rate of change at successive stages and a faster rate than pre-industrial nations. It can thus be anticipated that even the slowest changing post-industrial societies (whatever their strategies of adaptation will be) will exhibit more rapid rates of change than the most rapidly changing industrial nations. Hence, the study of national social systems must focus equally on changing and persistent patterns in the organizations of group relations.

Leaving aside the question of how nations are formed and states are established -- not because it is irrelevant, but because it will take us too far afield -- it is possible to describe and analyze the sociocultural history of a nation in terms of persistent and changing group relations through the microcosmic medium of one centralized bureaucratic matrix at a time. Thus, for example, it is possible to write the history of a nation from the point of view of its educational system, the distribution of water or other resources of extrapersonal energy, religious organization, taxation, the legal system, or some other centralized bureaucratic matrix. Not only does such an approach provide cross-cutting diachronic and synchronic pictures, but it also provides consistent points of comparability from one historical period to another. While the rate of change characterizing contemporary nations suggests restudies at 10 or 15 year intervals, they will probably have to be carried out more frequently in future generations. In addition, such focused investigations (centering on one centralized bureaucratic matrix at a time) will also provide a stronger empirical basis for understanding some of the pressures leading to such change, including intersocietal factors.

The method under discussion does not propose to direct an investigator to the sources of state policies themselves. This is a substantive matter. Also, in setting limits for the method, it is not presently geared to the study of external trade, colonialism, principles of succession and the rituals of paramountcy (like kinship), although their many institutional consequences and correlates can be investigated by means of it. Other limitations in the method will be discussed below.

Turning to a description of one concrete application of the method in the study of educational systems, one of the first tasks confronting a field investigator is the determination of the society's boundary systems. Finding the relevant state agency representing the sphere of activity being studies is usually a relatively simple matter and one's contacts with its personnel provide some of the most important substantive data in connection with its relationships to the other component groups of the society. The study of Israeli and United States education provides a good example of this.

In order to secure permission to visit schools and make other educational observations in Israel, I needed the sanction of the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture. Concretely, this meant the official listed in the ministry's table of organizations as "Head, Foreign Relations, and Secretary, Council for Higher Education." Almost every nation has such published tables of organization, a not unimportant characteristic of such sociopolitical systems. He introduced me (thereby implicitly sponsoring me) to district supervisors (known as "inspectors" in Israel) who allowed elementary school principals to permit me to visit the schools I had chosen for my sample (see below). Since most secondary schools in

Israel are autonomous, I did not require the persmission of district supervisors to visit there, and secured permission from secondary school principals directly. Theoretically, any of the supervisors, principals, or teachers could have denied me permission to visit particular schools or classrooms. A few teachers did refuse to allow me and my assistant to return to their classes after two days of observation despite my complete passivity and non-participation; the reasons for these events are too complex to go into here, though they were among my most important field experiences. They are discussed in later sections. However, their principals told us that the decisions of these individual teachers could easily have been overridden; nevertheless, and again for reasons too complex to go into here, we never pressed the issue. What is important here -- function recapitulating structure, as it were -- is that, theoretical rights notwithstanding, no district supervisor would have denied me this permission once I had secured the sanction of the official speaking in the name of the ministry; no principal would have denied me permission to enter his school once I had the permission of his supervisor; and, leaving aside the few subsequent incidents mentioned above, no teacher could refuse me permission -- though some were understandably reluctant and apprehensive -- once I had the school's principal's permission. (I will discuss my university observations below.) From a field anthropologist's point of view, this nearly perfect centralization of an institutional matrix is an ideal field situation.

The United States experience was considerably different. Although the centralized state of the United States has an agency dealing with education -- the Office of Education -- its head does not enjoy ministerial or cabinet status. Paralleling this, each of the petty states has its own controlling agency in the educational sphere, although they vary considerably in the amount of effective authority exercised by the petty state's central educational agency over local communities. In the petty state in which this research was conducted (by Vera-Mae Fredrickson), the head of each school district -- a territorial grouping of schools -- is autonomous in deciding whether to permit observations in the district's schools. Neither the sponsorship of the Office of Education nor of the petty state's centralized educational agency was sufficient or necessary in order to secure the district head's permission. In fact, permission was denied in one instance. However, applying the hypothesis that United States society is nearing a stage of greater centralization, I assumed that the responsible official would reconsider his decision if I appealed to him in terms of national symbols: "our Government has had to curtail many supported research activities at home and abroad ... our Government has sponsored research ... that it considers imperative and directly relevant to our national goals ..." ....

In another instance, permission was denied to observe any of the schools in the district. In a third district, permission was denied to observe any high schools in it although permission had previously been granted to observe elementary and junior high schools there. Although the reasons given for these denials was the burden on "over-researched teaching personnel," it is possible that they were related to district-wide "racial disturbances" in the high schools during the school year in which this study was made. These instances of denial of permission to conduct research observations are intimately related to the question of centralization and local autonomy; however, these are substantive matters and will be dealt with below.

Even if the district head's permission is secured, there is no assurance that his school principals will agree to permit observations to be conducted in their schools; simiiarly, teachers in some schools refused to permit observations in their classrooms even when their principal had agreed. Interestingly, in the district in which permission had been initially denied, some teachers known to Mrs. Fredrickson offered to allow her to attend their classes nevertheless.

In most districts in the United States sample, teachers and principals were asked by superintendents whether they were willing to have observations conducted in their classrooms and schools. In several cases, however, and although the principals were always asked for their consent, they were arbitrarily selected by the former and simply informed that their classes were to be observed; in one school, teachers were not even notified in advance that their classes had been selected for observation.

An anthropologist studying such a system thus expends a considerable amount of time and energy even before he begins his bread-and-butter observations. But this time and energy are far from wasted. Again following the principle that function recapitulates structure, more can be learned about the formal outlines of a nation's bureaucratic style in seeking permission to enter its schools for research purposes than can be gotten in scores of interviews or from other sources.

There are instances in the application of this method to non-educational institutions when it is entirely unnecessary to secure centralized agency approval or sponsorship for a study -- though it may be desirable from the point of view of protocal -- and even this is illuminating. For example, the study of a nation's legal system only occasionally requires such centralized approval. In most countries, courts are generally open to almost anyone, though Israel's religious courts are not; laws and judicial decisions are published; and lawyers' and litigants' decisions as to whether to discuss their experiences with an investigator are generally free of external constraints. This picture changes as soon as one enters spheres in which police are involved (including prosecutors). As a matter of fact, the closer one gets to actual police activity -- such as accompanying police on their patrols -- the more one needs the kinds of permission secured in educational research. (The reader can draw his own conclusions from this similarity.)

How does one determine which are the other (non-state) boundary systems in a national society? There are at present no hard and fast methodological rules for this, although the community is the best starting point. In this determination, the field worker must rely not only on previous research, especially community and other local studies, but also on his anthropological art or trained intuition. It is in this connection that it is perhaps most important to think in terms of a total society in which each type of settlement and other boundary maintaining system is but one part of a larger whole. That is, it is necessary at this stage of the research to abandon the traditional anthropological tendency to view the community and its institutions from within the community itself and looking outward from it to the rest of the world, including the state. The importance of this becomes clear when it is realized that, to an extent rarely found in stateless primitive societies, there are many types of communities in a nation, and no one (or even two or three) of them can provide a picture of the fate of the state's policy-messages. For example, in Israel, there are cities (cross-cut by relatively autonomous religious factions, ethnic enclaves, castes, occupational groups, and the like), Development Towns, old towns, moshavim, kibbutzim, and caste-based settlements (Jewish or Arab). Instead of the older anthropological view, according to which it was possible to regard one or two villages as a representative sample of the culture, one must think in terms of the social organization of a nation, viewing the community and other boundary systems from without, from some Olympus, as it were. In other words, and this may be unpalatable to many, one must imagine that he is among the controlling personnel in the state agency representing the sphere of activity under study and construct his social map of the society -- its component boundary systems, and relations among them -- from there. Thus, in studying a national educational system, one must imagine that he is responsible for sending out educational policy-messages to the entire society and determine to which "receiving stations" he is addressing himself. The latter may sometimes differ from the important component boundary systems of the society, but this too, like securing permission to visit schools, can be an important source of information. For example, among the most firmly bounded networks in Israel are its political parties. Currently, these are not among the "receiving stations" of educational policy-messages (except indirectly, as brokers in political-educational negotiations and barter). But they once were; before 1953, different political parties maintained their own quasi-autonomous school systems. The fact that they no longer do contains many important suggestions about the directions of change in the society, but they cannot be gone into here. Suffice it for the moment that there need not be a strict correspondence between the society's component boundary systems and the social sites in which observational work will be carried out.

As can be gathered from much of the foregoing, fieldwork in a national study is vastly different from that in a community or other local study. In the latter, the cultural action is usually out in the open and it usually takes place directly before the observer, and one generally does not have to go far to observe or generate it. For example, one of my favorite techniques in a community study is to find an open central spot (like a large shade tree or general store) at the beginning of a cycle and sit there waiting for an attention-catching incident to occur. Invariably, something would happen within half an hour -- be it an overheard conversation, an altercation, a ritual greeting, and the like -- and I would then spend as much time as necessary following the threads of the web of which it was a part. Nothing like this can be done in a national study, in which a telephone, an automobile, and a wife who is a superb cook and hostess are as indispensable as the proverbial pencil and notepad. What is more, the tempo of work is very different in a national study. Since one is dealing primarily with national institutions, and since of their characteristics in the modern world is that their personnel work according to punch-clock schedules, field work must correspond to that routine, although that does not contain all of one's activities. The consequences of this for an anthropologist's self-image are another matter.

Once the boundary systems of the national society have been identified, it is possible to begin collecting data in situ on a daily basis. The extent to which this also involves participation depends on local conditions, the particular situation (see below), and temperament. In any case, data collection in a national study must be confined to one institutional matrix at a time, and one examines it longitudinally throughout the society conceived in boundary-system terms (or in any other set of theoretically relevant terms). One may investigate more than one institutional matrix at a time, but these should be treated as parallel lines of research rather than (or at least as not necessarily) related to each other. However, the complete study of even one institutional matrix in all of a nation's component boundary systems is so time consuming that it is probably impossible for one person to study more than one at a time; this, of course, may change later as a result of methodological refinements.

The Israeli Sample: In the research in Israel, I spent all my time studying the educational system, while also collecting data on related economic and other factors. One of my assistants, following the present method, studied the legal system. The two were not studied in terms of their interrelations but as though they were entirely independent of each other; in both, the goal was to determine the outcome of state policy in different boundary systems.

One of the premises of this method is that representative examples of most of a nation's boundary systems will be found within automobile-commuting distance of any major city in the nation. (In some societies, in future applications of this method, helicopters will be indispensable.) A major city will not only provide a representation of urbanism, but also of the principal classes, castes, and other socially based groups in the society. With the assistance of personnel in the Ministry of Education, I selected ten elementary schools and three secondary schools in the city in which may family and I lived. Four of these were state secular schools (two lower-status coed schools, one of which was suburban; one upper-status coed school; and one upper/middle-status coed school, that is, a school in which there are both lower- and upper-status children, this being an aspect of the polarization of Israel's class system). Three were state-supported religious schools (one lower-status girls' school, one lower status coed school, and one upper status boys' school). Two of the elementary schools (one boys', one girls') were part of the system of "autonomous education," that is, the independent (but partially state-supported) school system of the ultra-orthodox Jewish sector (known in Israel as Agudat Israel). Also autonomous, but not part of the latter, was the tenth elementary school, that of a Christian mission. Four secondary schools were chosen for this city: a coed upper-status school, an upper/lower status religious girls' school, a lower-status coed school, and the secondary school of the Crhistian mission.

In a Development Town and in an old town (the latter is my designation to distinguish between Development Towns, which are formally designated as such, and towns which do not have an official designation), I selected two schools in each, one secular and one state-supported religious school. One secondary school was also observed in each of the two, although the old town's secondary school served another old town as well. Two moshav schools were also chosen, both coed, one of which is secular and one which is state-supported religious. The secular school serving several moshavim has a secondary school attached to it, and this too was chosen for the sample. Because of an error in strategy and timing -- involving an attempt to secure certain demographic data in the latter moshav school, which are considered highly secret in Israel, but which I was able to secure for most other schools -- relations with the school's principal became very strained; at the point at which this threatened to involve certain personnel in the Ministry of Education, I followed the advice of several friends and abandoned my plans to include the moshav religious secondary school in my sample. (The cases in which I and my research assistant were refused permission to return to classes in which we had begun our observations were always religious schools of one sort or another, though they were in the minority of the religious schools observed.) The kibbutz school that was in the sample is the school of a secular kibbutz; it not only serves its own children but also those of a neighboring kibbutz and the children of families from nearby villages which are not large enough to support their own school. The secondary school of the kibbutz in the sample was also observed.

Finally, the elementary school of one Arab village was also included in the sample. Like most Arab villages in Israel, this does not have a secondary school; hence, no Arab secondary schools were included in the sample. To return to the point made at the outset of this description of the method's application in Israel, my attempts to secure permission to conduct observations in this school (which were eventually successful) were among the most dramatic and illuminating data bearing out the hypothesis that Arabs in Israel are members of a lower caste, which includes all non-Jews. These data not only included my own difficulties in penetrating the boundaries surrounding the Arab sector in the educational sphere but also the humiliations suffered by members of the lower caste who had to become involved in the procedure.

To what extend do these schools constitute a representative sample of Israel's school system? The question must remain moot. Such a study is concerned with process, rather than frequencies. Were such a study based exclusively on statistical samplings of the population of Israel, many more urban schools would have to have been studied in order to warrant the inclusion of even one kibbutz school in the sample; this could only have been done at the expense of the schools of several other types of settlement. But I am very confident about the reliability of the method of sampling on the basis of one thing. In my travels around the country (see below) I did not hear of anything, with only two exceptions, that was not observed in the sample of schools that I had chosen. One of these was the use of laboratory equipment in an elementary-school science class in a south-central Development Town, an almost unheard-of occurrence in Israel: in almost all schools, laboratory equipment is kept in locked closets at all times. The second was an experiment in an instructional innovation.) However, as will be seen below, other aspects of this method of field work reduce the possibility of missing phenomena such as these.

The kibbutz that I chose for my sample was the closest to the city in which I lived. As everyone familiar with Israel recognizes, it is not representative of kibbutzim and their educational institutions. However, the kibbutzim are in such rapid change, especially in their educational patterns, and there is so much variability among them at present that the "representative" kibbutz is probably non-existent. Furthermore, I believe that the amalgamation of the kibbutz-school in my sample with the surrounding milieu is a direction which many other kibbutzim will take shortly.

Like each of Israel's cities, the one in which I lived has a university, and this was my focus of research at the post-secondary level. This was the only istance in which my research involved participation as well as observation; this will be described below.

After selecting my sample of elementary schools, I began visiting each in turn. During the first year of field work, I conducted all observations myself; during the second year, observations were divided with a research assistant. In the elementary schools, I chose Grades 4 and 7. Elementary schools currently include Grades 1-8; this is gradually changing under the educational reform program of 1968, and within a few years all elementary schools will include only Grades 1-6; a new set of "intermediate grades" (corresponding to the United States "junior high school") will include Grades 7-9; secondary schools, which now include Grades 9-12, will then be composed of Grades 10-12. Although none of the schools in my sample have yet been changed to conform to the educational reform program, I conducted some observations outside the sample in schools that have been changed. I also conducted some observations in kindergartens, but not in a systematic way.

I chose Grade 4 for two reasons. First, it is the middle of the elementary grade structure. Second, this is the grade in which political indoctrination begins in earnest -- it is far more subtle in earlier grades -- and this was one of my major research interests. I chose Grade 7 because it is here that the most intensive preparations begin for the seker (tr. survey) examination (equivalent to the British 11+ examinations), which largely governs admission to secondary schools; preliminary explorations indicated that students and teachers in Grade 8 relax considerably after the examination is given, generally in the second or third month of the school year. Since one of my research interests was the differential access of people to secondary education -- which, in many countries, is among the most important determinants of access to occupational status -- I was also interested in differential preparation of students for the seker examination. In the secondary schools, I chose Grade 11 for many of the same reasons that I chose Grade 7: most preparation for the bagrut (tr. university matriculation) examination takes place in Grade 11.

My direct school observations consisted of the following procedures. First, I visited Grade 4 in all the elementary schools in my sample, and then revisited all the schools to observe Grade 7. In the first five Grades 4 that I visited, I spent six consecutive days (an entire Israeli school week) in each class; after that, as my familiarity with the school system increased, I was able to reduce this to three consecutive days in each grade. In either case, I entered each class at 8 A.M. (when classes generally begin) and left when the class had finished for the day. (In some religious schools, classes begin at 7:15 or 7:30 to provide enough time for prayers; in those cases, I usually began my observations at those hours.) The end of the school day in Israel varies from noon to 4 P.M., and there is even wide variation in the finishing time of the same grade in different schools; in some schools -- a significant factor which cannot be gone into here -- there is often considerable unpredictability as to when particular grades will finish for the day.

In each case, I asked for and received a seat in the rear corner of the classroom. With once exception, I never participated in any classroom activities and never distributed any questionnaires or other materials. The exception occurred when a teacher asked me to talk to her Grade 4 class during a Friday "social" hour, saying that she did not want the pupils to feel that "there was just a body sitting in the class"; this is a highly unusual sttitude for a teacher to express (but this is one of Israel's outstanding elite schools). I took notes in a spiral notebook in timetable fashion (examples of such classroom notetaking are given below). Sometimes, these observations were recorded at 30 second-intervals; at other times (though this was rare, again for reasons that cannot be gone into here), recordings were made at intervals as long as 20 minutes. More often than not, my protocols are at 1 and 2 minute-intervals. I recorded everything that I managed to see in the relationships among students, between students and teachers (their own and others), among teachers, and between teachers and others, such as principals, parents, and other visitors (including me). I recorded curricular content and took down all questions written on the blackboard and, when possible, all questions asked in the classroom. It was easy to record teachers' questions because Israeli teachers tend to write almost all their questions on the blackboard. In most schools, there was little difficulty in recording pupils' questions because Israeli school children rarely ask questions during class; in most schools in which pupils do ask questions, it was impossible to record them because of the children's tendency to form a chorus of interpretations and interpolations by the time a child has reached the fourth or fifth word of a question, so that it is impossible for either observer or teacher to know precisely what is being asked, in which case the teacher answers as he pleases. (This style is not confined exclusively to children in Israel.) I also collected all the textbooks used in these classes, copies of examinations, and school newspapers (where present).

I also have a tape recording of most of these grades for the first 1-1/2 hours of each of the next-to-last day of each grade that I visited. My tape recorder was never visible, and was kept in a large brief case which I always had with me, whether or not I had the tape recorder with me. Except for two instances, I used the tape recorder without permission.

(I rationalized my qualms of conscience about this on the grounds that a tape recorder is only quantitatively different from a pen and notebook -- which I never concealed -- and simply more efficient. I felt that this procedure was necessary because of Israeli attitudes toward mechanical things, especially in the lower socioeconomic strata.) My purpose in getting these recordings was not to capture the actual content of classroom activities, but instead, to get a record of the rhythm of each class. This rhythm differs from grade to grade and, most dramatically, from one socioeconomic stratum to another. Without this, it would be impossible to record the consistent hysterical screams of some teachers and the quiet respect and dignity shown to pupils by others. On the four occasions that I brought a camera with me (on the last days of observation cycles), it provoked such near bedlam in the classrooms that I decided against using it subsequently.

Secondary school observations were not recorded in timetable fashion because the pace and content of secondary classes in Israel did not warrant it, with very few exceptions. Instead, emphasis in note taking and observations were on instructional content. More often than not, this was the lulling drone of teachers; student participation is minimal in Israeli secondary schools too. Just as American colleges seem to be oriented toward the standards of graduate studies, so Israeli secondary schools are oriented toward college-level studies, especially in connection with an acceptance of teachers' authoritativeness. (This theme is also observable in some higher-status elementary schools, but it is much more pronounced in the secondary schools.) In any case, the pace and content of elementary and secondary schools in Israel are vastly different, requiring very different methods of data recording. (In one case, when my assistant was observing the Grade 7 of the Christian mission school in the sample, she found at the end of the observation period that she failed to take notes in timetable fashion: because of its pace and relations between pupils and teachers, she explained to me, she was inadvertently lulled into the impression that she was in a secondary school class.)

This, too, is an aspect of heterogeneity in a modern nation and it has important methodological suggestions; this is why I have described my methods of data gathering in such detail. There are so many qualitatively different situations in a national social system -- even within the same institutional matrix -- that one must be constantly prepared to shift his methodological procedures from one context to the next, as warranted. For example, it became clear early in the research in Israel that even though elementary and secondary schools devoted much of their curricula to the transmission of values, especially political ones, elementary schools were also devoted to a selective recruitment of different groups of children for secondary school -- and for particular secondary schools at that -- and, thus, for university eligibility. They did this by a qualitatively different type of teaching and inculcation of attitudes toward schooling, both by level and content of teaching and by the treatment of children, which ranged from outright brutality to considerate respect. Once people get into certain secondary schools, their occupational careers are almost assured. But although secondary schools are quite uniform in their classroom activities, it also emerges that there is an important selectivity, which tends to vary by ethnic group membership, with respect to recruitment for the universities, but it takes place outside the classroom itself and away from the peering eyes of an observer. The first screening-out takes place in Grade 10, when many pupils are weeded out of school on the basis of examination grades. (It can be said without exaggeration that students attend the university in order to pass examinations, rather than to secure an education *per se*; correspondingly, an important aspect of Israeli education is devoted to training for what can be called the "culture of examinations," although secondary school examination competition is much more important for career opportunity than elementary school examinations.) To a large extent, the victims of this period of selectivity tend to be pupils from the politically and economically disenfranchised groups, that is, those of Asian and North African descent (pejoratively known in Israel as "Orientals"). Those who pass over this hurdle, however, have yet another facing them, and it is informal. Secondary school principals have the right -- more customary than legal -- to decide who among their schools' pupils will take the matriculation (*bagrut*) examination; each principal wants to show as high a rate of success for his school as possible. But other considerations obtain in this decision making process, it would seem, since so many pupils who are "discouraged" from taking the examination are also from these disenfranchised groups. This "advice" is offered in the privacy of the principal's office. (Although Asians and North Africans constitute more than half of the population in Israel, they make up only about 12% of the university student bodies.) My point in this connection is methodological, and not only substantive: such patterns can only be discerned from official records and their statistical analyses. More generally, I found as I went higher and higher in the educational system from kindergarten to the university, that it was necessary to devote progressively less attention to minute-by-minute classroom events and more and more attention to gathering statistical data.

As of this writing, the collection of many of these statistical data -- or, more accurately, their preparation by personnel in Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics -- is incomplete. While it is anticipated that these data will be provided in full by the time that the research period is ended, it will not be possible to summarize and analyze them in time for inclusion in this report. The same is also true of the demographic data for pupils in the elementary and secondary schools in the Israel sample as well as a selected sample of non-observed secondary schools. Since these data are regarded as secret in Israel, it has taken much longer than anticipated to collect them. Nevertheless, and while I must omit any references to my means of getting them (except to assure the reader that I have not violated any American or Israeli laws or regulations), I expect that these data, too, will be completed by the end of the 1968-1969 school year; their analysis will have to be undertaken after this research period is ended.

Thus, for example, and to continue with the details of my methods of observation in Israel, my university observations were entirely different from those of elementary and secondary schools. My classroom observations at the university level were confined to one course which

I was asked to teach as a visiting professor. More important than that, I was preoccupied in connection with university education with collecting statistical materials, conversations with students about their courses and work, informal interviews with university teachers, collecting examinations, following bulletin board announcements (especially instructor's office hours, which are enviably generally limited to one hour a week) and the like. Another way of putting this is that the higher I went in the educational scheme, the less I was concerned with the daily activities of particular individuals. In a national study, one must be prepared to find himself in (let us say) an elementary school classroom, an archival library, a government statistical office, a policy making committee (as an observer), and the like.

Returning to my classroom observations, to what extent did my presence affect the course of classroom activities? I know that it did, but I do not know to what extent. In one Grade 4, the pupils told me at the end of the week that I visited there that they were sorry to see me leave, because they had never had a week with so little homework. One teacher who refused to allow me to return to her class after three days of observation (I was still on a six day-schedule) admitted to me under the pressure of my questioning that she uses corporal punishment (prohibited by law) to control her class but felt too "uncomfortable" doing so in front of a stranger. Questions about an observer's effects have become habitual, almost obsessively so, in connection with educational and social science research of late; we have no way of determining the effects of an observer's presence on the people he is studying, whether in a nomadic band or in a modern classroom. Perhaps the best way to conduct this type of research is to conceal a wide-angle camera and several miniature microphones in a classroom and, possibly in addition, observe the group through a one-way window without the knowledge of pupils and teachers. This is impossible for bureaucratic reasons, since one cannot expect to secure an oath of secrecy from a principal; and if he gave such a promise, his implied sadism would make him highly suspect. It also raises many ethical problems from the point of view of our own culture. What I assumed throughout was that my presence in a classroom or a teachers' room can be regarded as an "X" or unknown -- but constant -- factor. I go further: an investigation such as this can be considered a study of varied reactions in different classrooms to the presence of the same observer.

The United States Sample: Ten elementary, ten junior high schools and four senior high schools were selected in the area studied to provide a representative sample of the principal castes, classes and other socially based groups in this area. The sample included one middle-lower status private religious school, one county-run juvenile detention school, and one private middle-high status school. The remaining schools were all district-run public schools in which educational policies were set by elected lay school boards (local). Their ethnic and class composition was as follows: an urban, upper status, white school; an urban, 99% Negro, lower status school; an urban, deliberately ethnically mixed, middle status school; an urban lower status, mainly Negro school for students who had been expelled from the "regular" public schools; a suburban, white, middle-upper status school; an industrial town with old and new ethnic minorities (Italian and Negro), middle-lower status; a rural, Mexican-American and white lower-status school; an "urban sprawl town" white and Portuguese, middle-status school; an integrated urban district with almost equal Negro-white population mixture of lower-middle-upper status; an urban, mainly Negro lower status school; an ethnically mixed, urban, middle status school (considered on nation wide standards to be a typical cosmopolitan junior high school); and a lower-middle status, urban, ethnically mixed school. (In some of these schools it was possible to observe both grades 4 and 7.) All of these schools were coed with the exception of the juvenile detention school. The rural school was 50 miles from the metropolitan area; the others were at varying distances within that range. Future research in other areas of the United States will be needed to determine the extent to which this sample is a fair representation of United States society as a whole. Absent from this sample are an elite private school and an all-Negro school of the type that has developed in the South under the separatist educational policies of that region.

Grades 4, 7, and 11 were chosen for comparability with the Israeli sample. The most usual grade divisions in this area are 1-6 (elementary), 7-9 (junior high school), and 10-12 (senior high school). However, this division is changing in the U.S. as a whole and one of the districts sampled had the newer mode: 1-3 (primary), 4-6 (intermediate), 7-8 (junior), 9-12 (high school). In Grade 7, students are introduced for the first time to different subject teachers and "ability grouping" (not used in all districts) begins to separate students on the basis of ability. In Grade 11, the preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test is given as preparation for the Scholastic Aptitude Test which is administered in Grade 12; this largely determines a student's admission or non-admission into various levels of higher education.

Mrs. Fredrickson spent three consecutive school days in each of the classrooms in her sample. (Because the authority is vested in each District rather than in a centralized agency as in Israel, it was more practical to observe all the selected classrooms in each district, instead of observing all Grades 4 then 7, and then 11.) She began and ended the day with the class, spending recesses, lunch hours and preparation periods either with the students or in the teacher's coffee room. In a number of classrooms, whe was asked by the teacher to explain her research to the class she was observing. Otherwise, she sat in the rear of the room quietly taking notes at, generally, two minute intervals. As in the Israeli sample, taping was done for the first hour and a half of one day. Unlike Israel, this taping was done with the permission of the principal and the teacher. (In only one junior high school was she refused permission to make a tape. The reason given was that the parents would object.) In a large number of elementary classrooms, she was asked by the students or the teachers to replay the tape, which she did. (In very few classrooms in U.S. urban schools is a tape recorder a novelty. Rather, the students simply wanted to hear themselves.) In contrast to Israeli schools, student participation -- except in the lowest socioeconomic stratum -- is encouraged in the classroom; this increases as one goes up the socioeconomic scale. Frequently, the majority of teachers questions are oral. Therefore, it was not always possible to record everything that happened in the classroom at any grade level. However, a large number of teachers were willing afterward to supply details that had been missed; in fact, several called Mrs. Fredrickson's attention to various incidents and comments that they thought might interest her. In higher status schools, teachers and administrators were often eager to know what she had observed in the classes that might be useful to them.

Reactions to Mrs. Fredrickson's presence varied from school to school (and often from teacher to teacher). In some -- schools where the emphasis seemed to be on discipline and order -- students and teachers were initially uneasy, apparently regarding her as a representative of authority. (In these schools, teachers were least likely to introduce her to the class or to ask her questions about what she was doing. In some of the urban schools where researchers are commonplace, even students asked very sophisticated questions about the research and neither students nor teachers seemed to modify their behavior. However, one student in a very "sophisticated" class commented to Mrs. Fredrickson that the teacher's comment in class that he "did not want the student to believe something because she thought it was what he believed," was made for the observer's benefit. In the student's opinion, the teacher usually did want the students to believe that he "had the truth." In any event, the different reactions of teachers and students are significant data.)

Every state agency or bureaucracy is not only responsible for sending out policy-messages to the entire society in connection with the sphere of activity which constitutes its area of competence and authority, but each also has its own methods of transmitting them. In addition to legislative statutes and officially gazetted regulations for their implementation, most state agencies in a nation have supplementary means for sending out regulations, advice, administrative procedures, and the like. Sometimes, especially when the bureaucracy is incredibly vast, it is necessary for the central agency to issue its policies on a regular basis; this can make an investigator's life rather easy, at least in this aspect of his work.

This was the case in connection with the study of education in Israel, where the Ministry of Education and Culture publishes a monthly "Circular Letter of the Director General" (the latter person being the day-to-day effective administrator of the ministry), curricular guides for each elementary and secondary school grade which are cross-cut by guides for each subject taught in the schools. These guides contain the minimal materials which are required to be covered in each grade, the number of hours per week to be devoted to each subject, and often the content -- usually dealing with nationally legitimating values -- which are to be stressed. In addition to these, there are also guides for themes which are not formal subjects of instruction, such as "citizenship," "interpersonal relations," "health and hygiene," "road safety," and the like. The Director General's "Circular Letter" is supposed to be read by every principal and teacher in the country; in fact, the last page is a form on which every teacher can sign his initials after having read it. In actual practice, teachers almost never read the Circular Letter, and principals often do not.

Such materials are admirably suited to formal content analyses (see appendix) for the determination of state policy in connection with education, and these policies can then be compared with actual practice in the classroom. Additionally, they provide a formal picture of the state's policies in connection with the organization of the groups that make up the society. For example, one which is given the clearest and most explicit recognition by the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture is that broadly based group whose designation is literally translated as "Developmental Responsibilities," which is the polite official term for "culturally deprived children (or adults)," that is, immigrants from Asia and North Africa (predominantly) and their decendants. That the term is pejorative, and has distinct racist overtones, in Israel as well as the United States, is another (and substantive) matter.

In addition to policy with respect to classroom activities and administrative procedures, such materials also reveal, as perhaps little else can, the sociopolitical values of a nation's state. It is here that one finds the explicit and implicit nationalism, national identidy, attempts to achieve national uniformity and homogeneity, and the like. In Israel, for example, it is here that one finds repeated references to the society's needs to maintain its distinctive "Jewish" character -- together with a remarkable avoidance of any discussion of what this means -- alongside a total avoidance of any mention that Islamic civilization in the area was one of the most important in world history.

These materials date back to the 1920s in one form or another and under various designations. (The state of Israel was established in 1920, not in 1948 as popularly maintained.) Their historical analyses point clearly to shifts in policy, ideology, and to the relationships among the groups making up the society. Since the taxonomy of a content analysis always contains the date of an item's source, it is possible to get a picture of changes in educational policy, let us say, parallel with changes in other institutional areas.

At a more general level of policy formation are parliamentary or legislative debates, laws passed and not passed, Ministers' public addresses and articles (which are always policy statements of one sort or another), conspiratorial agreements among political parties in which votes are traded for government funds (my terms here are used advisedly) and which, at least in Israel, are often signed by the parties concerned (perhaps indicative of the degree of their mutual trust), and the like.

Not unlike an anthropologist, though for different reasons, a state is interested in knowing the extent to which its policy-messages are implemented at its various "receiving stations." Many states have a bureaucratic machinery for this. In Israel, for example, there is an official known as the Controller General (who functions very much like the United States Army's Inspector General, familiar to many readers) who is in charge of an agency whose personnel are supposed to hear complaints by individuals and groups against the government generally or against particular officials, and who is also required to investigate the degree to which government policies are carried out throughout the society. His periodic reports, which are completely free of theory and jargon, make some of the most entertaining reading. Whenever the occasion presents itself, the Controller General will be lavish with praise for a job well done. More often than not, however, the facts require somewhat devastating reports about inefficiency, dubious bookkeeping, inadequate health facilities, unequal distribution of privilege and guarantees of rights to the Arab sector of the population (as in the case of education), and the like. Occasionally, especially when violations of the law are worse than flagrant, his observations will produce some changes. But he is without any powers of enforcement -- an extraordinarily important fact -- and people usually go their customary ways, red faced or not, after his report is published.

In addition to the Controller General, most state agencies in Israel have a system of supervisors or inspectors as part of their bureaucracies. The "inspectorate" of Israel's Ministry of Education and Culture is a rather elaborate organization, ranging from personnel who are in charge of policy-making and who never leave their offices in Jerusalem to individuals with the actual responsibility for inspecting schools and classes in order to maintain the desired level of instruction. While most of these people, in actual practice, rarely appear in classrooms, some of them are important sources of change (or effective barriers against it) and of information. (Israeli teachers often say, with a mixture of cynicism and relief, "What does an inspector do? He travels.")

Because the agencies that constitute a state are made up of people, and because one of the goals of a national study is to learn how their policies are received and implemented among the society's component boundary systems, it is as necessary to include within one's universe of observations those people who sit in their offices and write the communications which are carried by messengers, postmen, and others. Sometimes, they compose messages which are literally broadcast by radio and similar means. Equally important, however, are those who physically go out of their offices to determine whether and how these messages are implemented in various social places. Hence, one must travel with these people in order to see what they do, to watch them sitting in a classroom while observing a teacher, and then conferring with a teacher after the lesson, to watch them dismiss teachers from their jobs, conferring with them afterward about the relationship between directive and performance, or recommending a particular teacher to a principal as a candidate for the next vacant post in the principal's school. This is as important as observations in a sample of schools in all of the society's boundary systems: it is one of the most important elements of the state at work.

A concrete example will illustrate the importance of this. During one period of my work, I accompanied a particular inspector around the country; he was responsible for introducing an important innovation in Israeli education and for evaluating teachers in their use of this new method. When I had first heard about this innovation, I asked several people in the ministry where the experiments in it were being conducted, and was told, "All over the country." It was not in use in any of the schools in my sample, or at least those that I had observed until then. When I began to accompany this inspector, I realized that he was taking me almost exclusively to Development Towns (see below). When I asked him about this coincidence, he told me that such experiments were being carried out primarily in Development Towns. Further questioning elicited the statement, which had previously been made to me by someone else in the ministry, "All you have to do is tell the ministry that something is 'scientifically proved' to be good for culturally deprived children and they will automatically and blindly but it." This, together with my introduction to the people in charge of educational television shortly afterward, whose programs were also confined initially to Development Towns and urban schools that are defined as "culturally deprived," led to my realization of the uniqueness of Development Towns in Israeli social organization.

It is not kibbutzim -- but, rather, Development Towns -- which are Israel's unique contribution to modern national social organization. These are pre-planned communities -- exclusively Jewish and almost entirely inhabited by Asian and North African immigrants -- which are wholly without autonomy in decision-making and implementation. All their institutions are established and controlled from outside them (by the General Federation of Labor or Histadrut, which is one of the largest employers in the country in addition to its union status, the Jewish Agency, and the central government); most of their managers live in major cities and commute almost daily to their jobs: managerial positions in Dvelopment Towns (such as plant managers or principals) are among the most important means of upward social mobility in Israel today. The principal brokerages of power relations in Development Towns (aside from their other institutions) are their political parties, which are inseparable from national political parties (in this connection, see Deshen 1969); incidentally, university student councils are also divided along national political party lines and are inextricably tied to the national political parties, and this is one of the factors involved in the passivity of Israeli university students at the same time that university students in many other countries throughout the world demand changes in universities' medieval organizations.

In terms of boundary systems Development Towns are settlements whose social systems are the most open to outside influences, especially those of the state and state-associated institutions. Almost every innovation in Israel education since 1952 (there were hardly any to speak of before that) -- such as, programmed learning, educational television, "tracking" in Grades 6-8 in several selected subjects, almost automatic rights to free secondary education, which will eventually be universal throughout the country as a result of the educational reform program begun in 1968, at least for the Jewish sector of the population -- together with de facto abolition of the seker examination, and the like, were first introduced and experimented with in Development Towns. From the point of view of a state's rulers, the boundary systems maintained by Israeli Development Towns are the most desirable.

It is beside the point whether I would have learned about the relationship of Development Towns to the rest of the society without accompanying an inspector on his travels. What I do wish to stress -- in addition to the possibility that I may not have otherwise had this insight -- is that it is insufficient either to observe a sample of schools (or any other plant which is centrally directed) or to accompany bureaucrats on their travels as they introduce policies or supervise their implementation. To reiterate, the state is one of the most important -- if not the dominant -- boundary system in a national society. It must be included in the social mapping of such a society; to retain our traditional anthropological view of society as being made up primarily of settlements, sodalities and networks of kinsmen, and other territorially based groups is inappropriate, incomplete, and thus misleading. Nor is it sufficient to acknowledge the state perfunctorily, as in most contemporary national community studies; that would be equivalent to a study of a fishing village which neglects to provide a detailed account of cooperative use of fishing vessels. To omit state personnel -- and their consultant advisors, such as university professors -- from one's sampled observations is a gross error in sampling itself. It is with such procedures that we can retain our traditional -- and, I think, unique -- approach to the study of total social systems.

Again in contrast to Israel, with its highly centralized educational system, and it regular "Circular Letter" to every teacher and principal, the petty state in which this research was conducted has no single or regularly produced policy-directive for its component districts. Instead, each of the numerous bureaus within the petty state's educational department issues a variety of policy statements when deemed necessary. These statements also go to varying recipients. Usually, however, the transmission is from the petty state agency to the educational office of the internal political division (County) which then transmits them to the heads of the territorial aggregates (District). However, as a highly placed State Educational official commented, "It is really on an individualized basis; directives are often sent directly to the person [administrator] most concerned with the particular issue." From another official source, it was learned that an exception to this is in Emergency Policy Statements which, this official commented, are "exactly equivalent to a police all-points bulletin." An example of this was a recent directive from the office of the State Superintendent of Schools to all school districts in the state, informing them that their "average daily attendance" (the basis on which allocations of state funds to local districts are computed) would be reduced if any of their secondary school students were found to be attending public talks given by a militant black leader who was guilty of using foul language and advocating the undermining of the American government. When asked whether there was a central file of these Emergency Policy Statements, this official claimed that there is none since there is no need to have a copy of the directive once it had been issued. He also observed that it was "reasonable" that the state would not have an "information circular for everything" because of size (several hundred thousand teachers, and more than 1,000 school districts). He claimed that the national government had the same problem and, in general, the same policies. This official noted that the United States Office of Education is organized in the following way. Each department issues material dealing with specific areas of federal involvement in the state educational system to concerned state personnel. For example, petty-state officials concerned with the administration of programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title III, would be sent a copy of the pertinent legislation (only that part relating directly to Title III), a copy of the regulations established for this act, guidelines as defined by the United States Office of Education, and often an administrative manual to give information on the proper way to administer the act. While size is a "reasonable" explanation for many decisions in U.S. life, it is often asserted that the "bureaucratic structure resulting from this size" is also a valid reason for the lack of overall coordination, action, and policy. (However, this bureaucratic style took shape long before size became an "issue.")

Curricular guides in the U.S. sample are the responsibility of several educational agencies. Petty-state legislation determines the basic curricular requirements. The county boards of education are legally required to prescribe a "Basic Course of Study" for the elementary schools of their school districts which are not governed by a city board of education. Often, several counties join and issue a common course.

In the petty state in which this research was conducted, there has long been an official curriculum statement that morals, manners, and citizenship receive "required emphasis by teachers." (In recent legislation, however, this statement was removed from the section relating to curricular matters and listed under "personal," for teachers. In the new legislation, it is the only "subject" with a "required emphasis" directive.) The old legislation has a brief general statement regarding the principles that the "teacher shall endeavor to impress upon the minds of the pupils." However, there does not appear to be any curricular or other guide that does more than simply state the legislative paragraph referring to this matter. It is left to the teacher to implement prevailing local norms in these matters. The county fulfills its curricular obligations in this area by supplying films for classroom use, with such titles as "Responsibility," "Cooperation," and the like, through their audio-visual departments.

In view of the vastness and complexity of educational activities in a national society, their investigation on a national scale provides one of the most sensitive indicators of a society's bureaucratic style. For example, and as already illustrated, an inherent characteristic of the Israeli bureaucratic style is the regular dissemination of policy-messages from central state agencies -- of which the Ministry of Education and Culture is but one example -- and the progressively decreasing authority of local matrixes (such as political parties, settlements, and religious factions) to do so. The inverse relationship between the two is direct and almost linear; this can be documented for about the last 75 years of the society's history. In the United States, on the other hand, the central (Federal) state has traditionally gone about this indirectly -- through the back door, so to speak -- by means of an intricate system of licensing of enterprises and the distribution of franchises. The central state's involvement in education has been an exquisite index of this from the late 18th century until the 1950s, in its role in granting railroad franchises or in the college land-grant system. During the last generation, however, and also reflected in the central state's role in educational matters, there has been an important change in this bureaucratic sylte, as in the establishment of nationally uniform standards in connection with food, automobile safety, "consumer protection," legal systems (as in the uniform commercial code), and in educational matters; a watershed was passed in connection with the latter by enforcements of the "desegragation decision" by the use of military force.

What we are currently observing in the United States' bureaucratic style -- whether in connection with meat inspection or educational organization -- is an erosion of the older style which was marked by extreme differentiation or autonomy of separate administrative agencies in the petty states and their increasing centralization, or an increasing emphasis on the homogeneity of the society (all the while, of course, paying rhetorical respect to a recognition of the heterogeneity of the "American experience"). The principal point in this approach to the study of a national educational system is not that there may be different regulations in respect to dress and hair styles for pupils in different school districts or even in different classrooms in the same school -- though these are not without their own significance -- but rather that fundamental reorganizations are taking place in the relationships among the society's component groups as part and parcel of central state policies. These not only include relationships among color and ethnic groups but also among elementary and secondary schools and the communities that they serve, and relationships between universities and the central state. This is the stuff of which social systems are made; confrontations between students or young faculty and university administrators or civil authorities are more circuitous means to these ends, and they are part of the same piece of which the relationships of industrial conglomerates to the state are also integral parts.

Thus, it is a total avoidance of reality to discuss or describe education in the United States today without an active awareness of the relationship between the petty state and the centralized government. Hence, it is also impossible to discuss relations among groups within the local community without discussing the impact of central state policies on these group relationships. While there are many sources of the centralized state's control over local education, the financial role of the central state is one of the most important, as has often been the case in United States history. For example, in 1965-66, about 53% of the revenue for public schools came from local sources, 39% from the petty states and 8% from the Federal Government. But the latter's contributions are steadily rising. In several of the United States sample districts in 1968-69 proposed increases in local school taxes were overwhelmingly defeated, and many people in these districts, while continuing to speak about "local control of the schools" are looking to the central state's educational programs as sources of revenue. To obtain money from the latter sources requires, of course, compliance with the central state's standards; since 1964, this has meant the denial of federal funds to any program or activity that "discriminates on the grounds of race, color or national origin."

Although the method proposed bypasses the community-study approach, I neither advocate the latter's abandonment nor gainsay its importance. In addition to anthropology's concern with the total social system, it has also (almost uniquely in the social sciences) been equally concerned with ordinary individuals acting out the symbol systems of their cultures in the course of maintaining life. In many respects, the method proposed for the study of national social systems is a bird's-eye view; from such a perch, one misses many of the details of daily existence within an annual or life cycle, especially those in spheres of activity which are not centrally controlled by state agencies. Whether one is interested in the organization of social relations involved in borrowing a cup of sugar, the intimacies and curelties of kinship relations, cognitive systems, and the like, the method proposed here will be of limited value, to say the least. In connection with concerns which require such microscopic inquiry, the methods of community study should be retained and sharpened.

Equally important, there are processes in a national social system which are only adumbrated in a national study but which can only be discerned in detail through the method of community or other local study. For example, as in almost any other nation, corruption (however one defines the term) is rife in Israeli sociopolitical life and is often an integral part of daily existence; it is often difficult for many Israelis to get from one day to the next without participating in the country's systematized (though perhaps unusual) style of corruption. My research into Israel's educational system, together with forays into other institutional spheres, strongly suggests the hypothesis that the degree of corruption -- that is, the strength of the ties that bind individuals to its imperatives and reciprocities -- tends to coincide with the extent to which a community or non-territorially based network is composed of units which maintain firm boundaries, for one reason or another. Specificially, it is my impression that Israel's religious parties are more often involved than other groups in buying and selling votes in local municipal councils, in awarding contracts, in the organized smuggling rings of the early 1950s, and the like. The religious factions and parties are among Israel's networks which maintain the firmest boundaries vis-à-vis the state and most other groups and influences in the society. But there are other firmly bounded networks, such as the castes, ethnic groups, the army, and the other political parties. Thus, to carry my hypothesis a little further, and without intending to suggest that there is no corruption in Development Towns, which are quite homogeneous -- in fact, there is quite a bit -- it is my impression that it increases to the degree to which the castes within a settlement (e.g., a city) are residentially, economically, socially, and politically segregated or bounded, whether because of forces from within or without. Kinship is often an integral part of the organization of religious factions in Israel (as elsewhere), and is thus one of the mechanisms by which corruption operates on a daily level. Thus, for example, if one wishes to learn who was involved in an agreement by a religious party with an ostensibly anti-religious party in a particular locality (which was part of my sample) by which the religious party promised its votes to the former's candidate for mayor in return for the anti-religious party's votes to provide a disproportionate amount of money from the council's annual budget (most of which is provided by the state) for religious schools (and, therefore, jobs controlled by the religious parties), it is necessary to conduct a community study, rather than a national one, in order to learn the social identities and memberships (political, kin, and other) of the people involved who thus serve as the major brokers of available resources. Putting this otherwise, we must retain the method and approach of community study if, and to the extent that, we also wish to retain our interest in the daily lives of the masses of ordinary men.

Assuming the validity of the method proposed for the study of national social systems, and bearing in mind the assumption that at least one representation of a nation's boundary systems will be found within automobile-commuting (or helicopter) distance of most of its major cities, this method should enable us to study the social systems of nations as large as the United States or the U.S.S.R., as well as such geographically small nations as Israel. However, the two applications of the method attempted thus far do not validate it. Further applications will have to be attempted in order to modify and elaborate it. This is especially true in connection with regionally diverse nations, such as India and even the United States. Specifically, several applications of the method proposed will have to be attempted in such societies in order to learn whether, and to what extent, regional factors coincide with others to such an important degree that several studies will have to be conducted in each regionally, ethnically, and linguistically heterogeneous society. In addition, it will be necessary to apply the proposed method in other (non-educational) institutional matrixes, such as marketing or religion, in order to be certain that the method itself is not an artifact of the educational systems to which it was first applied.

III

New Nationhood in an Israeli Context

It is not possible to compare all nations. Instead, it is only possible to compare nations that are at the same level of political evolution. (A lengthy and detailed demonstration of this axiom will appear later this year in my paper, "Ends and Means in Political Control: State Organization and the Punishment of Adultery, incest, and Violation of Celibacy," in the American Anthropologist.) While it had been anticipated in proposing this research that United States and Israeli education could be compared by virtue of the fact that both participate in a Western industrial culture, it now appears that, their commonalities notwithstanding, the differences between the two in the educational sphere are qualitative rather than quantitative. (Also, I have to note that I had not fully worked out the implications of the research just referred to, and it had not been completed -- or appreciated -- until after this field research had begun.) While there has not been sufficient time in this research to conduct an historical analysis of American education in the terms that have emerged from this investigation, the fundamental difference between the two societies can be stated in these terms, albeit tentatively and subject to revision upon further analysis. Despite the presence of 51 major educational jurisdictions in the United States, they appear to be cross-cut by a significant -- though relatively recent -- ideological movement toward national homogeneity and integration. Increasingly, the idea of "one nation" is affecting the society, especially in its educational sphere. At least from the point of view of the Israeli educational experience, it is even possible to interpret much of the turbulence and trends toward separatism in American education -- which I think will prove to be transitory -- as pointing to this also. As was pointed out to me by an Israeli friend and assistant,* when discussing the sociopolitical extremism of many Arab students in Israeli universities, Israeli-Arab education is noticeably universalistic in the values that are emphasized in it. However, when Israeli Arabs reach the university as students, they are suddenly made aware of the insurmountable barrier between what they have been taught in school and the reality of their lives in Israeli society, one of the cornerstones of which is a system of apartheid. In shock and desperation, they are maneuvered into a position of extremist opinions. (This, of course, becomes an important element in the Israeli-Jewish self-fulfilling prophecy about what they call "the Arab mentality.") As is well known, much the same thing is happening in United States society: the offspring of the generation that came to maturity during and after World War II -- one of the most important unifying experiences in American history -- took seriously the universalistic values that began to assume dominance during the 1950s. The incompatibilities and contradictions between what they learned and what they saw in the realities of

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*Mr. Mustafa Hajj Yahya, to whom I am deeply indebted not only for his help in my research but also for many invaluable insights into Israeli social organization.

American life, among other things, have helped to maneuver many of them into the desperation of extremism and violence.

While this is far from a complete picture of the current upheavals in contemporary American education -- to which I will return when I discuss "Israel's Silent Generation," that is, its supine university students and faculties -- it is nevertheless an important ingredient in contrasting the two societies in respect to education. Whereas American education seems to be increasingly geared to national integration and egalitarianism, Israeli education is designed to foster apartheid: institutionalized and legally sanctioned inequality between Jews and non-Jews, separatism, and uneven lines of sociopolitical and other development. We will see how this operates as an aspect of the educational contribution to Israel's quest for national legitimacy below. Precisely the same situation once obtained in the United States, when it too was a new nation, a status from which it has only recently emerged. That it no longer does apply in the United States is not a mark of "progress" or moral superiority, but rather an outcome of its status as (for want of a better term) an established nation.

But before going any further, I want to set at rest a question that may occur to many readers of this report. I can best state it as follows: There are many things that Israel's Jews -- its dominant caste -- do to others which Jews have complained about and struggled against for centuries, of which they have often been among the worst victims. Many observers of the contemporary Israeli scene often ask, Don't people learn from their own experiences? For example, it is asked by many, how, of all people, can some Israeli Jews speak of a "final solution" of the Arabs in their midst? The answers given to such questions are always wrong -- because the questions themselves are wrong. I think that it is more accurate to say that Israel's Jews behave the way they do because they are the dominant group in a new nation; this is the way the ruling groups of new nations behave, whether they are Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, or Buddhist, German, Russian, or English. Once people emerge from their new nationhood, they can behave differently and develop, for example, other educational systems.

But my concern in this chapter is not with the relativism or morality of politics or reality, but instead with the question that was raised in the first chapter of this report, namely, education in relation to modernization and new nationhood. This research has provided important data for an analysis of an aspect of the relationship between education and modernization in addition to those discussed earlier, specifically, differentiation in the social system. When we speak of differentiation in a society we mean the extent to which one institution leaves off and another begins or the degree to which one is free of the influences of another or of others. When we examine the entire range of human societies from their beginnings at the level of hunting and gathering through contemporary industrialization, it becomes readily apparent that one of the characteristics of this sweep of socioeconomic and political evolution has been increasing differentiation among institutions at successive stages of sociotechnological development. This is central to an understanding of new nations, in which differentiation is often at a minimum.

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The study of the interrelationships among education and other social institutions being discussed here highlights a very important point that has often been missed -- or at least has been left too implicit -- in many studies of the process of modernization, specifically, that it is generally impossible to speak of one society or another as further along the process of modernization than another, and let the matter rest there. With respect to education, for example, it is possible to show that Israel is further along in this process than the United States, although the United States is much more advanced in other respects, such as in the technological sphere.

To clarify, there is no single criterion of modernization, and it is necessary to view the process of differentiation alongside other aspects of modernization. Thus, modernization refers not only to differentiation but also to centralization and the capacity to free the society and its organization of social relations from biological and habitational limitations. Carrying further the point just alluded to, it is necessary to apply each of the criteria of modernization to one institution at a time. Thus, for example, it is necessary to ask, to what extent is a society's educational system centralized, differentiated, and indicative of freedom from habitational and biological relationships? The same procedure must be followed for each of a society's other institutional matrixes. (One possible result of this procedure is that it may lead to an eventual abandonment of attempts to decide whether one society is more modernized than another. If so, the procedure will have proved its worth.)

Following this procedure, and as just noted, Israel's educational system is, in some respects, much more modernized than that of the United States; however, it is much less modern in others. In terms of political centralization of education, Israel is very close to this goal; it is steadily nearing the end of a process which will ultimately lead to the existence in the country of a single educational or school system under a single national agency or bureaucracy. The society began its educational history from a point of complete fragmentation and atomization in the first decades of the 20th century; then, every town, village, and city had several schools, each of which was autonomous. Each was free to go its own way in terms of curricular content, language of instruction, and religious or political orientation. During the 1920s and early 1930s, paralleling other political developments in the society, each settlement came to be considered as a single educational jurisdiction, responsible for maintaining school buildings, paying teachers' salaries, and maintaining a minimum of educational standards. Settlement autonomy during this period was criss-crossed by other educational and political developments. It was during this period that the major cleavage in the society developed which has remained until the present day, albeit under different guises: the institutionalized distinction between Arab and Jewish education. Jewish education was brought under the nominal jurisdiction of the educational branch of the Va'ad Le'umi (the National Council) while Arab education remained under the nominal jurisdiction of the British Mandatory Government. An important aspect or mirror of the failure of the Arab sector to achieve political unity during the 1920s and 1930s was the fact that Arab education was further broken down to come under the jurisdiction of secular (mandatory) and missionary control. (Although there are no data on this, largely because so many British records were destroyed in 1948, it appears that a not inconsiderable number of Jews, especially those of high socioeconomic status, sent their children to missionary schools.) But it would be a mistake to conclude that Jewish education was completely unified under the Va'ad Le'umi during this period. Jewish education was further subdivided (or decentralized) into what were called different "trends" or "streams": General Zionist, Labor, Mizrachi (religious), and Agudah (extremely orthodox religious). Although each of these streams was autonomous in setting its own curriculum and other policies, each was national, that is, each cut across different localities. This point has almost always been missed in discussions of the history of Israeli education, that the styles of autonomy in the different educational subsystems during the 1920s and 1930s were important steps in the direction of increasingly greater centralization.

Trends continue to be recognized in Israeli educational law, but with two notable exceptions. First, they are no longer referred to either in law or in general discussion as trends or streams. This is a minor point, but it is very significant. Second -- and more important -- the number of trends has been reduced. Those now in existence are state (or secular) schools and state-supported religious schools. There are also other types of schools, such as those of the ultra-orthodox Agudah, which are known as "autonomous education," and their independence from the official educational system is considerable. Their status is approximate to that of Roman Catholic parochial schools in the United States.

In addition, there are schools which, according to Israeli law, do not exist. For example, the schools that are conducted under the auspices of Christian missions are not mentioned or even alluded to in the Education Law of Israel. Hence, a literal application of the law means that those parents who send their children to these schools are violating the law of compulsory education. There is, however, a tacit agreement between these schools and the Ministry that this nuance in the law will not be enforced. As a matter of fact, the agreement is so tacit that the schools themselves are unaware of it. I learned about it from the Ministry officials and, when I mentioned it to the people in charge of these schools, they were both surprised and relieved: they had often wondered, not without some apprehension, why parents -- including Israeli Jews -- who sent their children there were not prosecuted for violation of the compulsory education law. Their omission from the law -- their diplomatic non-recognition, as it were -- is a sop to the ultra-orthodox Jews who want to see these schools and all missions banished from Israel. This, too, has a long history going back to the early decades of the 20th century but I cannot go into it here. The Israeli Ministry of Education, which is one of the major political power brokers in the country, hopes to be able to include the Christian schools within the education law of the nation, but, as its responsible officials explain, this will have to await the day when the ultra-orthodox political parties are no longer necessary to the coalition which governs the country. Thus, there continues to be an important degree of commingling (or lack of differentiation) of religion, ethnicity, caste status, and education in contemporary Israel.

State-supported religious education was dealt a serious blow by the educational reform bill of 1968 (see below). As for autonomous education, it was so badly damaged that it may be doomed to extinction within the next few years. State-supported religious education, on the other hand, will probably continue somewhat longer, although its days are also numbered. While religious education in its various forms is understandably the major focus of the struggle over centralization and decentralization of education in Israel, its relationship to the total educational system is only an example of a more general process in this regard. In 1960, for example, another important step in the direction of increasingly effective centralization occurred when vocational and agricultural schools were removed from the jurisdictions of the Ministry and Labor and the Ministry of Agriculture, respectively, and were brought under the Ministry of Education. Religious education will be able to retain its separateness within the state educational system because of two separate -- political and ideological -- but interrelated reasons. On the one hand, as noted, religious parties are necessary to the maintenance of the coalition of political parties that govern the country. The elections of November 1969 may show them to be dispensable and, if they are removed from the coalition (as many of their leaders fear will happen) it will be possible for Israel's power brokers to make even greater strides toward centralized education.

Ideologically, however, religious parties and religious education continue to be necessary because Israel continues to exhibit many of the characteristics of a "new nation." Among the outstanding characteristics of a society's status as a new nation which bear directly on education are its self-conscious concern with creating a national-cultural tradition, its resulting orientation to the past, and its preoccupation with religion to legitimate the traditional past and the present. I will return to this below.

An example of successful legitimation by a state is provided by Israelis' attachment of important symbolic and political value to Jerusalem generally and the Western (Wailing) Wall in particular. Prior to June 1967, The Wall was mentioned only fleetingly, occasionally, almost perfunctorily in Israeli education. It is an aspect of Israel's legitimation which cannot be attributed to indoctrination, to deliberate or systematic teaching. Instead, it is an aspect of Israel's claim to legitimacy in its orientation to the past, in its self-justification, and in its preoccupying search for roots in the sands of another people from whom Israelis claim descent. The Wall is part of that past, if not its most prominent representation. Having the symbol, Israelis can now be certain that Israel exists. Their tears at its capture in 1967 were like those of a person who, fearing that a loved one is lost, suddenly discovers that the latter is very much alive.

Although Jerusalem and The Wall played only an insignificant place in Israeli education prior to June 1967, they now occupy a major position in the grammar of the schoolroom. Hardly a day now passes without at least one prominent reference to it. In fact, several hours each week are devoted to the Wall in one subject or another. Booklet after booklet, pamphlet after pamphlet, directive after directive about The Wall have been printed, issued to every school, and learned by every pupil throughout the country. United Jerusalem and The Wall -- these should be hyphenated, they are in fact stressed as though they were one name -- have been so thoroughly injected into the curriculum that the observer cannot doubt its effectiveness as an educational legitimation of the state. (In view of this, it should be mentioned, it is understandable that Israelis will not again give up a centimeter of Jerusalem. United Nations debates about the status of Jerusalem have abcut as much meaning to Israelis as would a debate over whether, for example, religious Christians should give up the cross as their principal religious symbol.)

Israel's preoccupation with the past is the source of several other aspects of its quest for legitimacy. Like many new nations, archeology is a very important state-sponsored, controlled, and financed activity. Structurally, and importantly, archeological activities -- permits for digging, choices of sites, the care of excavated materials, and the like -- come under the control and supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Two of Israel's most important former Chiefs of Staff -- Yigael Yadin and Moshe Dayan -- are also prominent as archeologists; Yadin is Professor of Archeology at the Hebrew University and Dayan is prominent in Israel as an amateur archeologist, in addition to his current role as Minister of Defense. The search for a past sometimes assumes almost frenetic proportions in Israel, as in the carefully timetabled excavations around the Wall which at one point became the focus of heated political debate and struggle between different religious and political factions and which were scheduled to be completed -- and were -- on the first anniversary of the capture of the Wall in 1967. Participation in archeological "digs" by Israelis and Jewish tourists has largely replaced the Israeli custom of planting trees, which had also been an aspect of fostering identification with the state. (Israelis recently learned that trees do not prevent erosion in the local soils, and they have thus lost their enthusiasm for tree planting, except as a ceremonial gesture. Visitors are still encouraged to "plant a tree in Israel," even during the summer months.)

This interplay of legitimation through education, a sought-for past, and contemporary political authority are given a splendid representation in a clever piece of architecture and landscaping. Above the Valley of the Cross in Jerusalem are three knolls which form a triangle. On the highest of these sits the Knesset, Israel's parliament building; it dominates the landscape. Just slightly lower, across the highway, sits the Shrine of the Book, a starkly white cone-topped building housing -- and dramatically displaying the Dead Sea Scrolls, which Israel treats as though it were the definitive documentary evidence of its legitimacy; it is a part of the complex of buildings of the Israel Museum. Equidistant, in the third corner of the triangle, is the Hebrew University, the pride of Israel's educational system. Although nominally a private university, it plays a prominent role in the government -- and vice versa -- and in providing grist for the legitimating mill.

Forty or fifty years cannot provide a nation with a history, but only with a series of events. Not having a history, Israel can -- from one point of view -- be thought of as a nation desperately in search of one. Thus, the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the complete Book of Jeremiah -- given a dramatic display in the Shrine of the Book that can rival any museum's -- are as important to Israel as its military victories. This has important educational consequences. For example, history as a subject matter in Israeli elementary schools deals almost exclusively with non-Israeli countries. Israel's own claim to history has a gap of nearly 2,000 years; it begins with the Patriarch Abraham and ends with the Prophets of the Old Testament, not to be resumed until around the beginning of the twentieth century. Israel's claim to historical legitimacy is not taught under the subject matter of history but, instead, under Bible and the Prophets.

This reflects one of the greatest dilemmas of Israel's search for legitimacy. What is done in this curricular organization is to deny -- in effect -- that the Jews had a history from the days of the Roman conquest until the settlement in Palestine in the early 20th century and the establishment of the state of Israel. There is a paradox here -- if not a contradiction -- with which Israelis have not seen fit to deal. On the one hand official Israeli dogma is that all Jews are one people who only temporarily left their homeland but who always yearned for a return. (That most Jews outside Israel -- comprising a majority of the world's Jews -- do not wish to live in Israel is currently causing profound problems in Israel and is having great repercussions on Israeli social organization.) On the other hand, it is also claimed that one of the reasons for Israel's existence is that this is the only place in the world in which Jewish culture can survive and flourish. In fact, it is often claimed in Israel that there can be no Jewish culture outside of Israel.

Let us leave aside, at least for the moment, the fact that there is little resemblance between the national culture currently being developed in Israel and the culture of the Jews prior to the Roman conquest or the several Jewish subcultures that grew throughout the world during the last 1,500 years. (Also, the fact that there was not just one Jewish culture outside Israel is so clear -- contrary to what is often claimed by Israelis -- that it need not be dealt with here.) If, as is asserted, the Jews were always one people sharing a common yearning for a return to their homeland, then it follows logically that they maintained one culture and had a common history. But this history is not taught in Israeli schools. This is tantamount to a denial that that history exists. On the other hand, if the Jews did not share a common culture and did not have a distinctive history, they cannot be considered to have been one people; hence, they cannot claim a temporary exile or dispersion as a single and distinctive group from their rightful homeland. Some Israelis recognize this problem, though not quite in these terms, but it is not discussed publicly. The reasons for this are apparent. Instead, the issues are simply swept under the curricular rug, with the hope that they will disappear in time. It is also necessary to repeat the observation made above that modern Israeli history (of the 20th century) receives almost no curricular recognition in any of the country's universities. There are many reasons for this -- aside from the curious claim that students are "uninterested" in this area of study -- of which the two most important are the concern with the legitimating past and the anxiety of many people who were involved in the state's establishment, and who are still alive, over having historians probe too deeply into their activities.

Israel is very small geographically, and this has made its legitimating activities easier. It is possible to drive from east to west at Israel's widest point -- for example, from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv -- in ninety minutes. (I am giving my own driving time. Many Israelis make the trip in an hour. Driving seems to be a form of national suicide in Israel, and I am often convinced that it is the only form of suicide that is acceptable to the Israeli rabbinate, which has sole jurisdiction over the definition of legitimate forms of death.) It is also possible to drive from Israel's southernmost settlement (Eilat) to its northernmost town (Metulla) in about ten hours.

There are hundreds upon hundreds of Israelis who have been in -- and have some familiarity with -- every city, town, kibbutz, and moshav in the country. Traveling and hiking through the country -- following every wadi and climbing every hill -- are the favorite national pastime. Two, three, and four day outings in the countryside are commonplace for schoolchildren throughout the country. From a very early age, a great many Israelis come to know all the areas of the land, and this contributes to their identification with it. It is a policy of the Israeli army to see to it that its men and women are stationed in as many different parts of the country as possible during their tours of duty and the experience of being responsible for so many different regions, places, and settlements also contributes to an identification with the country as a whole -- and this is one of the most important aspects of a nation's legitimation.

Because the country is small and knowledge of it in its entirety is easy, it is possible to maintain a single government-owned radio station -- Israel Broadcasting, or, as it was known from 1948 until May 1969, the Voice of Israel -- with single broadcasts to the entire country. (There are two radio channels. One is weaker than the other and is not heard in all regions, but the stronger is.) A very important custom in Israel is the newsbroadcast on buses; this is mostly true of interurban buses, but is also often found in local buses. The radio broadcasts the news fifteen times during the day, nine times on the strong, and six on the weak, wave lengths. When it is time for the news, almost all interurban bus drivers, and most local bus drivers, plug their ubiquitous transistors into the bus loudspeaker system. The six beeps that preceed every newsbroadcast (except one, on the weak wavelength, at 7 p.m.) alert the passengers, and most conversations cease. The news is listened to intently, especially if there are border clashes, because most people on a bus know someone who is on active or reserve duty somewhere along the borders. Just as important, almost every news broadcast ends with a weather forecast for the entire country, and many newscasts end with as many as a dozen forecasts for different localities.

This is very important, because the man in Eilat knows that he is listening to precisely the same broadcast from the same announcer at the very same moment as the man in Metulla; all of Israel is within one time zone. If opinions are formed by newscasts -- and they are, sometimes subtly, at other times without subtlety -- they are formed uniformly throughout the country. One of the implications of such a policy is to convey the attitude over the years that what is important to the northerner is equally important to the southerner. And Israelis are inveterate news listeners. It is perfectly appropriate, for example, and not at all infrequent, for a host at a party to turn on the news at 11 p.m. and for everyone to stop talking and listen; this is not a hint for guests to leave, but is an expression of the attitude that the news of the country is of prime importance. (The preoccupation with newscasts has increased since the 1967 war. Although many Israelis disagree with me, I interpret this as a manifestation of growing nationalism, which was at a low ebb before that war -- and may have been one of the reasons for it.)

I now want to return to the question of religious legitimation. Its importance lies not only in the fact that it plays a central role in Israel's development and daily political life but also because it is a problem that most new nations face in their early quests for legitimation. I will begin with a brief discussion of the problem in general terms, that is, as it is faced in most new nations, and then turn to a brief outline of its place in Israel at the present time. It is a factor that reappears in almost every aspect of Israeli education.

Every nation -- and, for that matter, every lineage and clan, as well as other societal groups -- claims in one way or another, or in one set of terms or another, that it is "one nation under God." Most societies assert that their cultures are ordained by the deity, that tradition is sacred, and that change -- usually when it can no longer be resisted -- is also legitimated by the deity. It is commonplace in every nation for the head of state to be invested either within a religious context, by a religious functionary (such as a priest) or surrounded by religious paraphernalia, such as taking the oath of office on a Bible. Most crises in a nation lead to invocations of the deity, in prayer, justification of alternatives, and thanksgiving for the people having come through. Whether a nation is at war, in drought or flood, facing upheaval, or even in times of placid prosperity, the deity of the group is called upon, cajoled, thanked, or seen as the instrument of punishment. Just as priests must be present at the investiture of the head of state, so must there be chaplains in armies and at executions -- or in the vanguard of state sponsored social change, as in connection with England's reformation or the United States' civil rights movement. After the war of 1967, many Israelis attributed their victory to God's protection, and for months afterward the mass media carried stories of events that, according to many, could only be explained in terms of His intervention; on the other side of the cease-fire line, King Hussein of Jordan observed several times that his nation's defeat was due to the fact that the Jordanians did not follow in God's ways. These are the ways of societies, whether they are based on lineages, clans, castes, or nations.

Most people regard it as unsurprising that the heads of state in ancient kingdoms were also the high priests of their societies. We refer technically to this admixture of social roles as commingling; its obverse in differentiation. However, the study of ancient kingdoms and modern new nations quickly reveals that the commingling of religious and other roles in society is not peculiar to man's first nations per se, but to new nations generally. Not only was this clearly the case in Sumer of ancient Mesopotamia, but it was also true in the early stages of the United States, especially in Puritan America; and it is clearly observable in the ideologies of many new nations in the modern world, in which the masses of men are exhorted to work harder and harder to build the nation because -- and this is stated in a variety of ways -- the deity so commands.

In the present stage of theory and knowledge, it is not possible to say why religious ideology is indispensable to the legitimation of ongoing social systems; all that can be said with certainty is that the correlations exist. The frequency with which they appear is so striking that we must use them as a point of departure in the study of any new nation; we cannot wait for their explanation.

Israel is often referred to, especially by the journalistically inclined, as a theocracy. This is palpable nonsense. Israel is a new nation, barely a minute old as the history of major nations in general is calculated. Hence, it has needed to invoke religious sentiment and ideology -- and, importantly, the active support of religious groups -- as a major aspect of its legitimation during its early years. The historical record suggests that no new nation can do otherwise. Of course, Israel has faced problems of special acuity in this regard, issues that have not confronted other new nations: The separatism of Jews in their dispersion among many nations -- their distinctiveness as well as the reasons for their frequent persecution -- was often based on religious belief and practices. As a matter of fact, one of the world's major religions -- Christianity -- for a long time had anti-Jewishness as one of its central dogmatic principles, the notion that all would be well with the world, that all evils would be corrected automatically, as soon as the Jews were exterminated.

This is not the place to stop to consider whether there were -- or are -- values that are uniquely Jewish: What is important at this point is that Israelis in all walks of life claim that there are uniquely Jewish values, that Israel is the national embodiment of these values, that Israel could not exist without them, and vice versa. In other words, the Israeli claim to a unique set of values -- those of Jewishness -- is an important, if not a central, feature of its search for legitimation.

The separatism of religious schools within the society's educational system is only one aspect of religious autonomy, but an important one; it exists alongside the maintenance of religious courts (which regulate marriage, divorce, succession, dietary laws, and citizenship), religious parties (which, like all other parties, publish their own newspapers), separate neighborhoods in which automobile traffic is prohibited on the sabbath, and, most recently (enraging not a few Israelis), their de facto control of the Wall.

The term "religious" needs definition as it is used in Israel. While state education laws use the term, they never define it for reasons that will be made clear in a moment. The law states that " 'religious state education' means state education, with the distinction that its institutions are religious as to their way of life, curriculum, teachers and inspectors" (Education Law of 1953, sec. 1). Now, what must be made clear is that "religion" in Israel does not mean the same thing as it does in, say, the United States. The Israeli cultural (and therefore legal) definition of religion is restricted to politically approved or "recognized" religion. Israel maintains publicly that freedom of religion is assured; that is true, but only within the limits of the culture's definition of religion. Hence, a correct evaluation of the situation with respect to religion in Israel is: individuals have the right to refuse to affiliate themselves with the ritual of any religious body, but only recognized religious bodies can enjoy full legal protection and benefits. (The exceptions to this legally recognized refusals are not "mere" exceptions. Marriage, divorce, and burial in Israel may only be by religious ritual; the state will not recognize civil marriages or divorces -- unless they have been contracted outside Israel -- and will not permit non-religious burial.)

There have been three major religious groupings in Judaism, which is Israel's official state religion: orthodoxy, conversatism, and reformism. These range from the most rigid and fundamentalist adherence to ritual and dogma to the most liberal. By legal, popular, and implicit legislative concensus, "religious" means orthodox Jewish religion. This has important implications. For example, the rabbi, the traditionally most important person in a Jewish community, had no legal status prior to the establishment of the Israeli state. He was little more than primus inter pares by virtue of his being a learned man. One of the most fundamental changes wrought in orthodox Judaism in Israel is that the rabbi has been given legal status and authority in a manner resembling that of the medieval priest. Rabbis' salaries are subsidized by the state, but only orthodox rabbis'. Until 1965, it was virtually impossible for conservative and reform congregations to receive building permits to construct their synagogues, a bureaucratic procedure reminiscent of Spain. Marriages performed by conservative and reform rabbis have no validity, and they may not arrange divorces or conduct burials. Nor may conservative and reform Jews conduct schools within the state system. Hence, when the law refers to religious schools, it is universally understood that it refers exclusively to orthodox Jewish religious schools.

Judaism -- like most Western religions -- is a religion of ritual, more so than a religion embodying particular values. Prior to Israel's establishment as a state, the salient value of Judaism was that of separateness and exclusiveness; a necessity had become a proclaimed virtue. To a large extent, this value is perpetuated in Israel today, especially in its valuation of separateness and exclusivity vis-à-vis Arabs and Christians. But apartheid has succeeded to such an extent in Israel since the late 1930s that most Jews are cognitively unaware of Arabs and Christians even when they see them physically; they are generally like overly familiar parts of a landscape which are taken for granted. The keffir (the traditional Muslim headgear) is as familiar as the Jewish skullcap; Arabic is as familiar to the ear as Hebrew. Hence, one of the challenges that have faced orthodox Judaism since Israel's establishment has been the development of new standards and criteria of separateness and exclusivity. If we live only among Jews, the dilemma seems to go, vis-à-vis whom are we going to be different? It could not be the civil state, as it had always been prior to the establishment of the state; this position was adopted only by the more fanatical and fundamentalist Jews, such as the adherents of N'turei Karta. Once the state was accepted by most religious Jews, it could not be the traditional pacifism or general anti-war stance of Eastern European Jews, for it is they who have, perhaps more than anyone else, fostered the jingoism, ethnocentrism, and glorification of military exploits in modern Israel. It is these people who have publicized and glorified the photographs of soldiers in prayer shawls and phylacteries praying at The Wall with hand grenades dangling from their combat belts and rifles or machine guns slung across their backs. It could not be the traditionally high valuation of learning and knowledge, because that was too integral a part of the self-defined albatross of the Jewish identity of the Diaspora (exile from Israel) and it flew in the face of the agriculturally based ethic of "pioneering" and making the desert bloom.

In place of these values which had grown over the centuries as defensive adjustments to minority status, orthodox religious emphasis has focused on separateness vis-à-vis non-religious Jews. Thus, one of the goals of the people in control of state religious schools is to prevent marriage with "Gentiles," by whom they mean non-religious Jews (since marriage with non-Jews is so inconceivable that it is not even considered as a problem). In addition to observance of ritual dating from eras in which even the wheel was a novelty, they also aim at instilling a dread of movies and television; the latter -- to the chagrin of appliance store owners, who seem to tend to be orthodox Jews -- has been defined by the Israeli rabbinate as the "demon box." By explicit admission of the leading advocates and managers of religious education in Israel, it has entirely failed in its goals. In view of the fact that the salient thrust of orthodox Judaism in Israel is anti-modernism, this should occasion no surprise.

As mentioned, prior to Israel's establishment -- and outside Israel -- Jewishness was almost invariably associated with adherence to formal ritualistic practice, adherence to taboos pertaining to food, sabbath (as well as holiday) observance, and the study and knowledge of Jewish lore. (Outside Israel, Jewishness is also an arbitrary designation by Jews and non-Jews alike, but that represents an entirely different problem which is outside the scope of this research.) The principal leaders in Israel's political establishment -- Ben Gurion, Sharett, Eshkol, Meir, to name a few of the more internationally prominent -- were products of Eastern European Jewry, among whom orthodox religiosity was a distinctive feature. More specifically, they were members of the "Second Aliyah" (the second major wave of Jewish immigration to the area) of 1904 to 1913; the first wave lasted from 1882 to 1903. However, as Leonard Fein correctly observes in Politics in Israel (p. 153), "the Second Aliyah is properly perceived as a set of values more than as a group of people."

More importantly, the "second aliyah" was largely a consequence of the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905; I will discuss this more fully below. But, for the moment, it needs to be pointed out that Israel would have had a very different history -- and perhaps even none at all -- if the Revolution of 1905 had succeeded.

Without going into all aspects of this ideology at the present, such as its emphasis on pioneering and the establishment of collectivities (like the kibbutz or moshav), there are two aspects of this ideology that are important in this context. The first is that most of these original political leaders were secular in their orientation; in fact, many of them were anti-religious. This secularism was a rebellion against -- or part of a rejection of -- a self-image that was rooted in minority status and in political disenfranchisement. As will be seen, this has had important consequences for Israeli education, and in fact continues to shape many aspects of the curriculum. It is also one of the sources of the principle of Israeli social organization that advanced formal education seems to be a bar to political power.

But this rebellion also produced serious conflicts and strains: Since these leaders' sense of Jewishness was rooted in religion, and since they rejected this facet of their Jewish identity while continuing to claim a Jewish identity, what were they going to substitute for the religion? While they did develop a new set of ideologies -- largely a negative one, based on a search for the opposite of what they associated with life outside Israel, such as a high valuation of manual labor as against being "a nation of shopkeepers and scholars" -- they could not completely transcend their religious origins. There were, essentially, three reasons for this: (1) It is difficult for anyone, regardless of his particular cultural origins, to rid himself completely of his cultural paternity. (2) In seeking to encourage immigration from abroad, especially from Europe and North America, a complete and consistent rejection of Jewish religiousness would have alienated many potential immigrants and sources of money. This was -- and continues to be -- an important problem, since manpower and money are among Israel's most crucial resources which, like most others, have to be imported. The alienation of religiously inclined potential immigrants and financial contributors was a luxury that could not be afforded. (3) Like any new nation, Israel needed religious legitimation for its own polity, as well as in the international sphere.

Israel has only recently begun to move in the direction of resolving this conflict; the resolution is a delicate problem, because it appears that if the ruling groups in the society move too quickly or too abruptly, they could conceivably provoke a civil war. This resolution is clearly mirrored in changes in the educational system, just as it is also reflected in incipient changes in the legal, economic, and other institutions of the society.

Religious groups in Israel -- especially the most extreme among them -- are not pacific. As a matter of fact, most group violence in Israel -- the resort to assault and destruction of property as a social policy -- is committed today by the extremely religious groups. One of these, N'turei Karta (Keepers of the Gates), is a well known group of orthodox religious Jews who refuse to recognize the state of Israel, on the grounds that the state can only be legitimately established after the coming of the messiah. Their formal denial of the state's existence consists of refusing to send their children to state-supported schools, boycotting Israeli courts, refusing to serve in the army, occasional plans to use their own stamps and postal service, and the like. They stone cars traveling on the sabbath; at present they tend to confine this violence to the cars that try to enter their own demarcated areas, but they occasionally attack others, including ambulances and physicians in clearly marked automobiles. They have deliberately murdered people. One of the most tragic of these murders was of Israel's foremost sculptor, David Polombo (in 1966), who insisted on riding his motorcycle on the sabbath in an area that the religious groups had declared off limits. Curiously, Israel's intelligence services, which are among the best in the world, assert that they have been unable to find the perpetrators of the crime.

It is naturally difficult to learn who among the several ultra-religious groups are committed to the policy of violence; it is my impression that not all people who stone ordinary riders, physicians, and others on the sabbath are adherents of N'turei Karta. In and of themselves, they are unimportant, but they are significant because their toleration by Israeli authorities points up many important features of Israeli social organization. The perpetrators of religiously-inspired violence are not always apprehended by the police, even when policemen are present and observe their attacks on people -- including physicians and ambulances -- who ride on the sabbath. While there has been some agitation recently among opponents of these extremist groups to induct their men into the army, the issue has not yet been forced. Their school system remains an inviolate sanctuary against influences of the Ministry of Education, just as their legal system remains immune to the Ministry of Justice.

Israel has a long history of violence; similarly, violence -- especially in Biblical studies -- occupies a prominent place in elementary school curricula. Violence has played a major role in daily life in the country from the mid-1930s and forms an important element in Israeli views of life. During the 1930s, most -- though not all -- violence was perpetrated by mercenary Arabs in the employ of local Arab leaders opposed to Jewish economic and political entrenchment. (What is often neglected in Israeli discussions of this period is the violence of orthodox Jews against Christian missionaries and others.) During the 1940s, almost all segments of the population were involved in violence, offensively as well as defensively. After 1948, Israel was often on the verge of civil war as a result of religious and civil dissidence. In the early 1950s, depredations by soldiers from the neighboring states were a frequent feature of daily life. (It appears that the country was on the verge of a military coup in the last years of the 1950s, in which two of the central actors are said to have been Ben Gurion, who was out of office at the time, and Moshe Dayan, who was Chief of Staff. However, this is still unclear and it is difficult to secure accurate information about it.) The Sinai campaign of 1956 was not unrelated to sporadic outbursts of violence by disenfranchised elements of the population, all of which culminated in the war of 1967, which was itself preceded by a threatened military coup. Since the latter war, the country remains on a war footing, compounded by "terrorist" bombings and acts of sabotage by Arabs from the occupied territories, and by violations of the cease fire by all parties to the war. The acceptance of violence as an integral part of life in Israel was illustrated by the statement of a Jewish terrorist from the pre-1948 period after the bombing of the Jerusalem market in late 1968 in which a dozen people were killed: "What is everyone getting so excited about? We did worse in 1948." Another war is regarded as a certainty by most Israelis, and this is accepted with little more than a shrug. While non-military internecine violence has been declining in Israel since 1956 -- an important aspect of the state's growing legitimacy and acceptance by most of the Jewish population -- this has not disappeared completely; it is a matter of degree. Considerably more research into the history of Israeli violence -- and its reinforcement through the educational system, with its emphasis on Biblically legitimated genocide -- will have to be done in order to understand the roots of violence. This is an important problem for American society during its present transitional period, especially as it relates to its universities and, increasingly, its secondary schools. I will return to this below, when I discuss some of the reasons for the complete absence of protest and challenges to the Israeli established social order among its university students, who have the distinction of being one of the most pacific student bodies in the world today.

There is an important aspect of life in Israel -- which seems little different in 1969 from what can be gathered from primary sources of thirty and forty years ago -- that, despite the wide journalistic coverage given the country in print and other media, easily escapes even the best informed people. Visitors and letter-writers from abroad frequently, in one way or another, ask those living in Israel, "How can you live with so much tension?" The question is based on erroneous premises; as a result, it misses one of the most essential qualities and characteristics of life as it is lived within the frames of Israeli social organization. It is also an important feature for an understanding of many facets of Israeli education, whether on the level of formal policy or day-to-day and hour-to-hour behavior in the classroom. The relevant question, instead, is: "Will you ever be able to live without this tension?"

There is more to this than meets the ear. It is a problem that worries some of Israel's psychiatrists and a hint of the depth of the problem was given after the 1967 war when, with the silencing of the Syrian guns on the Golan Heights, some kibbutzim which had experienced daily shelling for several years began to break up under the strain of what they thought was going to be peace. It is an important element in Israeli foreign policy which, as I will discuss below, is an aspect of domestic policy and its system of caste and socioeconomic status. It is an aspect of the libel which was given wide currency by the Israeli press and many state agencies after the 1967 war that many school textbooks in captured Arab territories were filled with genocidal indoctrinations with respect to Jews, including arithmetic exercises based on killings of Jews; most Israelis believe this libel and many refuse to believe empirical data disproving it. And it is an important -- if not dominant -- ingredient in Israeli education which emphasizes hourly and daily the equation of Israel and Jews, their past, present, and future beleaguerment, which indoctrinates children from the second grade in elementary school and onward, with the idea that they are in Israel because of God's will despite the heatherns' swords which seek to block them, and which explicitly seeks to show the identities (and not merely the parallels) between wars recounted in the Old Testament and those fought during the 20th century.

It would be misleading to gainsay the tension that exists in the realities of daily life in Israel. But it would also be to miss the point of Israeli education to overlook the indoctrination of this tension and preparation for it. Without going into the question of its cause, suffice it for the moment that there is an unceasing feedback between the two.

The extremely religious groups in Israel are generally anti-modern. From one point of view it can be said that it is their very anti-modernism that protects them because their positions on many issues make it difficult for them to be taken seriously by the majority of Israelis. Their anti-modernism takes many forms, some of which make them culturally similar to Islamic Arabs. They are distinctive in dress, wearing their black coats and hats (and sometimes fur hats) even during the beastliest heat waves, in their beards and side curls, their opposition to autopsies and some aspects of modern medical practice, their refusal to recognize the legality of the state of Israel, refusal to speak Hebrew (though many Islamic Arabs do so freely when necessary), and so forth. It is their ideological importance -- as the ultimate source from which religious legitimation derives -- and not their numbers, which continue to keep Israeli marriage laws under religious control and assure that modern Israeli civil courts will use two thousand year-old precedents for situations that could not have been dreamt of even a century ago, such as the marital status of widows of men on a submarine that has not been heard from in six months.

There are some groups whose members are devoutly religious but who are much more pro-modern. One example is B'nei Akiva (the sons of Akiva) who have several kibbutzim, schools, youth groups, and the like. Firmly committed to the Israeli state, enthusiastically so, they oppose the violence of their more extreme co-religionists and hope that they can show that traditional Judaism can be made to fit in with modern life without compromising any of its principles. School principals and teachers from among their more active ranks are working to introduce more modern teaching methods in classrooms, especially among disenfranchised groups. But their pro-modernism is one of degree; it is not absolute. For example, B'nei Akiva have several secondary schools, but they forbid pre-military organization among their students; while not mandatory by law, it is taken as a matter of course that there will be a program of pre-military training (Gadna) in all secondary schools.

The continued existence of autonomous fanatically religious groups in Israel is but an extreme manifestation of the role and influence of religious groups in general in the society. It can be antitipated that when these are no longer needed for the state's legitimation -- and this may come as early as after the next scheduled general elections in November 1969, though this is unlikely -- the state will begin its final assault on N'turei Karta by forcing its men into the army, by intruding into their relatively autonomous school system, and by apprehending and trying them for their acts of violence.

For the present, in view of its multifaceted need for religious legitimation, the state finds proponents of religious law and autonomy as indispensable as it finds them objectionable. In addition to their nuisance value, religious groups can also pose dangers to Israel, especially in its international relations. For example, religious groups are an important source of the ideology of the "Greater Israel Movement," which opposes the return of any territory captured during the 1967 war, on the grounds that these territories have been entrusted by God to Israel; this view is in clear opposition to government policy. Nevertheless, religious members of the government often speak as though they reflect government policy in this matter, and frequently threaten secret negotiations that are in progress. By similar token, it is the religious groups in Israel which are among the main obstacles to the final centralization of the educational system. Here, too, the state finds them objectionable; but they are also indispensable because their ideological influence on the curriculum -- especially in terms of the inordinate amount of time spent in Biblical studies -- is also an important wellspring of Israeli searches for legitimacy.

Religious autonomy and semi-autonomy in Israel as pointed out above, is not confined to education. It is also buttressed legally, as in the influence of religious law on what in most countries is regarded as civil or secular law: marriage and divorce, succession, military service, and -- perhaps its capstone -- the definition of citizenship. (In this connection, see Eliezer Goldman's Religious Issues in Israel's Political Life, Jerusalem, 1964) But what is even more important is that religious autonomy in Israel is but part and parcel of a wider network of autonomous groups in the society: the kibbutz-federations and those of the moshavim, the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor), the Jewish Agency, the major political parties, as well as N'turei Karta and the other religious groups. The nature of these groups and their autonomy will be discussed below. What is relevant here is that the state's recently begun assault on the autonomy of the religious groups -- most clearly seen in the educational sphere -- has also been part and parcel of the state's general offensive against the autonomy of all these groups. The completion of this assault will have to await the new generation of Israel's leaders; some of the most important of these are now coming into civilian positions of power from high ranks in the army, including the General Staff. While many people hope that this transformation of the Israeli sociopolitical scene will come from the general elections of 1969, it will probably take a little longer than that. But it will come, and it will be led in large part by former military commanders. Importantly, the Israeli army -- which is the most "democratically" based institution in the society, and most committed to "democratic" principles, however these are defined -- has its own educational system, though not one in conflict with the state's. Almost without exception -- aside from the extreme religious groups -- Israelis not only point with pride to their army but also, with great justification, to its educational system.

The separateness of Arab education reflects the legal, cultural, and social separateness of Arabs in Israeli society, just as the separateness of Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American education in the United States reflects their separateness in American society. The point that I want to make -- and I consider this substantive rather than merely semantic -- is that the educational separateness is a mirror of the rest of social life; it is not only that educational disenfranchisement is a bar to participation in the institutions of the society. Educationally, in Israel, Arabs are barred from access to the special programs conducted by the Ministry of Education and Culture for "culturally deprived children," such as textbook subsidies, extended schooldays, radio, educational television, special assistance with homework (which require additional teachers and wages for those teaching in the schools), and the like. While the content analysis of Arab curricular guides and textbooks is still incomplete (see below), my preliminary examinations of the Fortran sheets on which this analysis is being done suggests that entirely different values are transmitted in Arab education vis-à-vis Jewish education. Some subjects that are integral parts of Jewish education in Israel are forbidden in Arab schools, such as the study of "homeland." In the legal sphere, and although Israeli Jews say -- correctly -- that there are not separate laws for Arabs and Jews, there are de facto separate laws for the two castes. For example, the law of administrative detention, under which people can be jailed almost indefinitely without rights of habeas corpus and without trial or without being informed of the charges against them, are applied almost exclusively to Arabs under the "Emergency Laws." (Because Israel has no constitution, and has repeatedly refused to enact one, and because the Supreme Court cannot override a parliamentary law, the "Emergency Laws" cannot be challenged judicially.) Administrative detention is most often applied to Arab university students and intellectuals, some of whom have been confined to prison or to their villages for several years under this system. One of the ways in which Israeli security organs seek to silence Arab university students is by placing them under administrative detention for two or three months just prior to examination periods; one result of this -- not unsought -- is that an increasing number of Arab university students are leaving Israel for education (and professional careers) abroad, and every year sees fewer Arab students applying for admission to Israeli universities. With only about a dozen and relatively unimportant exceptions, Arabs with B.A. and M.A. degrees from

Israel's universities cannot hope for more than school-teaching jobs, and sometimes less. For example, a young man from a small Arab village in northern Israel recently returned from the United States with a Ph.D. in chemistry; the best job that he could get -- and Israel very much needs professionally trained chemists, and not only in defense-related plants — was as a foreman in a factory manufacturing medicines. He is now an associate professor of chemistry in a leading American university. Another friend of mine, with an M.A. in political science, had managed to get a job as a social worker in the Haifa area, where there are many Arab villages. He recently published an article in a French journal -- no Israeli journal would accept it for publication -- in which he drew parallels between the rights of the Jews to Israel (which he accepts) and those of the Palestinian Arabs, arguing that the latter have the same rights to national independence as the former. A week after the article appeared, he received a form-letter from the Ministry of Welfare informing him that his employment was terminated as of the date of the letter; he has no means of appeal. He is seriously thinking of farming with his father, who is barely literate.

The quality of the barriers of apartheid separating Jewish and Arab education in Israel was illustrated by the difficulty I experienced in getting permission to observe an Arab-village school that I had included in my sample. When I first approached the responsible official in the Ministry of Education for this permission, he tried to disuade me, saying that I should confine my research to Jewish education. It was only after I pointed out to him that my research involved Israeli education, and that ministerial publications stressed that Arab education was as much a part of Israeli education as was Jewish schooling, that he finally relented. But he did so on one condition: that he had the right to veto my choice of assistant, since I know no Arabic. He exercised that right several times. When he finally did accept my choice of assistant -- which turned out to be the best I could have made -- he subjected the man to so many humiliating delays that I was often tempted (because of my feeling guilty over having exposed him to such treatment) to abandon this part of my research.

But this obstructionism was not confined to the Ministry of Education. Several months after I began my field work in Israel, I approached several professors at the university in the city in which I lived and asked them to help me find a student who is equally fluent in Arabic and Hebrew (which means almost every Arab student at the university) to assist me in this aspect of my research. These students are concentrated in the social sciences and humanities -- but after a full year, every one of these professors claimed (untruthfully, as it turned out) that he did not know of such a student and was unable to find one for me; I personally know of several such students studying directly under these faculty personnel whom I had approached. It was largely because of these delays -- though not exclusively -- that the content analysis of Arab educational materials has lagged far behind the content analysis of the Jewish educational materials.

Centralization is a matter of degree. Viewed from the vantage of the total society, the final centralization and uniformity of Israeli education is further off than suggested by the relationship of religious education to the total system. The last big stumbling block will be the integration of Israel's Arabs into the society as a whole on a basis of full equality -- and therefore into the educational system. Israel is a caste society. This distinction will continue for many years to come, and it will continue to exert a profound influence on the systematized inequality of education in Israel, including inequality among Jewish groups. In turn, the caste-status of Israeli Arabs will continue to be maintained as long as the state of hostilities with Israel's neighboring states continues. This consists of a vicious circle of feedback, and it points to a central problem in the interrelationships of domestic and foreign policy. Jewish Israelis are not yet ready to remove the caste barriers surrounding Israeli Arabs. Nor are Israel's rulers ready to give up the state of war with the surrounding Arab states, in large part because this state of war provides such an important element in the state's legitimation, although the country's enemies are making their own contributions to this state of affairs for many of the same reasons as the Israelis in their own domestic situations. It takes two to make a quarrel.

In order to understand this, it is necessary to view Israeli society as a whole, not only in terms of its Jewish sector or caste. This has been the major stumbling block in most analyses of Israeli society and its educational system, both in Israel and elsewhere. In a sense, it may be said that Israel's ruling groups have been so successful in identifying it as a Jewish state that most observers continue to view it in these terms. This view is also dominant in Israeli sociology, which has to be thought of as "Establishment sociology." For example, S. N. Eisenstadt, in the most recent Israeli sociological book on the country, Israeli Society (1967) writes: "The state was not only the culmination of a prolonged political struggle and countless diplomatic endeavors, but it was also seen as the redemption of the Jewish nation and the fulfillment of Zionist endeavors" (p. 285). His discussion of Arab political activities in Israel -- relegated to a few lines -- is confined to the dominant Jewish political parties, without any reference to political aspirations and socioeconomic developments among Israel's Arabs. There is not the slightest reference in his book -- or in any "acceptable" sociology in Israel -- of the caste status of Arabs, as for instance, in the application of the law of "administrative detention."

How does Arab caste status influence the existence and perpetuation of inequality within the Jewish sector or caste and, therefore, in its educational system? There are two ways of approaching this question. First, it is possible (and correct) to say that caste and inequality establishes a set of principles in the social system. Once such principles are established and allowed to continue to exist -- whether in Israel, the United States, South Africa, India, and the like -- they become part and parcel of the logic of the organization of social relations in the society as a whole. In other words, once the precedent for such a malignancy of thought is given legitimacy, it proliferates. In the terms of traditional anthropology, it becomes part of the ethos of world view. Not unrelated, it is important to bear in mind that not a single textbook in the educational system of the Jewish sector of the society is it mentioned even once -- or even hinted -- that the Muslims in the Middle or Near East had developed one of the greatest and one of the most important civilizations in human history; nor have I ever heard this even alluded to in a classroom in the Jewish Israeli sector. Whenever references are made to pre-Jewish settlement in the area, they are almost invariably in terms of the barrenness and lack of development in the area. No attempts are made to explain this in terms of European political, commercial, and military interests -- to the extent that the descriptions of the lack of development are true -- and there is a noteworthy scotoma with respect to the hundreds of acres of beautiful and intricate terracing systems in the central part of the country which pre-date Jewish settlement and which have not yet been destroyed.

Second, one may view this process from a purely structural point of view; the two ways of approaching this problem, as will be seen, are complementary. One of the lessons that can be drawn from an historical and synchronic comparative study of human societies is that the ebb and flow of what are generally referred to as constantly changing social relations consist -- or are reflections -- of shifting relations among the groups that make up the society in relation to the total society's relations with other societies. The present research is a demonstration of the axiom -- presented in my paper on "Social Boundary Systems" -- that it is an error to view any institutional matrix in a society (such as education, law, religion, the organization of labor and other economic institutions, health, welfare practices, and the like) in isolation from other spheres of activity within the society and in isolation from the nation's relationships vis-à-vis others. Eschewing the jargon of a theory of boundary systems, one of the conclusions that can be arrived at from a synchronic and historical analysis of social systems is that a society's component groups, factions, special interests, and the like, will be autonomous to the degree that (1) the society as a whole is open to the influences and personnel of other societies and (2) admission to membership or citizenship in the society is unritualized.

Israel is a demonstration case of a society that is open to influences and people of other societies. This can be seen in a variety of spheres of activity. At the least institutionalized extreme -- that is, in a type of instance which is not formally codified -- are such instances in which a rabbi in Boston, Massachusetts, once forced the nationally owned shipping line (Zim) and airline (El Al) to tighten and rigidify their ritual cleanliness of food (kashrut) -- which has nothing to do with hygienic cleanliness -- with the threat of a boycott of them by American Jews. At the other extreme -- codified in law and policy -- is the participation of non-Israelis, that is, citizens and residents of other countries, in the formulation of Israeli laws and policies at the highest levels, as in the participation of members of the World Zionist Executive in Israeli decision-making councils. Paralleling this is the clear interdependence of Israeli and non-Israeli Jewish educational policies and curricula and the veto still exercised by non-Israeli Jews over any attempts to reduce the emphasis in the curriculum on Biblical and other "sacred" studies. In 1968-1969, a bitter controversy arose in connection with a newly built swimming pool at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It was proposed by the donors of the pool (who are English) that the pool be open seven days a week. Several orthodox Jewish professors and lecturers at the university threatened to resign -- and their carefully worded letters would defy any lawyer's ability to determine whether they had or had not resigned -- if the pool were allowed to remain open on the Sabbath. At one point, the controversy appeared to have been settled by the intervention of one of the most highly placed members of the Board of Overseers of the university -- a non-observant American Jew who is also a very heavy investor in Israeli industry and the major shareholder in one of Israel's newspapers -- who decreed that the pool remain closed on the sabbath. This had the unanticipated consequence of putting the non-observant members of the university faculty up in arms; it was unanticipated because of the heretofore passivity of the majority of the faculty in the face of religious interference in academic affairs. (Very few people outside the administration knew of the extent of foreign interference. But the administration almost immediately had its sweet -- though probably unconscious -- revenge by its expulsion of a number of American students, while averting its eyes from Israeli students, who were found to be using cannabis; the highly conservative parents of the American students could hardly protest.)

Figure 1 is a rough sketch of the social map of Israel. The nine groups within the nation are its most important component units. It must be noted, however, that the situation which Figure 1 protrays more accurately refers to the pre-1967 situation in Israel. A realistic depiction would require a series of such maps in which different groups (including the nation) would be designated by different degrees of heaviness of line. Figure 2 is the situation toward which Israeli society currently seems to be moving. But before turning to a documentation of the processes to which Figures 1 and 2 refer, several observations are necessary.

The first is subjective and personal; since it undoubtedly influences much of what follows, it is only fair to the reader to make it explicit and first. I have long been a firm believer in political centralization; I believe that the historical record supports the contention that equality, human dignity, and the other desirables of the liberal repertory are served far more by political centralization than by decentralization. (The aberrations of Hitlerian Germany, Stalinist U.S.S.R., current South Africa, and other such societies are neither paradoxical nor contradictory with respect to this. But to make such a demonstration would carry us far too far afield.) One of the effects of this research on me has been a strengthening of this conviction, especially in connection with education. I had not anticipated this, but the present research has led me to the conclusion that inequalities in education are direct results -- causally speaking -- of decentralization. That is, the greater the interjection of localized factional interests -- religious, ethnic, caste, economic, and so forth -- the worse will be the quality of education received by children from lower socioeconomic strata and the more effectively will the educational system serve as a systematic means for keeping whole groups in the population from access to the highly valued statuses in the occupational organization of the society. One

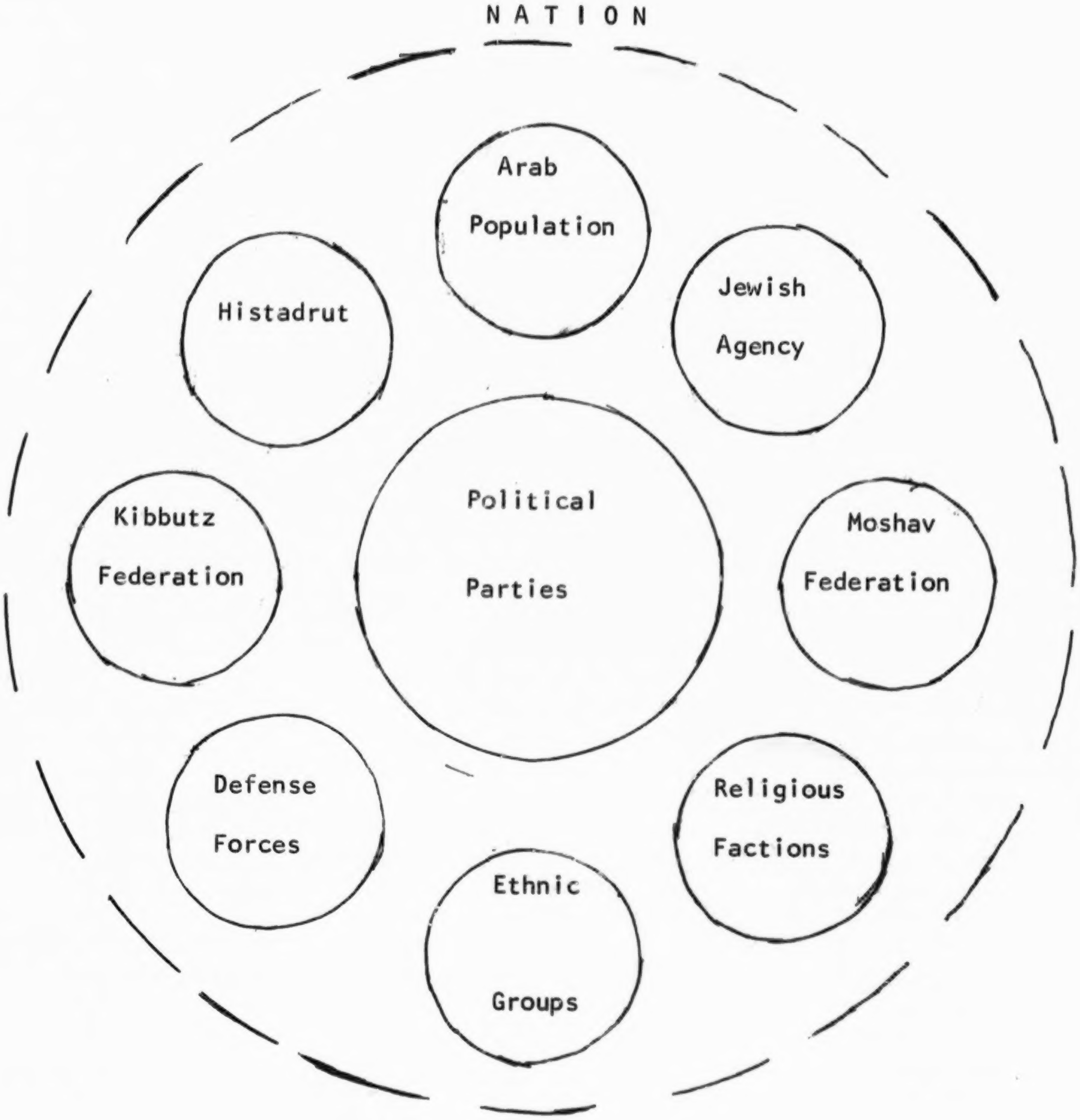
NATION
Arab Population
Histadrut
Jewish Agency
Political Parties
Kibbutz Federation
Moshav Federation
Defense Forces
Religious Factions
Ethnic Groups

Figure 1

Schematic Portrayal of Relations among Component Groups in Israeli Society in Terms of Autonomous Boundaries (Pre-1967)

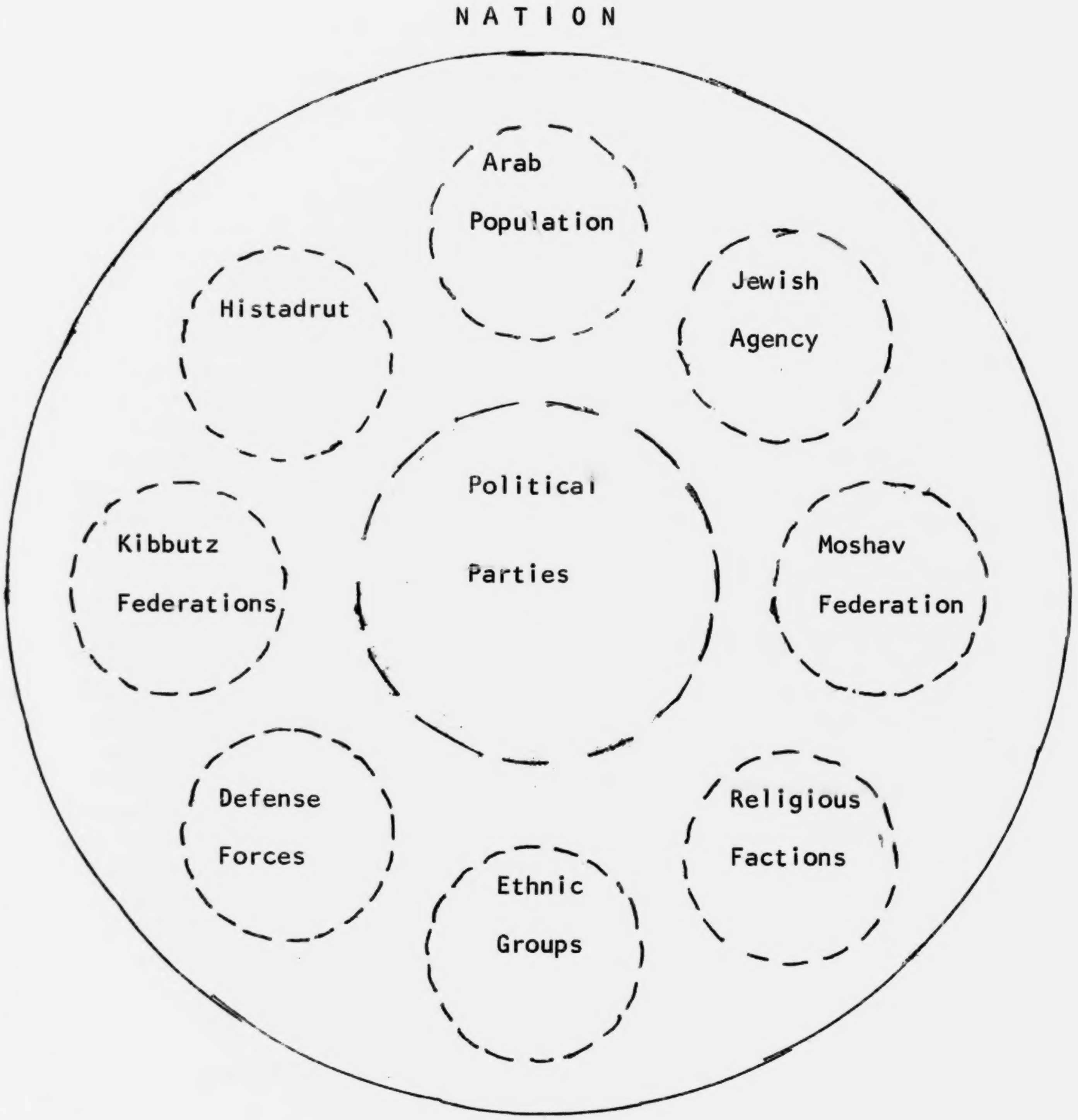
NATION
Arab Population
Jewish Agency
Histadrut
Political Parties
Kibbutz Federations
Moshav Federation
Defense Forces
Religious Factions
Ethnic Groups

Figure 2

Schematic Portrayal of Apparent Direction being Taken in Relations among Component Groups in Israeli Society in Terms of Boundaries

(1970s)

cannot say that the brutality and systematically fostered illiteracy in a lower-status religious girls' school is one of Israel's major cities (described below) or in Louisiana and Mississippi or even in New York City and Chicago is a result of nationally centralized education.

As will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, in connection with the operational terms of this research, one of the basic goals of a nation's rulers and those who speak in its name -- the state -- is to reach a point at which all of its citizens will behave uniformly and will respond homogeneously and predictably to centrally sponsored symbol-systems. This is part and parcel -- if not another way of saying -- of the goal of fully centralized control in all major spheres of activity. Now, one of the important by-products -- not necessarily a goal in itself, since the elite rulers of nations are not particularly noteworthy for wild-eyed radicalism -- of these policies is equality in political rights and in access to the means of social mobility and the desiderata of social life. Neither can exist or come into being without the other.

In order to achieve this, it is necessary for the central state agencies and bureaucracies to remove localized barriers to the effective implementation of their policies: vested economic interests, narrow religious barriers against state policies (which are almost always secular by definition), sex differences in roles, ethnic differences, and the like. In view of the broad base of their interests, centralized state agencies do not advance against these local interests on narrow front; they do not ordinarily single out one vested interest or another. But, as is suggested by the historical record, central states cannot effectively remove local boundary systems or autonomous and bounded local groups until they, the states, themselves become autonomous and free of influence from without. Both of these processes, and their interrelationships, never take place suddenly, but only gradually. One of the differences among national societies is the relative speed and slowness with which these can be achieved. Some (like Switzerland) never achieve it; others (like the U.S.S.R.), reach this point quite rapidly.

Nor is the achievement of this goal ever smooth (or without its human costs). One of the most important phrases that has to be kept in mind when analyzing a society's history in these terms -- and also one of the most difficult to remember and apply -- is: "At the same time ....." Because a state's attempts to destroy local vested interests is always on a broad front, this does not mean that its political offensives are on all fronts. As will be seen momentarily, the central Israeli state is currently engaged in a war of attrition -- in large measure successfully, thus far -- against some of its most important autonomous subgroups: the kibbutz federations, the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency, the religious factions, and its political parties. (At least as far as Israel is concerned, one has to abandon the American concept of "conflict of interests." The people carrying out this war of attrition are also members of the kibbutz federations, the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency, and -- most importantly -- the political parties.) Part of the logic of these activities is that they seem to be extending toward the Defense Forces, which may bode ill for Israeli society in terms of its physical survival. An accompaniment of this overall process is an increase -- however slight -- in Israel's autonomy with respect to foreign influences. The power of non-Israelis in the country's decision-making councils is beginning to abate; the reliance on foreign capital is beginning to lessen, partly out of necessity; the dependence on foreign arms was recently frustrated, especially by France; its insularity vis-à-vis world opinion and influence seems to be systematically fostered by the peculiar alliance of Catholic France, Leninist U.S.S.R., and the Islamic countries in the Security Council of the U.N.

At the same time, these closures vis-à-vis other societies are only a matter of degree. In reality, it cannot become complete any more in Israel than in any other society in the second half of the twentieth century. Correspondingly, and at the same time that Israel's autonomous groups are being weakened, there seems to be little prospect of the insularity of the Arab caste being breached in the foreseeable future. Under what circumstances could this separateness of Israeli Arabs and Jews be reduced? While prediction is a dangerous business, a hint can be gotten from the histories of Japan and Turkey with respect to their Christian minorities. These two countries finally provided equal political rights to their Christian citizens under pressure from without, as a result of the involvement of the two countries in trade with predominantly Christian countries and the latter's demand that their Christian traders be given civil guarantees of their rights. If and when peaceful coexistence ever comes to the Middle East, normal travel and trade between Israel and its neighboring countries will be a necessary accompaniment. These neighboring countries will naturally expect that their citizens have full civil protection when traveling in Israel and this will inevitably have an effect on the status of Israeli Arabs. But once again, it must be emphasized that this is a two-way street. When, in 1947 and 1948, the departing British apparently goaded the neighboring Arab states to attack Israel, they handed the latter an undreamt of opportunity to create and ideological source of unity in their local attempts at national unification and legitimation. (That this ultimately backfired on the British is a small bit of poetic justice.) It is not within the competence of this research to evaluate the degree to which Egypt and its allies are prepared to relinquish the rallying war against Israel. I mention this only as a reiteration of the caveat that war is never one-sided. Symptomatic of this state of affairs in the separateness and inequality of education for Israel's Arabs.

An important aspect of the differences in "bureaucratic style" between the United States and Israel is reflected in the means used for centralization of education. In Israel, as has been illustrated, the movement toward increasing centralization -- whether in education or in other spheres -- can be characterized as a constant readjustment of relations among broad but well defined groups in the society: the religious and non-religious factions, political parties and the kibbutz-federations, the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency, and the like, all of which are inextricably involved in their responses to moves of state agencies, such as the Ministry of Education and Culture. One of the most important factors here -- and this is a difficult thing for many Americans, for example, to appreciate -- is that an Israeli cabinet minister or other highly placed decision-maker is first and foremost a representative of the political group or faction from which he comes. Ministerial portfolios are divided among parties and factions; they are not given to individuals per se on the basis of their abilities. Similarly -- in complete contrast to the United States, where the president of the nation, for example, repeatedly asserts that he is the chief executive of the entire nation -- the president or prime minister of Israel apparently never feels called upon to claim to represent the entire nation. While this can be dismissed as rhetoric, it is not unimportant; it symbolizes the role of political activity in the society. Whereas in the United States it is expected that -- aside from election periods -- the chief executive tries to eschew public involvement in daily sordid politics, there is absolutely no pressure for this in Israel. In Israel, it is perfectly acceptable for a prime minister to say, for example, what is good for Mapai (the leading party) is good for the nation; a simiiar statement by an American chief executive would lead to his being drowned out by months or years of derisive hooting and possible political ineffectiveness.

Because of this, to a large extent, movement toward centralization is more covert and indirect in the United States than in Israel (or other societies). It is not possible to understand the character of Israeli educational centralization without bearing in mind that the Ministry of Education and Culture has always been the portfolio of a particular political faction (the Ben-Gurion wing of Mapai), which has always been committed to centralization. We do not have anything comparable to this in the United States where, instead, we have had shifting coalitions of different interest-groups who may or may not have particular political-party affiliations. For example, the United States Office of Education was, until about 1963, apparently dominated by professional educationists who were principally concerned with elementary and secondary education; in view of their professional commitments they seem to have had very strong ties with departments of education of the petty states, teacher training institutions, and local school administrations. After 1963, however -- coincidental with the passage of the Higher Education Act of that year and of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 -- a coalition seems to have been formed among different educational groups whose members tend to favor aid programs by the central (federal) state. Impressionistically, it appears that this consensus was seriously weakened by efforts to maintain localized controls over these programs, especially in the southern petty states, though not exclusively. (This was rationalized as a response to attempted enforcements of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.) An outstanding example of this was the reversal of the order to withhold central state funds from segregated schools in Chicago as a result of local pressures on the national government. The commitment to this particular style in American sociopolitical relations was again illustrated by the announcement in April 1969 that the central government would once more attempt to withhold funds from a northern school district for alleged ethnic (racial) discrimination. This is an extension of centralized controls into the North, which had initially been exerted in the South. Another example of this is the announced plan to remove the Head Start Program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which is, of course, one of the agencies constituting the central state organization of the society. This not only parallels central state controls over automobile design and food standards but also the trend toward national standards for welfare benefits.

Another example of increased centralization and homogenization of education in the United States can be found in the sector of religious (parochial) education. Privately funded religious (parochial) schools have been taken for granted in the United States for many generations. The Catholic educational system, with an enrollment of more than 12% of the United States public school total, was the largest private church-related school system in the world. This enrollment has dropped by one-half million since 1965, and it is currently estimated by Catholic education officials that as many as half of the 10,000 Catholic elementary schools may be closed by 1975, releasing two million more students into the public school system. The immediate reasons are said to be mounting costs and a drastic shortage of teaching nuns (who traditionally cost approximately 1/6th the salary of secular teachers). While some people favor State and Federal aid to help solve these financial problems, many others worry that this would erode the differentiation inherent in the ideology of "traditional" separation of church and state. More to the point, however, seem to be recent conflicts about Catholic policies, the high rate of withdrawal from seminaries, the widespread opposition to the official church stand on birth control, and the issue of marriage for priests, all of which are basically problems related to the growing secularization of life in the United States (and in other modern industrialized nations). Not unrelated to this secularization process is a recent study asserting that there has been in the United States much greater -- though not universal -- compliance with the Supreme Court decision of 1963 forbidding devotional practices in public schools than with the same court's decision outlawing racial segregation in the schools.

The foregoing parenthetical comments about the differences in the "bureaucratic styles" of the United States and Israel were intended only to underscore the idea that these differences exist, not as rigorous or systematic comparative analyses. Now I want to turn to a detailed consideration of persistence and change in the Israeli social system; with that as a background, I will then consider (in chapter 5) persistence and change in Israeli education as paralleling those in the social system at large.

IV

Israel: Its Organization of Group Relations -- Persistence and Change

There are basically two kinds of anthropological analyses of a society. One seeks to present a picture of people in their flesh or daily social relations and feelings. It focuses on the attitudes and personal motivations that enable them to fit into social structures and niches, their gratifications, aspirations, and hurts. The second, which is not mutually exclusive, is at an entirely different level of abstraction; it focuses on the latticework of groups into which people are placed and the formal structures within which they move about. It largely disregards people themselves. The latter is the framework of this research. It is much more appropriate to the study of national social systems for one reason, among others. Since a nation is made up of diverse ethnic groups, social and occupational classes, castes, and regions, people in each of these will be characterized by a particular constellation of attitudes, values, cognitive and sociopsychological patterns. These can differ greatly from one group to another within the nation, and such distinctions can persist for many years. Nevertheless, one of the characteristics of a nation is that it has a structure of group relations which does not necessarily conform to, or fit with, the patterns of any one of the groups. Whether we say that a nation is more than the sum of its parts or use a different imagery, the fact nevertheless remains that, in most nations, groups of widely different characteristics can, and do, function alongside each other within a single framework.

In stateless or "primitive" societies, there is usually a very close correspondence between "personality" and the social structural arrangements within which people are organized. In contemporary nations, on the other hand, there can be, and often is, considerable disparity between "personality" and social structure; while the relationship between the two is not necessarily invariant, and while psychosocial patterns are ultimately brought into confirmity with existing organizations of group relations, the sociopolitical structure of the society, to say nothing of its economic organization, can change and persist independently of the psychological characteristics of any one group or even of most of them. Nations adopt laws and policies which can never be reconciled with the wishes of each of its groups; as a matter of fact, nations can adopt laws and policies out of necessity which do not conform to the psychosocial characteristics of any of its groups. In other words, a nation has a life of its own in the persistences and changes that characterize its policies and organizations of group relations.

An important aspect of this is that, as a nation evolves, the gap between rulers and ruled continues and increases. More and more, especially as decisions have to be made which are based on specialized knowledge and competence or on information that has to be kept secret for one reason or another, the sovereignty of "the people" becomes a myth and decision-making is virtually removed from the floors of parliamentary or other representative bodies. (This process has recently been well described by Humphry Berkeley in The Power of the Prime Minister for England, and it has wide applicability.) There are, of course, other reasons for the gap between rulers and ruled besides the need for specialized knowledge and considerations of military security, and the rulers of nations often use these as convenient excuses for their steady usurpation of decision-making powers.

Groups in a nation are created because they meet -- or grow out of -- specific conditions, not because they meet "needs" of a psychosocial sort, and groups in a nation become attenuated or even destroyed because of new sociopolitical, economic, military, and ecological conditions. While it is true that such groups are given a particular flavor by the kinds of people who make them up, it is not the characteristics of people that give rise to these groups in the first place. What is more, people must learn to adapt to such groups regardless of their psychosocial characteristics; often, there is inconsistency between the demands of the groups in which the same individuals participate, and people must learn to adapt to these and consistently behave in ways that seem inconsistent. For exmaple, almost all Israeli males (and most women) must learn to live within its army's demands for efficiency and universalistic values; but as soon as they leave the army, they revert to traditional civilian Israeli patterns of inefficiency, particularism, and maladaptive relationships to machines and tools. A large proportion of the Israeli male population spend 25 years of their adult lives under military jurisdiction for several weeks a year and 3 years at induction. Nevertheless, they do not transfer the values of one situation to the other; they meet the demands of specific situations.

In order to describe the people in a nation, therefore, it would be necessary to describe the psychosocial patterns of many groups, and of the people in all these groups in different situations. But however valuable such a series of studies would be, they nevertheless would not give a picture of the nation as a whole, as a system that is larger than the sum of its components. Perhaps the simplest reason for this is that it is possible for a small segment of the population to determine the style of life of the majority, as long as they have control of the principal sources of energy by which the society maintains a viable relationship with its habitat. This is what has happened in Israel, where immigrants from Eastern Europe who are now in the 60s and 70s control the society through their control of labor, water, money, electricity, transportation, communications, and minerals.

As will be seen, these controls were first vested in the Israeli General Federation of Labor. This group, which is still largely undifferentiated from the government, continues to maintain effective control over labor and water, two of the most essential sources of energy, among others. It still controls domestic transportation, and many important mineral supplies. It no longer controls electricity, communications or the importation of money. Its importance in the industrial sector -- which it maintains through many enterprises of its own -- is also decreasing in proportion to the rest of the country's industrial output.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to specify that I will be dealing with the relationship of the state to those groups that are recognized in law: the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, the kibbutzim and moshavim, castes, religious groups, political parties, and Development Towns. This excludes social classes which, while their reality is not to be gainsaid, do not constitute groups which stand in particular relationship to the state. People enjoy different social class positions by virtue of their membership in, and access to, certain groups which are in direct relationship with the state and which are recognized by it in law. Thus, in Israel, as noted, the upper social strata are made up of those people who have the most direct access to the state's bureaucratic components, the dominant sectors of the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency, the leaders of the religious and other political parties, the heads of the kibbutz and moshav federations, and to the managerial groups in the Development Towns. The less access one has to these, the lower his "social class" position.

The process by which the government has weakened the Histadrut's stranglehold over the country is one of the principal chapters in the story of Israel in terms of its group relations. It has been a slow process, but it provides a dramatic case study in which a completely decentralized government has been moving steadily and inexorably toward more and more centralization. But the Histadrut was only one of several groups with which it sometimes overlapped. If the Histadrut were alone, it may have become the government itself. As a matter of fact, the Histadrut was the first effective government of the Jewish sector of the population; it was one group among many, though the most important one. Thus, though the government's war of attrition against the Histadrut was the most important battle waged on this front, it must be viewed as part of a much broader struggle in which the government sought to take over many functions served by many groups; the central Israeli state seems clearly to be winning this battle. It is a story of a hodgepodge of shreds and patches slowly, but inexorably, being transformed into a tightly knit fabric. It is to this that I now turn before examining its mirror in the evolution of Israel's educational system.

As noted above, Israel's provenience lies somewhere in the early 1920s. While not known then as the state of Israel -- it was actually known as the Jewish community or settlement (yishuv) of Palestine -- neither the society itself nor any of its institutional parts can be understood without this starting point.

Most writers about Israel -- those who are journalistically inclined, as well as sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and political scientists -- have approached Israeli society and its development in terms of its ideologies and changes in them. Foremost in

Israel's ideological system is Zionist ideology, the tenet that Israel is the land of all Jews, that Jews and Jewish culture cannot survive as such in any other country, and that, in fact, all Jews have the obligation to migrate to the country. Closely allied to this is the further ideological position that a Jewish nation in Israel will create a new -- a "more perfect" -- human character based on Jewish unity and socialist principles; the two are interwoven in the oft stated tenet that "all Jews are brothers," suggesting that Israel would be a society in which all men will be equal.

It would be a valid study in the sociology of knowledge to learn how and why Israeli ideologies have taken such a predominant and limelit place in social scientific analyses of the society. Perhaps many have shared the experience of Leonard Fein whose opening sentence of his Politics in Israel is, "This book has been a long time in the making, for I cannot remember a time, even as a child, when Israel did not hold very special meaning to me." I think that Fein is unique among American social scientists in this admission, but I suspect that he is not alone in the experience. An important element in this ideological framework, as noted above, is that Israel is a socialist democracy, and this is a phrase that appears and re-appears in many sociological writings about Israel. What is surprising is not the use of the phrase but its uncritical acceptance as reflecting the reality of Israeli society.

By contrast, the position that I am taking here is that ideology is a rationalization which is used to legitimate and justify the existing organization of society or, as happens in many societies (including Israel) to make people believe that a state of affaris exists which is more desirable than actually does exist. The reality to which I refer includes the modes of distributing privilege and access to power among the groups that make up the society; access to wealth, material goods, jobs and medical care that increase longevity, and a sense of mastery over the social and physical habitats; control over the natural resources that provide sources of energy and, in turn, over the means of production; and control over the institutions that regulate relations between the state and other nations and those that regulate daily life within the society. (I have spelled out this point of view more fully in my Man in Adaptation, Vol. 2, and in "Social Boundary-Systems," as well as other papers.)

Power is its own reward, and, perhaps, also corrupts. But such phrases are not enough, for they do not explain what people in power do. Positions of power -- political roles, as they are sometimes referred to -- seem to have their own momentum and to sweep their occupiers along with them. We do not know what this momentum is, and it needs to be investigated. But whatever it is, people in positions of national power find that what they do must be rationalized; I think it is historically demonstrable that their ideological rationalizations are almost invariably ad hoc, for they often do not know precisely what they are doing or why they do it. Israel -- perhaps because it wears its rationalizations so openly on its sleeves -- provides some of the best and clearest examples of this in many different spheres.

For example, Israel's General Federation of Labor -- the Histadrut -- was one of the two germ cells of the Israeli state; the other was the Jewish Agency. One of the most important features of Israel's social organization is that the personnel who manned the Jewish Agency before May 15, 1948, became the first rulers of the state after its international recognition on that day. With the removal of these persons from the proto-state Jewish Agency to the post-May 15th state, there began a war of attrition on the part of the latter against the Jewish Agency. This war is continuing and is currently reaching a climax in which the state seems to be the clear victor. Although the personnel remained the same, their policies shifted along with their statuses -- and, with these, their ideological rationalizations.

The Histadrut has withstood the state's attritive assaults slightly better than the Jewish Agency, and the state's success against it has been slightly slower. Perhaps the main reason for the difference in pace on the two fronts is that the Histadrut controls the major segment of Israeli labor and other sources of energy. Another reason, not unrelated to this, is that many members of the Histadrut's Executive Committee continue to be members of Israel's parliamentary cabinet. But that is not the main issue; what is more important is that the same people who are members of both ruling groups are systematically engaged in destroying -- or at least seriously weakening -- the others. The state will out, no matter who mans it, and it will win out even when the individuals who run it seem to be acting against some of their own interests. But it is not their interests that are the important factor; it is the momentum -- the logic -- of their positions which dictate and shape what they do.

As will be seen, at the same time that the Israeli state began its major assault on the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency in late 1967 and early 1968, it also began its first major reform of its educational system in almost twenty years. This reform, which is a major step in increasing economic opportunity among many disenfranchised groups, is officially the product of a parliamentary commission (the Prawar Commission, known by its chairman) appointed to advise the Minister of Education and the other members of the cabinet. Actually, it appears that the report was heavily influenced by the current Minister of Education (Zalman Aranne) and the Director General of the Ministry of Education.

When looked at within the broad pattern currently being worked out in Israel's overall social system -- the strengthening of the state's boundaries vis-à-vis those of other groups, especially the autonomy of religious education, and the resulting pressures and strains toward egalitarianism -- the transformation of the educational system is but one piece, though an important one. When the state began its major steps late in 1967 and early in 1968 to erode the autonomy of the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency -- both of which had been important bastions in the maintenance of institutionalized inequality in the society -- it was not acting on one front alone. It also began a major step in eroding the autonomy of the kibbutzim and moshavim by bringing them further under direct governmental control; it began to undermine the autonomy of the political parties (and,again, it is important to observe that the members of the government are also in control of the machinery of the political parties) and the religious groups; and it decreased the separatism of the army from the rest of the society by starting to bring high ranking officers into important governmental civilian posts after retiring them, as well as by other means. The point is not that the educational reform of 1968 would have happened anyway; instead, it is that those in control of the educational bureaucracy have had no choice, because the momentum of the overall social change would have swept anyone who happened to be occupying these posts, regardless of what they had eaten for breakfast.

In the beginning: When the first "wave" of Jewish immigrants came to what was known then as Palestine, the country was under Turkish rule; this "wave" consisted of about 25,000 people. This group, known as the "first aliyah" (aliyah=ascension, i.e., immigration; yeridah= descent, i.e., emigration from Israel), came during the period 1882-1903. A few became farmers -- actually, less than 500 -- while the remainder settled in cities or became farm owners in the tradition of European colons, or returned to their countries of origin, most notably Russia.

Europe -- but especially Eastern Europe, and more particularly Russia -- was in ferment during these closing years of the 19th century. Russian feudalism -- and other sources of autonomous local boundary-systems -- was beginning to die, and, at least in retrospect, the beginnings of a strong central state were becoming noticeable. With the inchoate erosion of firm local boundary-systems came other modernizing influences (see, for example, The Dynamics of Modernization, by C. E. Black, esp. pp. 89-128) which underlay the beginnings of "The Enlightenment" of Russian Jewry -- the attempts to secularize Jewish life and the weakening of ghetto barriers. Important in this connection is that these processes began in 1861, and the first immigration of Jews to Palestine in any size began in 1882.

Thus, these people had very little time in which to develop a rationalizing ideology for settlement in Palestine. But it cannot be said that it was their lack of ideology which led so many -- most, in fact -- to return to Russia. The barren sand wastes of the country were neither flowing with milk and honey nor did the land hold much promise for future development; it could not have held such promise, because there was no centralized authority -- no state apparatus -- which could harness natural and financial resources and plan rationally or mobilize labor on a systematic basis.

It was the second wave of immigrants during the period 1904-1913 who were more politically sophisticated -- for a reason to be mentioned in a moment -- and who provided the kernel personnel for the establishment of the future state of Israel. Israel had its origins in the failure of the Russian October Revolution of 1905. This revolution was the first attempt, inter alia, in Russia to eradicate the old sociopolitical order based on localized and autonomous boundary-systems and establish a firmly entrenched centralized state. For the Jews of Russia -- and inevitably for most groups in the rest of Eastern Europe -- this revolution also promised an emancipation from a disenfranchised status. The old order usually dies slowly, and most revolutions fail at first. The failure of the Revolution of 1905 was the major impetus to the "second aliyah"; not coincidentally it provided a large group of immigrants with a socialist and collectivist ideology and a political commitment to centralization and rational planning. The failure of the Revolution of 1905 not only slowed Russia's modernization but also seemed to spell the end of the hopes of its Jews for equal social and political status; they could not have known that another revolution would come 12 years later and succeed.

What I want to stress here, because it is a central point in the analysis to follow, is that Israel's origins are to be sought outside of Israel itself, as is that of the United States. Israel's rulers continue to be people who were members of the second wave of immigration in 1904-1913. (Israelis sometimes pose this riddle: Why are the state's leaders in their 70s? Because all those in their 80s are dead.) Whether or not they are conscious of this, their origins as Israelis are in a Russian revolution that failed. This has had important correlates in Israeli social organization and education. Importantly, as a generation of rulers who have no connections with other societies and traditions begin to assume power -- the "sabras" (native-born) and those who came to Israel as children -- corresponding changes begin to take place in Israel's social system and educational institutions.

In order to understand the evolution of Israeli society and educational organization, it is necessary to keep certain landmark dates in mind. The first important date in Israel's history was 1909 (when the country was still under Turkish rule), when the first urban center of any significance -- Tel Aviv -- was founded; along with its urbanization came the Information Bureau, the prototype of Israel's future Labor Exchange, in the same year. The significance of this is that the control of labor is important to Israel's political system -- as it is in all societies -- and it is important to remember that the first centralized attempts at labor regulation grew up along with -- and in a context of -- urbanization. Contrary to what most ideological apologists for Israel assert -- that labor is primarily governed by collectivist and pioneering principles -- Israeli labor has always been controlled by urban institutions; this includes the kibbutzim and moshavim which, as I will try to show below, are agricultural branches of urban institutions.

The founding of Tel Aviv in 1909 was a portent of things to come, because it embodied the apartheid or tribalism -- there is really no other word -- which underlay the thinking, policies, and activities of Israel's rulers from the very beginning: it was, as intended to be, an exclusively Jewish city and, in 1924, acquired its own exclusively Jewish police force. This was also important in establishing Israel's first real and effective army -- the Haganah (defense force) -- because Tel Aviv became the hub of military activities against the British and, later, the Arabs in 1948. Importantly, it was also the first de facto capital of Israel. The attitudes of Jews with respect to Tel Aviv was revealed very strikingly during a conversation that I had with a highly placed Haganah officer who was among those who was instrumental in establishing the Haganah's underground air force (no play on words is intended here) when he said to me, "Tel Aviv was clean" (Hebrew: naki=spotless, pure), meaning that it had no non-Jews in its midst. There are, of course, other settlements that are exclusively Jewish, such as kibbutzim, moshavim, villages, and Development Towns. The important point in this connection is not that the coin of "the final solution" has been reversed but rather that such exclusivity -- paralleled by villages whose populations are entirely Arab -- is a material and concrete reflection of many aspects of Israeli policy, including educational policy and practice.

Importantly, the establishment of Tel Aviv and the Information Bureau were the only developments of major significance during Turkish rule of the country. The next major development occurred after British occupation -- during what is politely called the British Mandate under the League of Nations -- in 1920, with the formation of the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor. This too was a centralization of labor control and regulation, balanced in 1925 by the formation of the Manufacturers' Association, which never became an important force in the country.

The Histadrut: The Histadrut's importance is that it was one of the sources of the Israeli state and, when this state came into being, provided a ready made institutional base for the control of a majority of the Jewish sector of the labor force. It is often said by Israeli social scientists and historians that the Histadrut had clear goals in respect to nation-building when it began in 1920, that it was motivated primarily by the desire to incorporate immigrants within a socialist and egalitarian framework. This is open to question. While there was some sentiment at this time for the eventual creation of a Jewish state in the fullest political sense of the term, this was clearly and explicitly opposed by the dominant leadership of the Jewish community. (One of the most eloquent statements expressing the latter point of view came as late as 1942 by Chaim Weizmann, who was to become the first President of the State in 1948, writing in Foreign Affairs.)

Unfortunately, neither anthropology nor political science possesses a terminology for the description of a state-which-is-not-a-state, or a state-within-a-state. Without tarrying to develop one at this point, since this is not the purpose of this report, it will help to understand this aspect of Israeli political development by comparing it with the early experience of the United States. Just as the Histadrut contained one of the seeds of the future Israeli state, the progenitor of the American state was the Massachusetts Bay Company. The latter, too, was an industrial corporation which, like the Histadrut, controlled immigration and encouraged it, established enterprises under centralized control, and -- most important, I believe -- carefully controlled labor. Looked at from the point of view of the Massachusetts Bay Company, it is not possible to say precisely when the American state actually came into being. Instead, it was an accretive process in which centralized control over most major aspects of life occurred without people realizing quite what was happening until long after it happened. Much the same took place in Israel in the 1920s. This is indispensable for understanding the development of Israel's educational system, because the Histadrut set up tis own autonomous school system -- the Labor "trend" or stream -- during this period.

At the time of the Histadrut's development in 1920, the country's social landscape was pock-marked by completely autonomous and often unconnected farming settlements, communities, and towns. Generally, each of these was characterized by a particular orientation: the towns had already begun to take on the characteristics of urbanization, including sharp divisions between rich and poor, rulers and commoners, entrepreneurs and peasants; some towns were entirely made up of religious people whose lives were completely oriented to the unreality of the past, and who spent their days studying esoteric and ancient books -- their livelihood came largely from contributions of money by people abroad; the farming settlements were made up of people who, like anyone else, were compelled to develop a rationalizing ideology which legitimated their way of life and glorified it above all others. The latter were the kibbutzim and moshavim which, importantly, never constituted more than 8%-10% of the total population. In the laboring sector of the society, each local settlement developed its own labor union which tended to remain independent of all other unions and of all centralized regulation and control. In its introduction of inchoate unification and centralization in connection with labor, the Histadrut completely changed this social landscape.

The British colonial government gave the Histadrut its legal legitimacy by the enactment in 1920 of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance. (This was replaced by the Ordinance of 1933 which is still in effect in Israel.) The Histadrut was defined as a cooperative and, for the first time, a body controlling labor could sue and be sued in its own name. The Turkish rulers of the country never enacted a cooperatives law, and this was the principal reason for the absence of such an organization during the Turkish occupation of the country.

In the early 1950s, the Histadrut embarked on a propaganda campaign designed to convince as many audiences as it could reach that it had always been a socialistically oriented body devoted to the establishment of wage equality in the labor sector of the society. This coincided with the concerted attempt of the Israeli government to recruit immigrants from Europe and the United States, especially in the interests of offsetting the influx of immigrants from North Africa and Asia. But this retrospective rationalizing ideology is questionable. Data on the pre-1948 wage policies of the Histadrut conclusively demonstrate that one of the explicit policies of the Histadrut was to maintain the wage inequality which was one of the prime characteristics of the country since the late 1880s. Based on analyses of wage scales in the building, metal, and printing industries -- these provide the best data -- in 1928, 1931, and 1937, the available information points clearly to the existence of higher differentials between skilled and unskilled Jewish workers in Palestine as compared to many other countries during the same years.

These findings are important because of two interrelated factors: (1) social, political, and economic inequality continue to be one of the outstanding characteristics of Israeli society; and (2) educational inequality, which was also established in the 1920s, was inextricably part of the overall social, political, and economic pictures. The Histadrut, through its labor, entrepreneurial, and education activities, provided one of the most important links between the two.

Representative government: In 1927, the British colonial government took another major step in its creation of the Va'ad Le'umi (National Council or Committee) which was an arm of the Elected Assembly (Knesset Israel). The Assembly was the quasi-parliament of the Jewish community and generally met only once a year; between its sessions, its powers were exercised by the Council, which was appointed by the Assembly from its own members. The day-to-day powers of the Council were exercised by its Executive which acted as a cabinet. Its administrative powers over the Jewish community covered defense, health, social welfare, culture, religious affaris -- and education. Its legal authority was enforceable in the civil courts, especially in connection with taxation of Jews for education, health and other social services, and the maintenance of the Jewish religious courts. A parallel organization governing the Arab population was also established, though several years later.

It was in connection with the Elected Assembly and the National Council that an important precedent was established for Israeli social organization. The original inhabitants of the country -- the original orthodox Jewish population who antedated the first immigration of the 1880s -- refused to vote for and participate in these bodies and they maintained their autonomy in all spheres, including education. As noted above, this autonomy is only now coming under attack by the Israeli government, but its continuation into the late 1960s (and probably into the 1970s) is important for appreciating Israeli social organization in general and its educational system in particular.

But these political institutions and developments had even more fundamental implications and consequences. The supreme and ultimate power and authority in the country at that time was in the hands of the British. In terms of the theoretical framework being used here, it was the state organization in the hands of the British colonial government that was the firmest and most inclusive boundary system of the society. In terms of the principle that the stronger the boundaries maintained by a network -- whether it is a community or a nation -- the weaker are the boundaries maintained by its component sub-systems, these developments are clearly understandable. While it is true that the National Council and the Elected Assembly were creations of the British, these institutions were nevertheless in competition with the colonial government for authority and control over the polity. Divide and conquer is a policy of every firmly bounded network, and the division of the population into Jewish and Arab political sectors, and the further division of the Jewish sector into conflicting and competing segments was a convenient instrument in the conquest and subjugation of the population. Divide-and-conquer served as an effective British policy until approximately 1947; prior to that, the colonial administrators were able to secure the obedience of the Jewish sector and most of the Arab sector, and, by playing off one sector against the other, they were able to confine hostilities to relations between Jews and Arabs, with most of the aggression being started from the Arab side. In 1947 and 1948, for a variety of reasons, British policy of playing off one side against the other no longer worked and they found themselves under attack -- physical and verbal -- from both sectors. The country was in a chaotic state, with Jews and Arabs battling each other and separately attacking the British. It was this, more than anything else, which finally forced the British to leave.

Of equal significance, the British laid the basis in their policies of the 1920s of another principle of Israeli social and political life: Israel's uniqueness lies in the fact that it is the first (and thus far, only) internationally created nation. This is also an important factor in comparing and contrasting Israel with other new modern nations. In most of the latter, one of the first acts of the newly constituted post-colonial nations was to establish entirely new political institutions, in part to symbolize their new political status; this was also usually accompanied by drastic and radical overhauls of their educational systems. If Israel did become a new nation in 1948, as is usually claimed, it could have been expected to change its basic political institutions also. But it did not become a new nation in 1948; hence, it changed neither its overall political institutions nor its educational system until much later. Israel's provenience dates to the 1920s, and it was then that its basic institutions were changed, or at least established. Studying Israel's history (and living in the society), one can easily get the impression -- not entirely inaccurate, though admittedly somewhat exaggerated -- that the single and most fundamental change that occurred in 1948 was in the country's flag. Exaggerated or not, Israel has remained an international society for a variety of reasons. It must continually import its two major resources (money and personnel), and one of its major problems at the moment -- and thus a major source of change -- stems from the fact that immigration has slowed to an almost complete halt. But financial resources continue to flow into Israel, and in their wake come many influences on internal as well as external policy (see above). One of the principal criteria of a frimly bounded system -- such as a nation -- is its exclusion of foreign influences and persons, or at least their careful regulation; in terms of being open to external influences, Israel continues to maintain very fluid national social boundaries. Correlatively, the amount of internal social differentiation -- the number of firmly bounded sub-groups in its social and educational systems -- remains very high.

The Kibbutz Federations: 1927 also marked another important change in the Israel sociopolitical scene, namely, the establishment of the kibbutz-federations. Until the mid-1920s, the kibbutzim had retained their individual autonomy, each by and large being a self-regulating and self-controlling cooperative agricultural community. While I will not deal here with all aspects of the social organization of kibbutzim and their role in Israeli society, there are several salient points that have to be made in order to keep these communities -- and their quasi-mythical status -- in proper perspective.

An important aspect of Israel's attempts at legitimation and its claim to uniqueness is the frequently asserted claim that the kibbutz system is one of Israel's unique contributions to contemporary social organization. While it is true that the kibbutzim have played a role in Israeli political life to a degree that is completely out of proportion to their representation in the population -- they now constitute less than 4% of the population of Israel -- and their terminological designation notwithstanding, these cooperative settlements are in no way unique to Israel. Such communities were found in Europe in the Middle Ages, and in Eastern and Northeastern United States in the 18th and 19th centuries. Today, there are the Hutterite communitarian settlements in Canada and the United States, and the Bruderhoff settlements in Paraguay, Uraguay, and the United States. There were even kibbutzim in Israel before 1910, when the first kibbutz was said to have been established.

As noted above, most of the original founders of kibbutzim were disillusioned sociopolitical refugees of the 1905 Revolution in Russia. There is no gainsaying that they had a socialist and egalitarian ideology, however vaguely it may have been formulated. But it is the height of sociological folly to accept in full the later ideology of the founders of the kibbutzim that they came to Israel with the idea of the kibbutz in mind. They came with the idea of being Jewish non-Jews, that is, to retain a sense of being Jewish while performing occupational tasks that were traditionally non-Jewish: agricultural and other manual labor. With these goals in mind, they were able to settle only in the northern part of the country, since the more fertile coastal plain and central part of the country were socially inhospitable. They settled, in short, where no one else wanted to live, and they found themselves literally in the midst of a forbidding wilderness. In this complete isolation -- physical and social -- their social relations took on the quality of absolute and form boundedness: the total absence of surrounding pressures and influences made any other type of social system impossible. One of the automatic consequences or accompanying characteristics of such maximally firm boundary-maintenance is complete egalitarianism and lack of role differentiation. Correspondingly, it was when individual kibbutzim came under the influence and control of federations -- and, later, the state -- that inequalities of reward and role differentiation (originally on the basis of sex, and later on the basis of other criteria) began to appear in the kibbutz sector of the society. Paralleling this, the kibbutzim early developed their own educational systems, only to begin conforming to national-state educational standards as central state control over the kibbutzim increased. Cutting across their differences in the first decades of the 20th century, one of the most striking common denominators among kibbutzim in the educational sphere was their marked anti-intellectualism. (Until several years ago, "my son the professor" would have been the extreme -- and probably unthinkable -- self-deprecation that a kibbutz parent could utter.) But state control over kibbutzim is now increasing at a rapid rate. Hence, it is not surprising that the former anti-intellectualism of the kibbutzim has almost entirely disappeared. The various kibbutz federations are now carrying out serious discussions about the establishment of a kibbutz university: of, by, and for the kibbutzim.

With their inclusion in federations -- there are now three major federations -- the kibbutzim became urban institutions, although they remained primarily agricultural in their activities. (Today almost every kibbutz has at least one non-agricultural industry). These federations, which differ ever so slightly from each other in policy and ideology, are urban based organizations: all have their headquarters in Tel-Aviv. These federations are industrial-political corporations in the fullest sense of the term (I am using the term "corporation" as used by Kenneth Galbraith in The New Industrial State), the individual kibbutzim being the specialized plants of their respective federation-corporations. All policy is decided at federation headquarters, whether the question at issue is the sleeping arrangements for the children or the establishment of a new industry. Today, each federation keeps track of the resources, production, supplies, and so forth, of each of its member-plant kibbutzim by computer; I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the computer programmer is probably more important to the efficient organization of the kibbutzim than the proverbial kibbutz secretary and treasurer. Urban standards -- whether in dress, in connection with private property, in matters of efficiency and productivity as well as in matters of capital investment, the use of time, and the like -- are increasingly urban-industrial standards. And -- little by little, slowly but surely, quietly but inexorably -- every few years, another kibbutz or two, from south to north, is swallowed by an expanding city and becomes a memory. If modern literacy can be defined as the ability to read the handwriting on the wall, many of the most important people in these federations can be designated as among the most literate people in Israel, and a few of them do not even think that it is possible to stem the tide; a handful -- there may be more, but they are understandably reluctant to talk about it -- even doubt whether it is desirable to do so. (Also in this connection, see The Kibbutz that was, by Boris Stern.)

This sketchy background provides an understanding of another major aspect of the continuity of Israeli social organization and education from the 1920s to the present: Israel's major leaders have tended to come from the kibbutzim and many of them continue to retain at least nominal membership in their kibbutzim: Eshkol, the late Prime Minister; Meir, the current Prime Minister, former Foreign Minister, and one of the most politically powerful people in the country; Allon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Immigration and Absorption; Shapiro, Minister of Justice; Barzilai, Minister of Health; Givati, Minister of Agriculture; Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem; Remez, Ambassador to England; Rafael, Ambassador at Large to the U. N. during the Six-Day War and now Director General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to name just a few. Although members of kibbutzim constitute less than 4% of the population, about 35% of the officers in the Israeli army are members of kibbutzim, and about 25% of the casualties in the Six-Day war were suffered by members of kibbutzim. Kibbutzniks, as they are referred to in Israel, have a virtual monopoly of the Israeli Air Force.

I have deliberately juxtaposed the political and the military in this context because it is not possible to understand the importance of kibbutz membership for political power without the military factor.

A kibbutz is not only an agricultural settlement; it is also -- and perhaps primarily in many cases -- a military outpost. Since the 1920s, no kibbutz has been established without consideration given to its military worth, feasibility, and usefulness. As one travels around the Israeli countryside, it quickly becomes apparent that kibbutzim are almost invariably grouped into pairs and trios; almost all the kibbutzim that were destroyed during the war of 1948 were isolated kibbutzim, demonstrating their military vulnerability. As kibbutz members tell the histories of their kibbutzim, they almost invariably begin with a recount of their activities during that war, and kibbutzim with especially heroic histories have become places of pilgrimage for Israelis and occupy an important place in their folklore. (In this connection, see for example, The Six Days of Yad-Mordechai, by M. Larkin.)

Cutting across the military importance of kibbutzim is their political status. Each of the kibbutz federations is affiliated with a particular political party, and the two are almost entirely undifferentiated. Not only do members of each federation vote en bloc in national elections, but, more importantly, membership in a kibbutz and its federation almost automatically confers membership in a political party. Members of the parliament are not elected directly in Israel; instead, citizens vote for a party list, and the party executive picks its members of the parliament on a proportional basis from lists filed prior to each election. One's place on a party list is usually determined by seniority in membership. Since people generally become members of kibbutzim either when joining as adults or, in the case of native-born "children of the kibbutz," at 18 years, those who were members of kibbutzim in the 1920s turn out to have been those with longest political party membership in Israel.

Political Parties: At this point, it is necessary to mention the place of political parties in Israel. As alluded to above, but which now needs to be made explicit, it is not the individual kibbutz which maintains firm social boundaries; rather, it is the kibbutz federations which are firmly bounded. As a matter of fact, in its relations to its respective federation, the individual kibbutz maintains rather fluid boundaries. Membership in a kibbutz -- admission to which is ritualized -- is ultimately determined by the federation, the local kibbutz merely applying federation policies. Furthermore, federations frequently transfer members from one kibbutz to another for a variety of reasons within the federation; it is very rare for an individual member to cross federation lines. This is not to say that the local kibbutz is weakly bounded in absolute terms, but only in relation to its federation. Relative to the society at large, each kibbutz does maintain quite firm boundaries. This helps to explain the splits of many kibbutzim: a firmly bounded network cannot tolerate sustained and outspoken dissent, and when there is deep dissent within a kibbutz -- usually over very minor points of largely irrelevant ideology -- it often has no choice but to split into two kibbutzim and not always within the same federation.

From the point of view of the state, it is the federations -- not the individual kibbutzim -- that are regarded as competing boundary systems. This is abundantly explicit in the new co-operatives law which, inter alia, will bring the federations under stricter governmental control and reduce their autonomy. Importantly, this law was first put up for parliamentary consideration in 1953, but was not brought up for debate until June 1968. Its consideration at this time -- and its certain enactment -- must be seen as another aspect of the government's assault on firm boundary systems within the society.

In view of the near inseparability of federations and political parties, it is in no way surprising that the political parties of Israel are themselves extremely firm boundary systems, and they exhibit all the characteristics of firmly bounded networks. One of the most outstanding of these characteristics is the parties' inability to tolerate sustained outspoken dissent. Once a party has taken a decision in caucus, all of its members must abide by it. The only alternative is to leave the party, and this accounts for the volatility of Israeli political-party life, the history of which has been marked by frequent party splits. (The failure to understand this has been a source of confusion on the international scene. During the debates after the war of 1967 over what policies should be adopted with regard to negotiations and captured territories, there were many instances in which members of the cabinet publicly disagreed with governmental policy. To those unfamiliar with the Israeli social system, this appeared to signify considerable chaos in the government. Without gainsaying that there may have been an element of truth in this, there is another factor which is far more important. These disagreements were not so much within the cabinet itself as they were among the political parties, each of which had reached its concensus in closed caucus. There is no taboo in Israel on a member of the cabinet -- which is a coalition -- taking issue with governmental policy; the taboo is on taking public issue with his own party after it has reached a policy decision. Complete political chaos would truly have reigned in Israel if, on the other hand, members of the cabinet had disagreed publicly with their respective parties.)

That this situation is beginning to change can be seen in a crisis that the country faced over these standards of political partisanship in the spring of 1969. Moshe Dayan, the bane of Israel's ruling groups and the hero of more than half the population, openly expressed his disagreement with some of the decisions taken by the Israel Labor Party, of which he is a nominal member. According to the traditional standards of Israel's political parties, such sustained outspoken dissent would formerly have meant almost automatic expulsion from the party and probable loss of his portfolio as Minister of Defense. Partly because of his widespread popularity, but also because the standards of action are beginning to change in Israeli society, an agonizing series of meetings took place between him, Prime Minister Meir, and others in Israel's Establishment, seeking to reach a modus vivendi. The meetings were supposed to have been private, but were attended by more than two dozen people, and they were widely reported in the press. These meetings were abruptly cancelled after the second confrontation, with no agreement reached -- a new politics are dawning in Israel. What is significant is that there were two omissions in the confrontations that did take place. Dayan failed to make the ritual statement, "Take me as I am," which almost always precedes a split or expulsion, and the people confronting him failed to issue an ultimatum demanding overt conformity, or at least silence. If Dayan succeeds in retaining his party membership under these terms until the election and the traditional standards of political life are not invoked, a watershed in Israeli political life will have been passed. (That Dayan holds his portfolio by virtue of a threatened coup in May 1967 probably lurked in the background of these discussions, but no reference or allusion was made to it during the meetings, though several were made in other contexts.)

There are other formal developments which point to change in the boundedness of political parties. (1) The merging of three political parties into one, namely, the old plurality Mapai, which now includes parties which had been far apart on the political spectrum. Now called the Israel Labor Party, it includes elements which could never be expected to agree on many major issues, internal and external, thus undermining the traditional Israeli principle that a political party must be ideologically homogeneous. (2) The introduction of secret ballots in political party caucuses, thus freeing individual members from public scrutiny of their political opinions. (3) The acceptance, in principle, of direct elections for mayors and members of municipal councils. Until now, local leaders were picked by party central executive bodies and could be removed by them almost at will. This effectively eliminated dissent between local and national political leaders; if put into practice this reform will make such dissent possible.

This assault on the firm boundedness of the political parties actually began in 1953 -- importantly, the year in which the new cooperatives law was drafted. Until then, the political parties -- principally through the Histadrut -- maintained their separate education systems. Known as the "trends" system, this was partially abolished in 1953, in Israel's first educational reform since the 1920s. Importantly, the major victims of this reform were the labor parties; the religious groups were allowed to retain their educational autonomy and have been allowed to do so until today. I will return to this below.

It is also relevant here that all kibbutz members are automatically members of the Histadrut. In fact, all kibbutzim and moshavim are regarded as Histadrut enterprises, and the Histadrut retains ultimate control over their finances, labor practices, industrialization, and the like. Members of the Histadrut Executive -- its governing body -- are drawn from the same party lists as members of parliament, and there is also some overlap between the two. Membership in kibbutzim gives people the same political advantage in gaining office in the Histadrut as in parliament, and many of its top leaders are members of kibbutzim. All land used by a kibbutz is owned by the state; leases are granted to kibbutzim by the Jewish National Fund (which was founded in 1901) and are administered by the Histadrut. Several years ago, the lease system was terminated and a licensing system substituted; now a kibbutz is merely granted a license to use a given area of land with the express condition that it will vacate the land on 25 days notice.

The disproportionate importance of the kibbutzim in Israeli political life relative to their members' numbers in the population is thus due to the convergence within the kibbutzim of three of the most important national institutions of Israel: the army, the political parties, and the Histadrut.

The Jewish Agency: In 1929 -- two years after the establishment of the National Council and the major kibbutz federations -- the British colonial government established the Jewish Agency. Its original purpose was to enlist non-Zionist support for a "Jewish National Home"; it shared this goal with the World Zionist Organization. But five years later, an important differentiation occurred between the two, and the Jewish Agency became the effective governing body of the Jewish sector of the country. The history of the Jewish Agency parallels that of the Histadrut. It continued to be a firmly bounded system -- Israelis still refer to it, somewhat inaccurately I think, as a "government within a government" -- from its inception until today; it provided much of Israel's ruling personnel in 1948, the members of the Agency Executive merely moving across the street, as it were (it was really three blocks), to the government of May 15, 1948; and the state's assault on its firm and autonomous boundaries began at almost the same moment as the attack on the Histadrut's boundaries in late 1967 and early 1968.

In order to understand Israeli society in general and its educational system in particular, it is necessary to rid their analysis of the notion of "a state within a state," a euphemism which is also sometimes applied to the Histadrut. The physical settings of the Jewish Agency and the Histadrut are important in this connection. The Agency's main headquarters are in Jerusalem, and they are located in a squat pentagon-like structure surrounded by a high fence at one of the city's major intersections; it is still a landmark for orienting oneself to the city's maze of streets and it was in stark contrast to the rest of the city's architecture when it was first erected. The Histadrut's main headquarters are in Tel-Aviv; they are also completely fenced in and are located in a large six-story white building and two smaller ones within the compound. In either case, one cannot mistake their separateness from their surroundings in architecture and physical boundedness.

Rather than being "states within a state," the Jewish Agency and the Histadrut are more accurately "estates" alongside the Israeli state. Each is entrusted with separate -- specialized -- functions in governing the country, and the government's recent assault on their respective boundaries has consisted of claiming for itself the functions and powers held by the two. Naturally, the government has not put it in quite these terms; instead, it has mounted an offensive against specific powers held by the two while -- also naturally enough -- proclaiming publicly that it has no intention of subverting them per se. In the case of the Histadrut, the government's assault has been aimed, specifically, at the Histadrut's role in capital investment and import and at its control of its pension funds. But these are not just two "mere" functions of the Histadrut; they are its two powers that are at the heart of its autonomy. Until recently, the Histadrut was the single largest employer in the country; and its pension funds give it political control over the citizenry to an extent not even enjoyed by the government. The government's assault on the Histadrut's role in capital import and investment came in April 1968 when Prime Minister Eshkol, himself a highly placed Histadrut member, sponsored a conference of industrialists from many of the major western countries to discuss and encourage private investment in Israel -- under government sponsorship. Members of the Histadrut executive who were not also members of the government howled in anguish -- but in private, for they are highly literate men who easily read the handwriting on the wall. The government's challenge of the Histadrut's efficiency and fairness in managing its pension funds came exactly one month later.

In a way, however, the change in the Jewish Agency's status in Israeli society is much more fundamental for an understanding of the society's boundary-systems. When first developed, the Jewish Agency was given responsibility for (1) development of rural and urban Jewish colonization, (2) arrangements for immigration to the country from abroad, (3) defense (including the underground Hagannah, lit. defense, police groups, and Jewish batallions in the British army during World War II), and (4) foreign policy, especially with regard to the colonial government and the League of Nations, under which the British held their mandate.

The first two of these powers were retained by the Jewish Agency until June 1968. Since then it has retained a few important fragments of the first. The third and fourth functions were removed entirely from the Jewish Agency's hands in May 1948. (An important aspect of the evolution of Israel's boundary systems is that prior to May 1948 the Jewish sector of the population maintained no less than three separate armies which sometimes warred as much against each other as against the British and Arabs; one of the first decrees of the post-May 15th government was to establish a single and unified defense force.)

More than its functions, it is the composition of the Agency's membership and Executive that is of principal significance, and it provides an important key to Israel's uniqueness as an international society. The Jewish Agency's personnel are foreigners as well as Israelis. This has always been true of the organization. Hence, Israel provides a situation -- which I think is unique in history -- in which internal policy is governed to one degree or another by people who are neither citizens nor residents of the country. (One can, of course, draw paralells between this situation and countries which are largely governed by "covert" governments, such as major oil companies, electronics corporations, steel firms, and the like. But the important difference is in the fact that the overtness of the policy in Israel is not replicated elsewhere.) Hence, viewed in terms of the most important criterion of a boundary system, the fluidity and openness of Israel's national boundaries is suggested by the fact that personnel and influences are constantly coming in from without.

The government's assault on the autonomy of the Jewish Agency in June 1968 -- with the consequence of increasing the firmness of its own boundaries -- came in the form of an attack on the Jewish Agency's power to control and stimulate immigration from abroad. It did this quite simply by adding another cabinet position to the government: a Ministry of Immigration and Absorption. To highlight its determination to subvert the Jewish Agency's autonomous boundaries in this regard, the first Minister of Immigration (Yigal Allon, until then Minister of Labor) was also made Deputy Prime Minister, a post which had lain dormant for many years.

The fact that immigration to Israel has almost ceased is beside the issue at hand. The encouragement of immigration continues to be a major national policy as well as necessary resource given Israel's policy of maintaining a Jewish majority of the population, a position that is now seriously threatened. It is also a policy which is closely tied to external policy, since the number of Jewish immigrants who can be induced to come to Israel and remain will be one of the factors that will determine the amount of territory captured in June 1967 that will be returned to Jordan, Egypt, and Syria.

But the Israeli state has not yet achieved full success in eliminating its major competitors: the Histadrut and the Jewish Agency. It has merely launched its final major assault, and it is impossible to predict how long this will last. External policy with regard to its neighboring states, especially Egypt and Jordan, is in constant feedback with internal policy, and as long as a state of war continues it is unlikely that the assault will be pushed resolutely to its final conclusion; as I noted earlier, the decision to maintain a state of war is not exclusively the Arabs'. Although it has begun to attack them, as long as the Israeli state allows the Histadrut to remain in autonomous control of the labor force and of its pension funds, and as long as it allows the Jewish Agency to control some aspects of its educational system (these will be described below), the state's boundaries will remain commensurately fluid. It has taken major steps to increase the firmness of its own boundaries -- with resulting consequences in many areas, especially education -- but this has not been completed. What I have been trying to do here, in other words, is to describe a process which began almost half a century ago and point to the directions that other basic changes in the social system will take in the future.

Mapai: There are a few other major developments in Israel's evolution that need to be pointed to before turning to its educational system. In 1930, Israel's most important political party was born: Mapai. Since then, it has always been the dominant party in Israel's ubiquitous coalitions, and a Parkinson-type law of Israeli political life is:

whatever happens, Mapai will benefit. To a large extent, this has been true. Mapai is as much a part of the Israeli political scene as is its parliamentary system, and, in minds of many, the two are synonymous. Most of Israel's crises and decisions with respect to values have been Mapai crises. The creation of the party preceded the formation of the Jewish Agency-Israeli de facto government in 1934 and, since then, whatever has threatened to blow Mapai apart has held the same threat for the country as a whole; correlatively, whatever has strengthened Mapai has also benefited the country at large. One of the best examples of the latter has been its recent -- February 1968 -- merger with two other labor parties; since then, the country appears to be enjoying an unusual degree of relative solidarity and sense of unity.

More dramatic of Mapai's importance in the country are those incidents which threatened to destroy it and consequently, the country itself. The best example of this is Israel's celebrated -- and equally misunderstood -- Lavon Affair of 1960. Briefly, the facts -- to the extent that they will ever be known -- seem to be these: In 1954, Israeli intelligence concocted a wild scheme to blow up the United States Information Center in Cairo and have it appear that this was done by the Egyptian government. Egyptian intelligence got wind of the plot, informed the United States, and the plan was foiled. Pinhas Lavon, a member of the Histadrut Executive and leading Mapai member, was then Israeli Minister of Defense. The entire incident must have been known to no more than a dozen Israelis. (There was a threatened coup in connection with this, but it is very hard to learn anything about it.)

Israel was facing many problems in 1960. It had regretfully yielded to the pressure of John Foster Dulles and, four years previously, had given up the fruits of its victory in the Sinai campaign; it was beginning to realize that it had made a grievous blunder. In 1959, tensions had gone over the boiling point when conflict among its hastily welded immigrant groups erupted in a veritable "race riot" in the Haifa district of Wadi-el-Salib. The "incident" at Wadi-el-Salib, as Israelis prefer to refer to it, revealed the depth of disenfranchisement and bitterness among immigrants from North Africa and Asia and rocked the Israeli conscience -- though not for too long -- in a manner reminiscent of the United States' reactions to the racial upheavals of 1966 and 1967. The bed-rock vested interests of Israeli society, especially in the Histadrut, were badly threatened by Wadi-el-Salib, and as such vested intersts often do, they resurrected the fiasco of 1954. As I listened to the accounts of many people who participated in the Lavon Affair the thought often crossed my mind that if the intelligence blunder of 1954 did not exist, the Israeli power structure would have invented it.

When the mishap of 1954 was brought to light, the question that was uppermost in the debate was: who gave the order? Some accused Lavon, others accused the then head of Israeli intelligence. It took a year, two commissions of inquiry, and political infighting to clear Lavon. Nevertheless, Lavon was ousted from his post on the Histadrut

Executive. (He had resigned his cabinet post in 1955 over the intelligence fiasco.) Throughout the debate, Lavon insisted that all records of the initial affair be made public on the grounds that even the army should not be above criticism and public control. This sounds reasonable, until one bears in mind that, in Israel, the army _is_ above criticism. But it enjoys this privileged position because it is universally regarded -- justifiably, I think -- as the only democratic institution in Israel. It is the only institution in the country in which a man or woman can -- and does -- advance solely on the basis of merit. Ethnic background, the all important criterion for access to success in Israel, is irrelevant in the army. (It is the only institution in which, for instance, a drill sergeant or officer can punish an African or Asian immigrant for an infraction and also say, with complete impunity, "Screw the blacks, eh?" implying that the man must think that this is the reason for his punishment. He can say it because it is universally known that his ethnic background could never enter into the picture.) It is also maintained by almost all Israelis that the army is apolitical, and this is largely -- but not entirely -- true. While advancement in the army is based solely on merit, one can become Chief of Staff only if he is a member of Mapai; there has been only one exception to this, Yizhak Rabin, who was Chief of Staff during the Six Day War and is currently ambassador to the United States. Now that his party -- Ahdut Ha'avodah -- has merged with Mapai, he is frequently mentioned as Israel's possible next Prime Minister.

Another flaw in the apparent reasonableness of Lavon's insistence that the army be subject to criticism and public control is that he was a member of the Histadrut Executive, an institution that has jealously protected its own insularity and freedom from criticism and public control. What now appears to have been Lavon's insistence was that the army relinquish its immunity from Histadrut intervention and control. Given his position in Israeli society, Mr. Lavon could hardly be opposed to the maintenance of insularity by different organizations. Why, then, did he oppose this privileged position of the army? I suggest that he did so because the army insisted on maintaining its standard of rewards based exclusively on performance, whereas the Histadrut has been one of the embodiments in Israel of the antithetical value, of rewarding people according to their political and personal connections -- what is commonly called in Israel, "protekzia," that is, favoritism -- and other sources of particularism, such as ethnic group membership.

The Prime Minister at the time of the Lavon Affair was David Ben-Gurion, one of the several charismatic figures in Israeli life. Ben-Gurion is the consummate politician of Israeli life and it was he who triggered the Lavon Affair by a series of acts which went to the heart of the vested interests which Lavon himself represented and which also triggered the Wadi-el-Salib uprising. Ben-Gurion had brought into the government such people as Abba Eban, Moshe Dayan, and Shimon Peres. None of these men had been members of kibbutzim or of the Histadrut Executive. More importantly, they have been advocates of the very values espoused by the army: modern (i.e., industrial) standards of efficiency, rational planning, and rewards allocated according to achievement and without "protekzia." These people -- and the values that they represent -- have always been anathema to the power structure of the Histadrut and Mapai, represented by such people as Lavon and Golda Meir; it was probably Mrs. Meir, more than anyone else, who is considered by many Israelis to have engineered the Lavon Affair. What had begun as an intra-party fight over a change in values represented by a new and younger -- and more modern -- leadership rocked the country. Everyone took sides, professors and laborers, physicians and clerks, bureaucrats and peddlers. Eventually, the position represented by Lavon and Meir won, but Lavon was ejected from his post on the Histadrut Executive as the sacrificial goat. The real loser, as everyone now realizes, was Ben-Gurion, who resigned two years after the Affair formally ended and went into retirement in his kibbutz in the southern desert, Sde Boker. Others say that it was Israel that was the real loser. In either event, it is of just such bitter quarrels and human wreckage that the conflicts between boundary systems are made.

In time, the Lavon Affair will become a footnote to Israeli social history, and universalistic values may one day predominate in the society. Ben-Gurion will be remembered as one of the legendary figures of Israel, its first Prime Minister, not as the man whose values were ahead of his times and who -- unable to continue in a Histadrut-dominated coalition -- retired to let history take its slower course. That course is still running, and much of its tragedy and waste is also reflected clearly in its educational system.

But the Lavon affair was relatively unimportant in Israeli history. That Israelis consider it important is due in large partto their infatuation with political personages and the politicization of much of public life. The nearest parallel to Israeli attitudes toward politicians that I can think of -- and it takes place at all social strata -- is the older obsession with the goings on of royalty among the lower strata of English society (now replaced by film stars).

A much more important crisis had rocked the country two years before the Lavon affair, but it is significant that hardly a single Israeli who was not a participant recalls it accurately; the major protagonists were two young men in their 30s, one of whom is one of Israel's most respected psychologists and the other is now a very successful and respected lawyer. A hint of the affair to come in 1958-1959 was given in a little noticed Supreme Court decision in 1955 which, in an obiter dictum, scathingly attacked one of the most inviolate Israeli institutions of the time: the "internal (or private) courts" of the political parties, the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, and the kibbutzim. These courts were based on a principle as old as the oldest firmly bounded group in human history: do not air your grievances and dirty linen in public. If you have a grievance against a member of the group, bring it to the group for resolution and it will be settled by the group's internal private court.

While these courts had no legal status, their decisions were often more binding than true courts because one could only gain access to a job (and hold a job), an apartment, freedom from strangling bureaucratic red tape, and -- perhaps most important -- friends through individuals with whom one had contact by virtue of one's membership in one of these groups. Israel at that time -- and, though to a lesser extent, still is -- a society made up of small cells which abutted each other and often overlapped. Without membership in at least one of these cells, one was thoroughly isolated and trapped in a social vacuum. He could do nothing and could get nothing. It does not take much imagination to visualize that this system -- and the taboo against airing various kinds of activities in public, or even complaining about the situation -- not only bred corruption but also protected it.

In 1952, Ben-Gurion -- who was, to borrow an American expression, "Mr. Mapai" -- delivered a speech in which, among other things, he called on Israelis to stop mouthing their ideological platitudes and to get out and work with the new immigrants from North Africa and Asia. He did not use the term (he may not even have known it), but it was a call for people to workin the acculturation process. Perfectly in keeping with the values of Ben-Gurion (whom they idolized at the time), the two young men who were to become a psychologist and a lawyer were fired by the ideals expressed by their Prime Minister and formed a group known as Shurat Ha'mitnadvim (the line, file, row, rank of volunteers). With their co-volunteers, these two young men were exemplar acculturators, often living with the new immigrants in their hovels, teaching them to speak, read, and write Hebrew, and trying to instil the values of the new society. They did this in their spare time, using their own money; they were university students who were often called to active duty in manning one of the most vulnerable front line positions of the time.

The respect that they were universally accorded had two consequences, which were not unrelated. First, they were given automatic and free access to the Knesset (parliament) floor and to every official in the country, beginning with the Prime Minister. Second, they began hearing about the corruption which had infested almost every part of Israeli society, and the way in which they heard about it -- as much as what they learned -- is the heart of the "scandal," as Israelis love to refer to such incidents. ("Scandal" is now a Hebrew word, and Israelis roll it off their tongues as though it is a delicious morsel to preserve as long as possible. Nothing appeals to Israelis -- whether sex or chicken soup -- as much as does a good "scandal.") Highly placed people in government began coming to the two young men privately and secretly to tell them about smuggling rings -- one of which was directed from the headquarters of one of the religious parties -- and bribery, theft, embezzlement, and so forth. Why didn't these people make these things public? Because, as they admitted, they were afraid: to do so would violate the canons prohibiting rocking the boat with dirty linen at its mast in public. It was this, as much as what they heard, that motivated the two to pursue matters.

In one instance, involving a ring of smugglers of watches (referred to above) whose headquarters were in the offices of one of the religious parties, they succeeded in pressuring the Ministry of Justice to secure a waiver of parliamentary immunity in order to prosecute one of the ring's principal leaders. Success bred success, and when this prosecution ended, more informants sought out the two young men. Their plum was information which told of a large embezzlement of German reparations funds, intended for the survivors of the concentration camps, by one of Israel's richest men, who was one of the Jewish Agency's representatives in Germany. As such things go, there were cover-ups of cover-ups. This embezzlement was not unknown to the Israeli police, who learned about it from Israeli intelligence. The man accused of the embezzlement was a close friend and business associate of the Chief of Police of Israel (the country has a single unified police force); the latter's deputy -- and also a partner in some questionable business activities -- was a young man named Amos Ben-Gurion, the son of Israel's Prime Minister.

Amos -- whose Biblical namesake, it will be recalled, was both preacher and paragon of honesty -- had all the information necessary for a criminal prosecution. But so did the two young officers. Their information was so accurate and so complete -- underscoring the depths of the fear of airing dirty linen in public which the social system of the time had succeeded in inculcating -- that they knew the contents and file number of every document in the embezzler's file and the identifying number of the file itself.

In 1955, they published a pamphlet attacking the state of public ethics in Israel. In a footnote, at one point, they questioned the business associations of Amos Ben-Gurion, his chief, and the latter's involvement with the still unaccused embezzler. In another footnote, two pages later, they questioned Amos' failure to prosecute the embezzlement. It is fruitless to ask now whether the history of Israeli social organization would have turned out differently if Amos had acted differently (or if his father had behaved according to his own principles). But Amos panicked. Using his powers under the "Emergency Regulations," which give police in Israel almost unlimited power over Arabs and Jewish political dissidents, he sealed the file, changed its identification number, and declared it "Secret for Reasons of Security." With this done, he sued the two young men for libel.

It was the kind of show that Israelis love, especially when most of the public know that where there is smoke there is fire -- and most people were convinced that this case contained a raging blaze. To add fuel to it, Amos' father -- and how many fathers could say that they would have acted otherwise? -- joined the plaintiff. He did so by having a weekly magazine published in the format of most of Israel's weekend news magazines, most of which was devoted to an attempt to destroy the credibility of the two defendants; in addition, every issue displayed large photographs of the entire Ben-Gurion lineage. Heretofore, David Ben-Gurion had prohibited such photographs because they smacked to him of nepotism. It was funded out of the budget of Israel's Security (Intelligence) Service and cost approximately IL.100,000.

The young men were declared guilty of libel in a trial presided over by a three-man court. This happened despite the fact that the defendants were able to secure an adjournment of the trial during which the Supreme Court examined the file and declared that they found nothing secret in it and nothing bearing on national security. When the case was returned to the trial court, the judges continued to refuse the defense's demand that the contents of the file be made public. In giving their reasons they relied heavily on a letter from another member of Mapai who said that the disclosure of the contents would damage state security. That man was Levi Eshkol, then Minister of Finance, and later Prime Minister of Israel.

From the point of view of Israeli society, the reversal of the conviction by the Supreme Court in 1958 was an unimportant footnote to the case. The die had been cast and Israel began to move toward the kind of society that David Ben-Gurion had always visualized: free of nepotism, private internal courts, influence peddling (for which the Israeli Hebrew word is protekzia), and advancement according to individual merit. Israel is still far from reaching this -- and will be prevented from doing so as long as the kibbutzim (who continue to represent the older value system) continue to play such an important role in Israeli political and economic life -- but the change is clear on the horizon.

When the two young officer-students began their campaign against institutionalized corruption in Israel, they were called before a Mapai internal private court. It was presided over by Zalman Aranne, now Israel's Minister of Education. One of the major consultants to the committee preparing the educational bill of 1968 was one of the two defendants in the libel suit and who, incidentally, felt impelled to get his doctorate in psychology outside Israel (in the United States) and is now director of one of Israel's leading behavioral science research organizations. One of the professed goals of this educational reform is the equalization of economic opportunity and, as a result, increased equality in occupational opportunity. Whether such a goal can be reached through this change in Israel's educational system is beside the point at this juncture. Suffice it for the moment that this change is not taking place in a vacuum but is going on hand in hand with significant changes in Israel's economic organization; the latter can also be traced to the repercussions of the libel trial and similar pressures that were making themselves felt at the time.

Such changes always come slowly; since they involve complete reorientations in people's perceptions and relations to each other, they cannot be instituted overnight, like mini-skirts and turtleneck shirts. In the educational sphere, they involve budgetary allocations, new syllabuses, retraining of teachers, the construction of new school buildings, to say nothing of power brokerages and compromises. Only the brokerages and compromises were carried out prior to the enactment of the Educational Reform Bill in July 1968, and it was the long drawn out haggling in connection with the power plays that contributed to the failure to make the other necessary administrative adjustments, that is, the compilation of syllabuses, building construction, and the like. As will be seen below, there were very powerful forces aligned against the educational reform of 1968, especially the Histadrut, the kibbutzim, and the religious factions. These three -- who were thought to be impregnable barriers against change -- are embodiments of the values which fostered the corruption and self-serving interests of small groups of entrenched people who were so badly battered by the events surrounding the libel suit. But more importantly, they constitute very strong barriers to the mobility and aspirations for success among more than half of Israel's population: the immigrants from North Africa and Asia and their descendants.

One of the most important values represented by the organization of a kibbutz is entirely antithetical to the values necessary for the functioning of an industrial society. Theoretically at least, an industrial society demands that people be hired and rewarded according to competence and productivity. Ideally, in an industrial organization, a man's group memberships, friendships, and other affiliations are unimportant in decisions as to whether to hire him, reward him, or fire him. In other words, his access to the acquisition of a livelihood is supposed to depend on his personal capacities. In a kibbutz, on the other hand, a person has automatic rights to remuneration and a livelihood by virtue of his membership in the kibbutz, of his membership in the group. Thus, a member of a kibbutz is known as a chaver (best translated as "buddy" although the literal translation is "friend.") Skill and competence are not only irrelevant to the organization of a kibbutz, but they are dis-valued. In fact, not only is there no reason to be more efficient than anyone else, but this is actually frowned on. The socially acceptable standard of work in the kibbutz is to keep up with the slowest co-worker, not to insist that he try to catch up with the fastest and most efficient. Furthermore, as noted above, kibbutzim are not only exclusive organizations, but they are almost entirely European and manage to keep out non-Europeans.

The Histadrut is not only a trade union, but it is also one of Israel's largest employers, owning many of the country's major industrial enterprises. Almost all of these enterprises are managed by members of kibbutzim or former members who are being rewarded for faithful party service over many years. That is, their statuses are determined by group membership, rather than by ability. Their policies with respect to hiring and promotion are largely the same. The personnel manager or director of a Histadrut firm does not begin to consider a man for employment by inquiring into his qualifications. Instead, his first question is, 'Who sent you?" The answer to that question determines almost everything that follows. (This is very similar to the hiring policies of universities throughout the world, including the United States, whose faculties are among the foremost overt advocates of universalistic values. As most university professors know, one begins to read a letter of recommendation with its signature.) Not surprisingly, Histadrut enterprises are exclusively managed and dominated by Europeans.

This combination of values emphasizing people's group membership -- kibbutz membership, political party affiliation, friends, and, cutting across these, ethnic group membership -- unsurprisingly marshalled the opposition of the kibbutz federations and the Histadrut against the Educational Reform Bill of 1968, which was admittedly designed to benefit the non-European elements in the population.

Politics are often the matchmakers of the most unlikely bedfellows, and the religious factions were equally opposed to the educational reform of 1968 as were the Histadrut and the kibbutzim. While the religious parties had their own vested interests at stake in this reform, they shared other interests and values with their seemingly unlikely political allies. Religion -- and religious parties or factions -- is, like kinship (from which it began in early history as completely undifferentiated), exquisitely geared to asking such questions as, "Who sent you," "of which group are you a member," "are you one of us," and the like? The social values of religious groups are exclusive, whether they preach a brotherhood of man -- "man" being defined as adherents to the particular religion -- or "death to the infidels." Like the kibbutzim -- who are often seen as infidels by the religious factions in Israel -- the country's religious leaders came to the educational reform debate equally armed with the kinds of values which eschew the evaluation of a human being in his own right and which ask, of which group is he a member? (The inclusion of Christians, European as well as Arab, in Israel's lower caste is religiously based, or at least reinforced.)

On this substructure -- as a given -- Israel's religious political parties and factions are predominantly European, even though more non-Europeans than Europeans are avowedly religious. Religious courts are dominated by Europeans, and interpretations of religious law are European, rather than North African or Asian, interpretations. Similarly, religious schools are dominated by Europeans, and many of them have quotas on non-Europeans; admission to such schools are often regarded as important means of mobility among non-Europeans in Israel. In view of the proclaimed benefits for non-Europeans in the educational reform program of 1968 -- as well as the denied, but real, desire of the Ministry of Education to destroy the autonomy of religious schools in that program -- it is also understandable that the religious factions would oppose it.

It was the combined efforts of the Histadrut, the kibbutzim, and the religious factions which delayed the enactment of the Educational Reform Bill. But -- in retrospect -- the forces set into motion in 1955 proved even stronger. These are the things of which "cultural lags" are made.

"Collectivism": I mentioned earlier that Eban, Dayan, and Peres had not been members of kibbutzim and of the Histadrut Executive. I have already noted the connections between the two institutions, but I would like to elaborate a little further on some of the values represented by kibbutz social organization. There is an important and remarkable correspondence between these and many of the value systems -- especially the criteria by which rewards are allocated -- of the rest of Israeli society. In making this point, I want to make clear that I am in no way suggesting that kibbutz social organization is responsible for the predominance of these values -- viz., particularlism -- in the rest of Israeli society. These value systems have to be understood in terms of the fact that Israel is a relatively new nation and, like all such new nations -- and not a few older ones -- is still closely tied in time to agriculturally based small groups in which kinship, friendship, religion, factionalizm, and non-industrial standards of efficiency were the most adaptive standards of group life. If anything, this correspondence between kibbutz and urban values during this early stage of Israel's evolution underscores the strength of kibbutz ties to urban institutions. In order to understand this, let us begin with one of the principal myths about Israel which is frequently asserted as fact by its principal propagandists and apologists. These people often assert, along with the idea that Israel is a socialist democracy, that it is a "collectivist" society. In part, this ideology refers to a collective identity as Jewish (see, for example, Israeli Society, by S. N. Eisenstadt, pp. 372-375) which excludes the nation's non-Jewish, especially Arab, citizens. More importantly, it refers to an ethic of egalitarianism and collective responsibility, assistance, and a sense of anchorage. In actual fact, however, Israel is not a collective society; instead, it is a society in which there are many groups in which the ethic of collectivism predominates more or less. Taken as a whole, political and economic inequality, discrimination, and ascribed status predominate in the organization of social relations.

Israeli society is made up of a complex network of relatively tightly knit, small, particularistic, highly personalized small groups -- cliques -- in which a person finds his major satisfactions and through which he gains access to the system of reward allocation, power, privilege, and even legally guaranteed rights. The key word in the system of symbols on the social map of Israeli society is one's chevra; literally translated, this means a company of fellows or association, but the word loses much of its social-emotional impact in translation. It is closely related to the word chaver, which literally means friend, fellow, associate, and the like. (Chavera is the feminine form.) In terms of its social context, chevra means a group in which fellowship and companionship predominates. Without membership in a chevra a person cannot get a job, or at least improve his socioeconomic standing. Without a chevra he is quite isolated in a society in which one cannot function effectively without a series of social connections which will put him in contact with the "right" people, those who have access to the mechanisms by which favors and privileges, and even rights, are dispensed. An individual in Israeli society as noted, is not evaluated in terms of his capacities, capabilities, and achievements; he is, instead, evaluated in terms of "who he knows." For example, my maid is a graduate in piano and voice of one of Europe's leading conservatories. While hers is an admittedly extreme example of this, it is nevertheless within the range of normative social relations. A survivor of World War II in Poland, she arrived in Israel as a thoroughly isolated person and has been unable to break into a chevra of any sort. Part of her difficulties stem from personality factors, but she has been unable to establish the kind of meaningful contact with someone who would assure her of an appointment and interview and, thus, of a job of some sort. Without a chevra, one is bereft of protekzia, and without protekzia one is reduced to the lowest rungs of the social and economic scale.

Protekzia -- or Vitamin P, as it is often referred to in Israel -- is allocated along two major axes of the societal globe: ethnic-group membership and generation. Ethnicity in this case also refers to religious membership or affiliation, and religiosity in Israel often takes on many of the characteristics of ethnic-group membership. Membership in a particular chevra is more than association and acquaintance with a group. It is a social characteristic, a key to locked doors, and once one becomes a member of a particular chevra -- or fails to -- he tends to retain that attribute for life. (In Hebrew, this quality is referred to as chevratiut which, in English, would be translated as "togetherhood.") For example, I served as a member of the governing committee of a cooperative nursery school which my daughter attended. One evening, part of our meeting was devoted to an attempt to solve a problem dealing with the school's rental of municipal property. The municipality informed the group that we had to pay a monthly rental which, as it turned out, was more than we could afford out of income from tuition fees. The member of the committee appointed to negotiate with the municipal bureaucrat could make no headway in getting a reduction in the rental; in fact, he could not even get an appointment. In passing, when reporting this, he mentioned his name. Another parent, hearing this, said, "Oh, I know him. He and my husband were in the same unit in 1948." She volunteered to visit him, and the following week reported to us that, within moments of meeting him at his office, the municipal employee waived the rental fee entirely. The two men had not seen each other in more than 15 years. This was not an isolated instance, and there were many times when I was able to facilitate my research activity by securing introductions to officials from the latter's chevra-members whom they had not seen in more than a decade.

In Israel, one does not climb an occupational or professional ladder on the basis of achievements or gain access to opportunities on the basis of personal qualification. Instead, the proper imagery is of individuals being passed by hand from one to another by members of their chevra and from one chevra to another by people whose membership overlaps two groups.

This is not only a principle of Israeli social organization; it is an important aspect of Israelis' perceptions of themselves and others. It is, for want of a better term, a psychological or personality characteristic which is reminiscent of life in many primitive societies (see for example, Good Company, by Monika Wilson, or the concept of the "Harmony Ethic" in Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, edited by William N. Fenton and John Gulick) in which the person who prefers to be alone is highly suspect and is regarded as distinctly deviant. For example, a young man whom I know set up housekeeping with a young lady who is a university student. Her mother called one evening, talked for a few minutes to her daughter's lover, and then asked to speak to her daughter. The young man explained that the girl had gone out for a walk. Her mother asked with whom the girl had gone out. "Alone," the man explained. "Is she ill?" her mother wanted to know. "No, she just wanted to be alone," he answered. "Did you have a quarrel?" "No, she just wanted to be alone." "What is wrong, then?" "Nothing, she just wanted to be alone." "But why?" The conversation ping-ponged in this manner for almost a quarter of an hour, with two generations using the same vocabulary but entirely different grammars of social and emotional relations. This incident is instructive because it also points to an important area of change in the society.

There is one situation -- war -- in which the axes or boundaries of generation and ethnic groups break down; it points to an important aspect of the degree to which the concept of chevra serves as an integrating mechanism in the society as a whole. That is, even Israelis often realize that the importance of a chevra and its associated protekzia is divisive for the society and that it retards Israel's entrance into the mainstream of complete industrial life and values.

When Israel is at war or is engaged in a major military battle -- like the "raid" on Karame in Jordan in March 1968 -- the society suddenly becomes a network with extremely firm social boundaries. Influences from outside the society are unwanted and disregarded, as are personnel. During the war of June 1967, for example, Israel was flooded with thousands of "volunteers" from England, other European countries, and the United States. During that time and since, "volunteer" has become a pejorative and the volunteers were treated quite shabbily by the Israelis, with a few exceptions. They were permitted to enter the country for a variety of reasons, two of the most outstanding of which were the lack of any explicit policy (or bureaucratic confusion) and the need for hard international currency which may not have been forthcoming if the volunteers were rejected. An important aspect of the closing of Israel's boundaries during that war was the frequently asserted feeling that "we fought our own war." Outspoken dissent during such times is not tolerated, in contrast to the dissent that normally characterizes the society; roles become entirely interchangeable, and everyone freely substitutes for everyone else (within the limits noted earlier) as needed and as called upon; and distinctions between groups -- ethnic, generational, religious, political, but not caste -- tend to disappear. The entire nation becomes a chevra. Specifically, and relevant to the present discussion, the entire society becomes a single and vast communications network. As soon as a battle is over, the army transports its men to the nearest public telephones -- and sometimes installs special mobile telephones -- so that each man can call his family without charge. The conversation is brief and stylized, partly out of the necessity of security considerations. The man reports that he is well and safe, and then reports to his family which other men that are known to the family are safe, wounded, dead, or missing. As soon as this brief conversation is ended, his family begins calling the families of the others and -- especially if they do not have telephones -- their relatives and acquaintances. As a result, the personal news of every war and battle are known throughout the entire country within two to three hours. These telephone communications -- the society as a whole as a communications network -- completely cut across ethnic and generational lines; during peace, however, chevra is almost exclusively generational.

Two other examples will illustrate this. The first deals with the obliteration of generational lines. After a skirmish along the Jordanian-Israeli cease-fire line in February 1968, a lad on reserve duty noticed that one of his "buddies" was missing. At risk of his own life -- for the area was heavily mined -- he went out to look for him and found him under a demolished jeep. The man was seriously wounded and was flown by helicopter to the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem where his discoverer's stepfather is a physician. After the wounded soldier was evacuated, his "buddy" called his mother and told her to have his stepfather look in on the wounded youth. When the physician came home later that evening, his wife gave him the message, and he said that he had already received it, had looked in on the soldier during and after his surgery, and that he would be well. His wife wanted to know how he had gotten word about the wounded youth, of whom he had never heard before. After the physician's stepson had called his mother, he found a free telephone and called the wounded boy's mother; she knew the physician's mother and called her, asking her to call her son to look in on her own son. The physician's mother called her son at the hospital and relayed the message.

The second example comes from the war of June 1967. A young man whom I know, the father of two little children, was in one of the first units to be called up in May 1967. He was in one of the biggest battles in the central part of the country; his wife had neither heard of or from him -- his chevra ties are peripheral, and most of hers are in another region -- and became concerned on the fourth day of the war. Leaving her two children with a neighbor, she left to find out where her husband was stationed; according to Israeli rules, asking such a question and receiving the answer is a flagrant violation of security regulations. Learning where her husband was located, she set out on foot to see him. In a manner reminiscent of medieval wars, she went from checkpost to checkpost; at each she was halted, but when she explained her mission the men at each point made certain that she could get to the next one safely. Shortly before evening, her husband looked up from a foxhole, saw his wife and said simply, "What are you doing here?" They had dinner together and he arranged for her to guaranteed safe passage along a shorter route home, where she arrived shortly before daybreak.

It is only in wartime that everyone in the society feels responsible for everyone else. In peace, this sense of mutual responsibility and interdependence extends only to the limits of one's own chevra, but the wartime situation is an enlargement of a basic pattern for which one has received training from the earliest years. I will illustrate below how this ethic is an integral part of the school situation. At its greatest extreme, this is the social ethic of the kibbutz, in which every member is responsible for all others, and in which the entire group assumes responsibility for all members. In other words, a kibbutz is a chevra, and as such is a kaleidescopic representation of a basic ethical tenet of Israeli social life. Thus, for example, one of the basic rules of many kibbutzim is that the parents of every member have an automatic right to full -- except voting -- rights in the kibbutz without the obligation to work. Another example of this principle of solidarity is in a problem that is increasing in frequency and complexity in kibbutzim: the property rights of members who resign from their kibbutzim. As Israeli society inches away from the particularism of the values implicit in chevra towards more industrially appropriate value systems, it is not surprising that the kibbutz itself is regarded by the society at large as an inappropriate social system and many kibbutz members also realize that the days of this type of community are numbered.

But it would be a misconception of Israeli social organization to imagine that these values will change under the impact of industrialization alone. This will be a necessary precondition, but it will not be sufficient. Particularism in Israeli life -- and its central place in the school curriculum, as will be seen -- is also inextricably tied to Israel's external policy, and this in turn is intermeshed with its policies toward its Arab citizens and other minority groups. The separateness and exclusiveness of different ethnic and religious groups are given explicit recognition in Israeli law and legislation. Similarly, the emphasis in Israeli values generally, and in education in particular, on Jewish exclusiveness is part of the broader base on which more specific particularistic and exclusive groupings are based. Social systems tend to be consistent, and it is difficult to imagine that Israel can achieve a uniform standard of universalistic values -- in which people are evaluated solely on the basis of their qualifications and achievements -- until the circle of external policy and internal inequalities is broken. It is sometimes said, and not without a measure of bitterness, that the worst thing that Israel's neighboring states could do to it is to declare peace (see for example, The End of the Jewish People?, by Georges Friedmann, pp. 145, 266). There is a large element of truth in this, because an abrupt break in the external-policy part of the circle would produce a vacuum in Israeli organization of group relations and values; but it must also be remembered that such a break in the circle would depend on the ability of the Egyptians, Jordanians, and Syrians to solve their internal problems which force them to maintain -- or contribute to a maintenance of -- a state of incessant war with Israel.

Jews and Non-Jews: Also at about the time that Mapai was formed -- in the late 1920s and early 1930s -- the Jewish sector of the population, under the leadership of Ben-Gurion, made the firm and, thus far, irrevocable decision of separateness and segregation from non-Jews. The Jewish sector of the population did have a choice at that time as to whether to integrate with the existing Arab population or segregate themselves; they chose the latter. Apparently, there was pressure from within the Jewish sector to incorporate Arabs into settlements established by Jews and expand already existing Arab settlements with capital and equipment brought in by Jews. It was apparently Ben-Gurion who was ultimately responsible for the final decision for the Israeli version of apartheid. Thus, present Arab-Jewish relations have to be understood in terms of choices and decisions that were made at the society's inception, and not only in terms of current day-to-day events. This is the proper context for evaluating the passive resistance and non-cooperation of Arabs in East Jersualem since its capture in 1967 -- such as their refusal to accept any positions of responsibility in municipal government, Israeli claims to the contrary notwithstanding -- and not their continued loyalty to King Hussein, whom they despise.

But this is also important -- especially when evaluating the position of Arab university students in Israel -- because of the frequent Israeli claim that the "Emergency Laws" and the practice of administrative detention is necessary on grounds of military security. I do not gainsay the existence of a security problem in Israel, but it does not center around Arabs exclusively. If we take the number of Israeli Jews who have been convicted of spying for Israel's enemy neighbors relative to the Jewish population, and if we compare that ratio to the number of Israeli Arabs who have been convicted for this crime, a purely statistical comparison suggests that Jews in Israel constitute a much more serious security threat. The reasons for this are many, one of which is that Israeli Arabs have as much contempt for Israel's neighbors as do Israeli Jews.

I think that the Arab riots of 1936-1939 are understandable in terms of this decision. Xenophobia and extreme ethnocentrism have long been a tradition in Middle Eastern Islamic culture, and the traditional Islamic definition of a heathen is a person who not only does not embrace Allah and follow the Koran but one who is culturally different in all ways. Arab opposition to Jewish settlement was minor -- and often nonexistent -- prior to 1936. Although the two sectors maintained separate political institutions and economic organizations prior to that time -- an aspect of the British policy of divide and conquer, and maintained by the firm boundaries of British colonial government -- they not only usually lived peacefully side by side but also maintained close economic, if not political, ties. Especially in the economic sphere, relations between the two sectors were quite close. For example, employment of Arabs by Jews prior to 1936/1937 had a significant impact on the wage structure of the Jewish sector. Although the Histadrut tried to use its institutional power in order to retain all jobs in the Jewish sector for Jewish labor (the "Hebrew only" policy begun in the 1920s), Arab labor was a potential source of supply for the Jewish employer. In agriculture, for example, competition between Jewish and Arab labor was particularly strong in orchards, according to a census taken in 1930 in the five major orange growing villages ('moshavot'). Only a few orchards employed Jewish labor only; in most cases, Arabs and Jews were employed side by side by the same Jewish employer. At the same time, unemployment among Jewish labor in the villages was considerable. In these villages -- Petach-Tiqva, Nes-Ziona, Hadera, Rishon Lezion, and Rechovot -- 32.4% of the Jewish laborers in these villages were unemployed at the end of 1930. Just prior to the riots of 1936-1939 (which began in April 1936), the percentage of Arabs employed in these five settlements reached 66.3% of all employees, as compared to 52.9% in 1930.

By the end of 1934, unemployment among Jews in all villages was almost completely eliminated from a high rate of about 23.6% in 1930. During 1935, Jewish unemployment rose again and at the end of the year reached 15.4% without causing a decline in Arab employment. The riots naturally had an effect on Arab employment by Jews, and by February 1937 the percentage of Arabs employed in Jewish orchards in the five villages mentioned above dropped to 27%. By the beginning of 1939, Arab labor had almost completely disappeared. Similar figures were obtained in other industries of the Jewish sector during these periods, most notably the building trades.

I have cited these figures in some detail because they bear on two important issues. First, they demonstrate that the Histadrut's claim during the 1920s and 1930s -- to say nothing of later -- that Jews employed only Jews was false. The claim was necessary, from the Histadrut's point of view, in order to encourage Jewish immigration and investment of foreign capital by Jews, especially in Histadrut enterprises. Second -- and despite the fact that hiring decisions with respect to Arabs were naturally influenced by the high rate of unemployment among Arabs and the lower wages they commanded from Jews -- these data suggest that in a free labor market Jews as individuals were willing to hire Arab labor and worked well with them. The policies of exclusiveness with respect to Arabs in hiring, sales and purchases, residence, and the like, were official -- institutional -- decisions. Similarly, it is suggested from these data that despite the Arab proclivity to xenophobia, ethnocentrism, and so forth, they were perfectly willing to work for and with Jews until the Histadrut and others (most notably the Jewish Agency) made the policy of Jewish separatism and official one of their government.

It was also at this point that the Jewish sector of the population officially abandoned its principles of a democratically governed society. This was expressed dramatically in an exchange between Mr. Bartley Crum and Dr. Chaim Weizmann in the latter's testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (p. 42) in March 1946. It is worthwhile quoting part of this exchange because of what it reveals about the Jewish position as it had been formulated in the 1930s.

"Q. Doctor Weizmann, I notice in the brief that was filed [by the Jewish Agency] in August, 1945, at Page 58, there is a claim that an immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine as a Jewish State. Is it your view that a Jewish State should be established at this time?

"A. No; I don't think that it is meant in that way. What I would like to see is the beginning of immigration and settlement, the bringing in of as many as possible of this poor remnant. Then a transition period. But it should be made clear that this transition should eventually lead to a Jewish State when a majority is achieved.

"Q. Do you think the word 'Jewish' is necessary, and if so, why?

"A. We are bringing in Jews.

"Q. What is in my mind is this: You have presently an Arab Majority in Palestine. The word 'Jewish State' presently implies, does it not, the imposition of a new majority upon an existing majority of people. Isn't that right?

"A. That is so, yes.

"Q. What I would like to know is how that is justified in democratic practice?

"A. The word 'imposition' always means use of force. Well, if you bring Jews into the country and allow them to settle and allow the country to develop to its maximum, and absorb as many people as can be absorbed, a majority would be created. I don't believe it is undemocratic if it is done without hurting the others."

The fruits of that philosophy are still being reaped, not only with respect to Israeli Arabs -- who are legally defined second class citizens, no matter how that type of citizenship is conceptualized -- but within the Jewish sector itself. As I suggested above, it is not possible to maintain a position of inegalitarianism in only one sphere and hope that it will remain encapsulated and sterilized. Once established as a basic tenet in any sphere, it proliferates, metastisizes, and infects all other areas.

The ethical bases of inequality -- the reflex of mind which serves as an important part of the substructure of inequality -- were thus laid in the establishment of the state. Recently, I had a conversation with a moshav farmer who had built a large and successful business in which he raises flowers for international export; the conversation drifted into the general problem of Arab-Jewish relations. "Look," he said with a somewhat plaintive catch in his voice, "all the land I own and work on is Arab land. It was not even bought. The Arabs who owned it fled in 1948."

I asked, "What would you do if they returned and wanted it back?"

"I would offer to pay them for it."

'What if they wanted the land?"

"That's the problem, they would not take money, they want the land."

"But you admitted that it was theirs, what would you do?"

"I would not return it to them, that's the problem."

'Why?"

"Because there is nowhere else for a Jew to live, this is the only place we can survive, and if it means taking what does not belong to us, well, we just take what doesn't belong to us. Maybe it is not right, but for us it is right, we have no choice."

He was obviously made uncomfortable by the turn the conversation had taken and I let him change the topic, and we turned to a discussion of hired labor by moshav farmers (now nearly universal). There are even sharecropping arrangements, and he told me that one of the major disadvantages to this was that Arab sharecroppers often pitch their tents on the land which they sharecrop in order to watch over it.

"Why is that a disadvantage," I wanted to know.

"It creates social problems," he explained.

"I don't understand, what kinds of problems?"

He looked at me as though I were from another planet. "Who would want an Arab living next door?"

"I don't understand," I said, "How would that create problems?"

"Just seeing them there, just having them there." His voice trailed off and we spoke about the awful Israeli wine we were sharing, which he thought was quite good.

Unequal access to jobs, income, privilege, power, longevity, living space, and education are salient features of contemporary Israeli society. It is often claimed by Israel's apologists and sociologists that this situation is new, and that it is a result of the "primitiveness" of North African and Asian immigrants, of their inability to accept the modern standards of Israeli society, of their retention of kinship-based and oriented social relations, and of their self-segregation (see for example, Israeli Society, by S. N. Eisenstadt and Between Past and Future, by Carl Frankenstein). But these inequalities existed in Israel long before 1948, and the policies adopted by the society toward these non-European immigrants after 1948 appear to be a continuation and extension of a social philosophy -- of a way of organizing group relations in a national society -- that have deep roots and the clear legitimacy which asserts that morality starts at the end of a gun barrel. The penchant that Israel's sociologists have for putting the entire resonsibility for the physical and social segregation of these immigrants on their cultural "backgrounds" -- without ever once, to my knowledge, having demonstrated empirically what they say -- is thoroughly belied by these disenfranchised people's performance and rewards in the army and, when permitted, in school. One simply cannot explain the social, emotional, and physical brutality of teachers, especially native-born Israelis, to the children of these immigrants in terms of their parents' orientations to kin-based social relations. I do not want to suggest that these immigrants' cultural heritages from Africa and Asia have not played a role in the shape, content, and speed of their integration into the mainstream of Israeli life. I do not know how such things are measured, or whether they are measurable. But this research has led to the conclusion that it is relatively unimportant whether they can be measured or are measureable -- because attempts to measure them will draw attention away from the social insitutions -- the people in power -- that brutalize and demean. That would be a misuse of science.

While Israel's major institutions -- Histadrut, Jewish Agency, Mapai, the kibbutz federations, the moshavim and their federations, the army, and so forth -- were being developed, other parties and vested interests formed and reformed, split and reunited. All, however, took place within the framework that has been described. They were elaborations and variations on these basic themes.

Development Towns: In concluding this brief introduction to Israeli social organizations as a background to a description of its educational system, I would like to describe in greater detail one important post-1948 innovation mentioned above. This was the creation of what are called in Israel "Development Towns" or new towns. This is the sole post-1948 innovation and change in Israeli social organization. Intended as settlements for North African and Asian immigrants and as centers for the development of Israeli industry -- including jet engines and small aircraft, automobiles, textiles, food processing, cement and containers, and the like -- I believe that these urban nuclei hold much of the future of Israeli social organization. Certainly, as I will try to show, Israeli education cannot be understood without reference to these new towns; it appears that neither their inhabitants nor Israeli planners realize that almost no new development can occur in Israeli life without first being tried in these Development Towns. One can think of these settlements as the nurseries of the seeds of Israeli change.

Prior to 1948, Israel's population was concentrated in three large urban centers -- Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem -- which held about 60% of the total. The rest were largely scattered in small agricultural settlements and small towns, like Ramle and Nazareth. The story of Israel's doubling of its Jewish population within less than three years after May 15, 1948 is legendary and the statistics need not be repeated here. The overwhelming majority of these new immigrants were from North Africa and Asia. There are several facts about this period of immigration which are almost never mentioned but which nevertheless deserve mention. Aside from the almost unprecedented doubling of a population within three years, and the incredible strain placed on existing Israeli institutional resources in coping with these vast numbers of people, what is often forgotten is that Israel is probably unique in the annals of history as a nation in which the recruitment, transportation, and settlement of immigrants is regarded as a state and political responsibility. As mentioned above, Israel is poor in almost all natural resources, but it considers two of these -- money and people -- to be more important than all others; hence, it imports them, and their importation is conducted by state agencies. Money is imported by the Ministry of Finance, and two of its most ingenious and successful attempts in this regard were the German reparations and the Israel Bonds programs. Until June 1968, immigration was largely the responsibility of the Histadrut and, even more so, the Jewish Agency.

Israel is also unique in having undertaken, as a state responsibility, the construction of housing for these immigrants. When hundreds of thousands of immigrants began descending on Israel after May 15, 1948, there was no housing for them; nor were there jobs, schools, medical and sanitary facilities, and the like. The first housing for them were hastily constructed transit camps (ma'barot); some were of tents, shacks of plywood and cardboard, wooden barracks, and (in some cases) mud-walled one- and two-room homes. In some cases, people were soon shifted to moshavim and were told that henceforth they were farmers within a particular bureaucratic framework; the results were not always the happiest (see for example Reluctant Pioneers, by Alex Weingrod). Later, when pressure on existing transit facilities were unbearable, a policy was adopted of moving immigrants directly from shipside to moshavim. What is remarkable is that the government, the Histadrut, and the Jewish Agency came through this period at all; out of this came a unique Israeli experience -- rational and long range planning.

But before turning to this, what must be remembered is that the Israelis were at war when these immigrants arrived, with Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and several others that did not border on Israel directly. Israel had not a dollar in reserve -- its dollar reserves now run into the hundreds of millions -- and was having difficulty in feeding and providing services even for its existing population. Its administrative agencies were strained to the limit for personnel, money, and policy.

This was also Israelis' first introduction to immigrants from North Africa and Asia on a mass scale, and the results of the encounter were in some respects disastrous, and they linger. On the one hand, the immigrants themselves had their first introduction to Israeli bureaucracy; what they could not understand, of course, was that bureaucratic means were the only ones available for coping with the situation. Most of these immigrants were people who came from communities in which relations were highly personalized, in which a man's treatment by bureaucrats is often determined by his social status, and in which bureaucrats and clients would discuss matters over endless cups of tea and coffee. None of these traditional forms were -- or could be -- observed in Israel, especially with strangers. In their original settings, these immigrants always knew that they had stable employment, family and community relations, and other points of social orientation when dealing with bureaucrats, that is, some sense of social-emotional security. In Israel, they had none; they were inanimate objects with no points of reference, no sense of worth of dignity, no focus of stability, as they were impersonally shunted from one place to another. This would be demeaning and disorienting for any person, and the fright and disorganization -- so politely and antiseptically, of not incorrectly, referred to by Israeli social scientists as anomie -- that these people experienced is easily imaginable. Most did not -- and some still do not -- know the language. Added to this is another important ingredient: Israeli bureaucrats are probably, as a rule, among the most rude, highhanded, boorish, and inconsiderate in the world. This is exacerbated by the widespread Israeli belief that it is hypocritical to be courteous and polite. (This is closely tied to the importance of chevra, but I cannot go into it here.)

As a result of these factors in combination, the immigrants often reacted violently; what person would not? The European Israelis immediately came to the conclusion that those of North African and Asian descent are naturally violent people, incapable of observing the basic amenities of life, and are somewhat less than human. This was their first reaction to these immigrants and they have not lost this stereotype of them. The North Africans and Asians responded in kind: Europeans are highhanded boors with privilege and they receive all the power and privilege in Israel, and refuse to share these with anyone else. They, too, have held onto this stereotype to the present. This has set the stage for one of the most important cleavages in Israeli society, and the nation will be long in overcoming it. It would be futile to speculate whether it could have been avoided; it occurred, and it is a fact of Israeli life.

Faced with an unprecedented pressure, the Israeli government undertook an equally unprecedented -- and, according to some cynics, unrepeated -- step: it began to plan. In 1951, a program of population and settlement dispersion was undertaken. Much of this program was unrealistic -- such as an anticipation of a Jewish population of about 3 million -- but out of it emerged the phenomenon of Development Towns. Now, as noted above, in order to understand this it has to be remembered that in the absence of centralized planning, towns and villages (or other kinds of settlements) grow in "natural" settings: along rivers or other sources of power, at major crossroads, in fertile surroundings, and the like. One of the characteristics of modern industrial states is the construction of urban settlements in localities in which urban nuclei would never have developed "naturally." Israel's Development Towns were planned for places that no one would ever dream of settling in: in the southern desert and in the northern mountains. There are now 27 such towns. As one drives along the roads of the country, they are unmistakable with their white brick and cement high-rise apartment houses, sometimes exhibiting unusual color combinations on their terraces, concrete and modernistic water towers, and -- most dramatically -- their physical isolation. One exception to this is Nazareth Illit, a town of Jews developed on the outskirts of old Nazareth which remains exclusively Arab and Christian, high on a hill overlooking some beautiful portions of the Valley of Israel.

Development Towns were planned, though not quite explicitly, as settlements for immigrants from North Africa and Asia. Thus, ethnic segregation was implicit in the plan from the very beginning. At the moment, the government is stimulating the development of three such towns -- one in the southern desert and two in the north -- for Europeans, but it is still too early to tell whether these will succeed. Despite their common social-structural features (to which I will turn in a moment), these towns differ considerably from each other. In some, such as Eilat and Nazareth Illit, morale is extraordinarily high. In fact, Eilat is at one extreme of the continuum of Development Towns. At the southern tip of Israel and thoroughly isolated geographically, it is a clean and sparkling town in which a mood prevails that is not found elsewhere in the country. This mood is best described, for want of a better term, as democratic. There is nearly 100% employment in Eilat, even during the planned recession of 1966-1968, when unemployment throughout the rest of the country was high. It is the only place in Israel in which its deviants -- hippies and pacifists -- can find employment and acceptance. Every home and every schoolroom in Eilat is air conditioned, and the town square (or center) literally "jumps" every night of the week. Important in terms of Israel's encouragement of immigration from Western countries, it is one of the few places in the country in which American youths feel completely comfortable and at ease.

At the other extreme is Ashdod, with its high rate of unemployment, factional quarrels, resentment of outsiders, and low morale. Ashdod is Israel's second port (Haifa being the first) in which strikes are weekly occurrences, emigration is high, and discontent rife.

What are the common characteristics of Development Towns? In terms of the theoretical framework being used here, a Development Town is a settlement which maintains completely open boundaries. Influences and personnel are constantly coming into them from without, specifically from state agencies. No Development Town has an industry which is based on local resources or needs; all industries in Development Towns are established by the Histadrut (these were the first) or by the government itself. As a result, all policies with respect to production and wages, labor relations, purchasing, welfare, and so forth, are determined in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Self-determination, regulation, and control are -- with one major exception (Eilat) -- absent in Development Towns. As will be seen, this has important consequences for their educational systems and for that of the country as a whole.

This openness to policy influences is closely tied to personnel policies in the Development Towns. At first -- and this is still largely true -- all residents of these settlements were directed there by government agencies, the Histadrut and the Jewish Agencies. These decisions were always made according to national -- not the people's -- needs. By and large, kinship connections, skills, preferences, and the like, were disregarded. In most cases, the immigrants had no choices because these towns had the only jobs available to them. At the same time, however, the managerial groups of all agencies -- school principals, factory managers, welfare administrators, and the like -- were almost all Europeans who were induced by governmental agencies, the Histadrut, and the Jewish Agency to settle there. The major inducements were financial; in many cases, higher wages were the prime consideration, and in a few cases, such as Eilat, significant reductions in income tax were also given these managers. I do not know whether this was ever told explicitly to these European and native-born (sabra) bureaucrats, but it soon became evident to them that these jobs were important stepping stones in the Israeli mobility system.

Two consequences have resulted from this. The first is that since these plant managers represent centralized national agencies, they identify with the latter's interests rather than with the residents'. This has been most noticeable in connection with wage policies and perquisites -- the gulf between the two groups in these respects is clearly apparent -- and this has been a major source of tension.

Laborers demand higher wages and better welfare (including medical) treatment, especially to bring what they receive more into line with the managers'; the latter, as representatives of the centralized agencies -- medical services in Israel, for example, are a monopoly of the Histadrut -- resist these demands. Thus, strikes, lockouts, and a variety of other disputes are frequent in these towns. Tensions over control of municipal councils -- which remain under central party (especially Mapai, i.e., Histadrut) regulation -- are common. Whenever a choice exists for the managerial class between responding to local and headquarters demands, the latter almost invariably win out. This is not only true in connection with wages and perquisites but also, as will be seen, in the educational sphere.

The second consequence of this -- reinforcing the openness of these towns' boundaries -- is a high rate of turnover in managerial personnel. Since these jobs are, willy or nilly, important stepping stones in the mobility process, there are few professionals -- plant managers, hospital or other welfare directors, engineers, principals and teachers -- who have been in a Development Town for more than four or five years. This also decreases the possibility for people in this class to develop any strong identifications with the towns. Another aspect of this is that many of these managers and other professionals are commuters, especially when the towns in which they work are within an hour's automobile or bus trip; in not a few cases, these people are willing to travel longer every day in order to live in Jerusalem, Beersheba, or Haifa, and each morning and evening sees busloads carrying these professionals to and from the cities to Development Towns. In many cases, they travel free, their fares being paid by their agency-employers.

Thus, the proletariat of the Development Towns are entirely dependent on outside agencies, personnel, and urban centers for almost every aspect of their lives. In these terms, they are kaleidescopic representations of the process or goal inherent in all centralization: In modern societies, communities lack the power to control the institutions that regulate and determine their existence. Local life is largely based on the techniques, equipment, products, values, and motivations that originate in distant places. (This is a key element in the method of this research, to be described below.) In other words, the community in a modern nation is constantly dependent on cultural imports; it is a fragment, not a microcosm, of the societal whole. Their statistical representativeness (or lack of representativeness) is beside the point; they are sociologically indicative of a representative process, and their importance can be surmised from their population growth. The following is a sample of five Development Towns:

	1948	1950	1952	1955	1961	1965	1966
Eilat	-	-	275	520	5,326	9,700	10,400
Ashdod	-	-	-	-	4,604	23,400	27,000
Bet Shemesh	-	210	2,680	3,000	6,986	9,900	9,900
Nazareth Illit	-	-	-	-	4,291	10,900	11,100
Kiryat Gat	-	-	-	-	10,111	15,600	15,900

(Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 18, 1967, Table B/10)

Nor is it sufficient to take these statistics, or the rates of growth that they represent, as static. Bet Shemesh, for example, is shortly going to have a jet-engine factory, under a contract between the government and the French Dessault firm, and this will lead to a population increase both at the laboring and managerial or professional levels. There are already changes in Bet Shemesh life as a result of conditions stated in the contract by the French firm.

Overall, the importance of Development Towns for Israel can be stated as follows. There are 66 settlements in Israel with populations numbering more than 5,000. (These 66 include the six towns of Petakh Tiqva, Ramat Gan, Holon, Bnei Brak, Bat Yam, and Givatayim which are in effect, part of the Tel Aviv area.) Thus, Development Towns -- numbering 27 -- make up nearly half of the urban and urbanizing settlements of the country. As more such settlements are planned and established, they will come to predominate. The fluidity and openness of the boundaries that they maintain will contribute greatly to the firm boundaries that the society as a whole is seeking to establish. This will be especially noticeable when the state succeeds in subverting the firm boundaries maintained by the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, the kibbutz federations, and the religious sector. With that will not only come increasing cultural homogeneity but also increasing centralization; this centralization -- mirrored in the nation's educational system -- exists in law and in design; but it does not yet exist in fact. It is in the process of coming into realization.

V

Persistence and Change in Israeli Education

The Ministry of Education and Culture is one of the favorite targets of Israelis, who often feel constrained from criticizing their government on other matters. Always good for a laugh is the latest administrative or curricular gaff of the ministry, its nepotism, and admitted bureaucratic confusion. More noticeably than most other ministries, its lines of decision-making and responsibility are -- to be charitable -- not very clearly drawn. Where people in other countries regale each other with tidbits of behavior of prominent movie stars, Israelis often spend hours relishing stories about the erratic behavior and whirlwind "brain storms" of their Minister of Education and Culture. Naturally, in view of my research interests, my presence often elicited such stories and anecdotes more often than is probably normal, but their fund seems limitless. I can personally vouch for the ministry's switchboard being left unattended for hours; for people responsible for curricular planning being unaware that particular curricular guides had been published and had been in use for several months; for some of its most valuable documents being permanently lost (and thus making a complete history of Israeli education virtually impossible), and the like. In fact, it is probably safe to say that there is always a worse story that can be told about the ministry than the last, and the very worst is probably impossible to imagine.

I mention this at the outset as a background for the only disagreement that I consistently voiced to Israelis in connection with their attitudes toward their rulers. Admittedly, I did this out of a sort of perverse delight in violating anthropological canons of assumed neutrality and in making my friends uncomfortable about a relatively unimportant issue (compared, for example, to their foreign policy or behavior toward Arab citizens). But it was also out of conviction that I used the Hebrew phrase, roughly translated as,"'Hats off' to the Ministry of Education." The latter is one of the best examples of what a state agency can do when its personnel are driven -- "obsessed" may be the more accurate term in this context -- by unimaginable need, idealism, and the necessity to improvise. When the teeming hordes of humanity descended on Israel from Asian and North African countries after 1948 -- with their largefamilies, many of them illiterate, an even larger number uneasy about the idea of compulsory education, especially for girls, without skills or places to live -- the country had barely an extra seat in its classrooms; there was a shortage of teachers and buildings; there were no textbooks for most pupils; and the country as a whole -- to say nothing of the Ministry of Education and Culture -- had no money to spare for non-military activities. Almost the entire civilian population lived at the time on a bare subsistence diet, and rationing of food was narrow and strict. Nevertheless, compulsory universal education was enacted, and schooling -- good or bad is beside the point under such circumstances -- was provided. It was one of those instances of "doing the impossible" for which Israelis are noted and of which they are proud. Viewed historically in terms of actual needs as compared to available resources, getting those disorganized and disoriented masses of children into schools was probably even more amazing than any of the country's military exploits. The reader can draw his own conclusions, but Israelis have by and large forgotten this educational achievement; but they recall the story of every military feat down to its last detail, real or imagined.

Partly out of administrative incompetence -- and partly because there was simply neither time nor energy to keep records -- a documentary history of the achievements of the Ministry of Education and Culture in schooling its new population is impossible. A few statistics are available, but they are insignificant. Every person in the ministry has his own set of anecdotes to recall, but it is impossible to do more than imagine what the whole picture may have been like. Their first task was to teach the alphabet, simple arithmetic, and a few other basic facts. Where and how they found the teachers, the primitive machinery to enroll pupils in schools, or even where and how they found the schoolbuildings themselves would make an excellent chapter in a primer on how to establish a state. Today Israel can boast that it has the highest ration of junior-high-school-age pupils of any non-Western country. Whether important or not, it was a remarkable achievement. As a matter of fact, Israelis do not mention this, let alone boast of it; I do not know whether many people in the Ministry of Education and Culture are aware of it. If plans currently afoot to establish a network of community colleges -- sometimes referred to as another of the minister's "harebrained schemes" and which, for some reason, is being kept highly secret -- comes to fruition, Israel may, in a few years, also have the highest ratio of post-secondary school students of any country. Now let us see out of what all this came and what it led to.

As in all new nations, education in Israel is a focus of major concern. In most societies that have emerged out of former colonial status, radical transformations of the educational systems have been inseparable from the overthrow of political subordination to foreign masters. There are several reasons for this, not the least of which is that in most of these societies movements for political independence were led by the educated minority who then became the first leaders of their newly independent nations. This in turn is closely tied to the fact that colonial status in these societies always determined the shape and content of education during their colonial periods. One of the tasks of an educational system is to provide instruction in the expectations, achievements, and rewards that accompany different statuses in the society. Not only is this true with regard to the culturalization of the individual, but also with respect to the status of the society as a whole vis-à-vis other societies. Thus, throughout history, political subservience of one society to another has been an integral part of its educational system; the same is true with respect to political independence, which is as much reflected in the educational system. In other words, not only does an educational system teach different groups of pupils their presumed stations in society, but it also instructs them in their society's station in relation to others. It is the indivisibility of education from national political status that is, in large part, responsible for the high prestige enjoyed by education in most new nations.

It is also for this reason that every decision taken with regard to a society's educational system is a political -- not an educational -- decision. Educationists and educational philosophers do not determine educational policy. As with economists, their recommendations and suggestions are accepted when they fit in with societal needs, as these are defined by the ruling groups. Nor do teachers determine educational policy or even influence it. They are employees -- agents serving as a particular purpose -- of the state and are considered to have as much legitimacy in participating in educational decision making as tax collectors in connection with their sphere of the society's policy. Because of this, the sources of persistence and change in education must be sought in the political organization of a society, particularly in the organization of relations among groups in the society.

An essential task in describing a nation's educational system -- whether in terms of persistence or change,or both -- is the distinction between curricular content and its organization as an aspect of the state's bureaucracy. Either can change while the other remains unchanged, and the persistence or change of each will have different sources in the national culture.

It is in these terms that Israel persents a picture that is remarkable, not only when it is compared to other new nations but to most other societies in general. The curricular content of Israeli education has undergone almost no change at all in almost half a century. This is unusual in a rapidly changing world affected by modern science, in which man's entire conception of the universe and his place in it has been completely transformed in recent years; but it also underscores an interpretation that I made earlier: Israel's beginnings as a state do not date from May 15, 1948 but, instead, from the 1920s. The persistence and relative stability of its political organization during these last 50 years are mirrored in a comparable persistence in the content of its curriculum.

In his paper on "Education and the Making of Modern Nations" (in Education and Political Development edited by James Coleman), Francis X. Sutton observes that during the colonial period, the "assumption of African inferiority went much beyond the specific field of exercising responsible authority. There were types of work which were considered 'European work' and types which were 'African work.'" The type of work the people consider legitimate and respectable is closely tied to their social and peronal identity, and there is a tendency in many modern societies for the individual to define himself in terms of the work that he does.

Israeli ideology in general, and its educational curriculum in particular, has a very clear conception of what is "legitimate" work, namely, any occupation that Jews were unable to hold in other countries outside of Israel. This helps to account for the extraordinarily high valuation placed on farming, engineering, military brilliance, and all other "traditionally" non-Jewish occupations. Research into Israeli patterns of leadership from the 1920s to the present seem to show a remarkable lack of correspondence between educational and political achievement, and these data seem to bear out the hypothesis that educational achievement is in fact a bar to political power in Israel. This is understandable in view of the pre-Israeli association of Jews with "bookishness" and "scholarship" which, it is felt, were the only alternatives available to Jews outside Israel. Israelis frequently express contempt for non-Israeli Jews; they do so in a variety of ways (this will be discussed more fully below), one of which is their self-conscious and deliberate attempt to dissociate themselves from "traditionally Jewish" occupations.

This is beginning to change, and I think it accounts for the faint indicators of change on the curricular horizon (which will be discussed below). As a generation of native born Israelis come to maturity, never having known the psychological albatross of the immigrants of the "second aliyah," who would have preferred to make their way in Eastern Europe but were thwarted by the failure of the 1905 Russian Revolution, the preoccupying self-comparisons with non-Israeli Jews are becoming associated with a generation that is about to die. It is also beginning to change under the impact of the imperatives of modern technology and -- what would have been extraordinarily rare a decade ago -- even members of kibbutzim, one of the former bastions of anti-intellectualism in Israel, are not only starting to seek admission to universities and even going on for doctorates in a variety of fields but they are entertaining the idea of a kibbutz university. (For an American academician, it is amusing to observe that the Ph.D. is finally, after almost 50 years, becoming respectable in a nation that defines itself as Jewish.) Thus, while far from commonplace, I no longer find it surprising to find in a kibbutz a man who is planning to go to the United States to study for an advanced degree in social anthropology -- still a nearly-forbidden topic at the Hebrew University — or to speak to another while he is scrubbing kitchen floors and learn that he had received a doctorate in philosophy from Tel Aviv University the week before, or to get on an international flight, as I did recently, and sit down next to a young man from a kibbutz in the southern desert going to the University of Chicago for a doctorate in political sociology. Note their subject matters, for the kibbutz has traditionally resisted their members' desires for education in "non-pragmatic" subjects. Of course, this is also an aspect of the imminent demise of the kibbutz as a social form.

Nevertheless, "pioneering" ideology, with its emphasis on agriculture and associated activities, continues to be an important ingredient in Israeli legitimation and is an important part of the curriculum, even in urban schools. The same is true of emphases on Biblical study and on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Closely related to this -- especially as a reflection of unquestioned religious authority -- is the persistence of a particular style of teaching, in which the teacher tells his pupils how something works but never allowing them to learn for themselves. This too, is beginning to change, and in some surprising places as well. But the prevailing norm in most schools is for the "teacher to sit on Mount Olympus and dispense sacred truth." This quote is from an elementary school principal deploring the way in which he was taught when he was a child in pre-1948 Israel -- but who, himself, still refuses to introduce science laboratories to his school. Deeply implanted patterns are difficult to uproot.

In colonial societies, one of the goals of the foreign rulers was to maintain as wide a gap as possible between rulers and ruled, whereas the goal of post-colonial nations is to close the cultural and ideological gap between the standards of the former colonial rulers and the newly independent nations. Thus, the pen and the watch are understandably important symbols in many of these societies. Similarly, with the establishment of the Israeli state in the 1920s, the Jews of the country made their ideological and symbolic changes: they glorified the farmer and the soldier. It was then that they narrowed the gap in the standards between themselves as a new nation and their former "colonial rulers" in Europe and elsewhere.

It was considerably after 1948 that Israel began to make changes in its organization of schools. In order to understand these changes, it is first necessary to have a picture of the pre-1948 school system. Prior to 1882, the Jewish population of the country was made up almost exclusively of extremely religious people living primarily in Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed. By and large, their schools were of the traditional type that had been established during the Middle Ages; in one way or another they were based on the cheder (=room) system, in which one teacher, sometimes with an assistant, would teach 20 to 30 boys from the ages of 4 to 13. The curriculum was limited to rote religious instruction: Bible, Talmud, and commentaries on these.

There were two educational systems, neither of which was centralized or unified. One was for people of German or Eastern European origin (Ashkenazim); the other was for people of Spanish, North African or Asian origin (Sephardim). The principal difference between the two was in the language of instruction: Yiddish for the Ashkenazi schools, Ladino or Arabic for the Sephardi schools. These schools were for boys only; there were none for girls.

While not recognizable at the time, this school pattern focused on one problem -- that of language -- that was to be settled shortly afterward and laid the foundation for a schism in the social organization of what was to be Israel: the differences between Jews of European and North African or Asian origin. Although Hebrew was taught, it was treated as a "dead" language, much as we consider Latin or ancient Greek. Nor were secular subjects taught. Just as each community -- and often each neighborhood within a community -- retained autonomy in almost all spheres, so did each school remain autonomous. Nevertheless, there was a common bond of sentiment stemming from religious commonality. Thus, for example, when the attempt was made under European (especially French) influence to establish some trade schools during the early 1880s, some of the more ultraorthodox Jews declared a ban of excommunication against all parents who sent their children to those schools. In line with the basic schism, it excommunicated only the Jews of German and Eastern European origin.

The opposition to the introduction on secular subjects to the schools was intimately related to later opposition to the use of Hebrew as the vernacular. More emphatically and generally, these positions were part and parcel of a much broader stance which can only be thought of as antimodernism. Its most recent and extreme expression is in the refusal of the most extreme orthodox Jews to recognize the state of Israel and to participate in its most basic institutions. Linguistic factionalism as an expression of sociopolitical divisions are not unfamiliar occurrences, even in the contemporary world, as in Belgium, Yugoslavia, and India. The first attempts to introduce Hebrew into the curriculum and as the vernacular occurred around 1882; at the beginning, these were unsuccessful, and by 1903 only 2 or 3 families in Jerusalem were actually speaking Hebrew at home. (It will be recalled that the period 1882-1903 spans what is referred to as the "first aliyah," or wave of immigration.) It was shortly after this -- coinciding with the "second aliyah" of 1904-1913 -- that Hebrew became the vernacular. The "renaissance" of Hebrew was a remarkable achievement, and within a few years it became the linguistic vehicle for relaxed conversation, heated dispute, and scientific discourse. But it also had political as well as educational significance. It symbolized the unity of religious -- excluding ultra-orthodox -- and non-religious Zionists into a single polity; it also marked the introduction and acceptance of secular subjects into the local school curriculum. Significantly, the extremely orthodox Jews who refuse to recognize the state of Israel also refuse today to speak Hebrew or allow secular subjects in their schools; the latter attitude still has faint echoes in religious state-supported schools in which Hebrew is the only spoken language.

Until 1920 -- the year in which the General Federation of Labor (Histadrut) was founded -- each school retained its own autonomy, reflecting the autonomy of each community and labor council or union. Paralleling the initial attempts at unifying the Jewish sector of the population in the prototype government of the Histadrut were attempts at the same time -- under the auspices of the World Zionist Organization, the forerunner of the Jewish Agency -- to bring all the schools of the Jewish sector under a single administrative agency.

At the time, this was doomed to failure. Rationalized at the time and today by lack of funds, especially from abroad, and factional differences within the Jewish sector, this failure is understandable in terms of an incompatibility of firm boundary systems within the same society which simultaneously seek to transmit incompatible symbol systems which can claim the political loyalty and obedience of the polity. The most inclusive social boundaries of the society were those of the British colonial government. All subsystems dealing with the control of the individual as well as claims to his loyalty and obedience had to be subservient and compatible with it. Since two centralized authority systems cannot exist in the same society -- it is, in fact, a contradiction in terms -- one has to remain weak and maintain commensurately fluid and open boundaries. This had to be -- and was -- the fate of the government of the Jewish sector and all its subsystems and agencies, including the educational. This was further reflected in the complete separatism of education in the other fundamental division of the society, that between Arabs and Jews.

Nevertheless, education in the Jewish sector after 1920 never again exhibited the complete decentralization of the pre-1920 periods. It could not. This was not because of any fundamental change in educational philosophy or policy per se, but rather because education is an aspect of political organization, on a par with law, a uniform monetary system, a police organization, military and external policy, and the like. A society's educational system will be unified and centralized to the degree that the society as a whole is unified and centralized. Because of its competition with British rule, the native or indigenous political systems could not be fully centralized. In addition to the Jewish-Arab division, the political system of the Jewish sector was itself decentralized; but to the extent that it was centralized -- especially by the Histadrut and later by the Va'ad Le'umi -- it was able to centralize its educational system. Similarly, Israel today retains de facto decentralized educational systems, in the separatism of Jewish and Arab schools, and ultraorthodox, religious and secular schools within the Jewish sector, reflecting the continued relative openness of its national boundaries.

Educational decentralization in the Jewish sector of the population took the form of what were known as "trends," paralleling the four major political and economic divisions: the General Zionists, the Mizrachi (religious Zionists), the Histadrut, and the ultra-orthodox Agudah. As far as I have been able to determine thus far, there were barely any differences among the first three educational subsystems. The most notable difference was that Talmud and prayers were an integral part of the curricula of the religious schools, while they were omitted in the other two; also, Biblical studies were more heavily emphasized in the Mizrachi schools than in the other two. But in terms of values -- especially in regard to national legitimation -- there do not appear to have been any noticeable differences among them, again with the exception of the Agudah. Precisely the same state of affairs continues to prevail in state-supported religious and secular schools. Thus, the differences among the "trends" (and in the contemporary subsystems) were primarily administrative and expressed political and economic factionalism, rather than educational differences.

Education during this period was neither free nor compulsory; compulsion in respect to education was not introduced until 1949, and then only for elementary school. What is compulsory education? Because compulsory education is generally also free of tuition fees, most people tend to overlook the element of compulsion -- enforcement -- in such educational programs. This is unfortunate, since it seduces people away from an awareness of the politicization of education. Compulsory education (free or not) is an aspect of a state's legitimation, its ability to force people to do something that they may otherwise not wish to do. This is akin to compulsory vaccination, tax payments, obedience of traffic laws, modes of dress, or weapons registration. It is often forgotten that there is usually considerable resistance to universal compulsory education when it is first introduced by a centralized government; but like most other compulsions, these must be overcome as part of the state's attempt to have its authority accepted as legitimate. In Israel, for example, the strongest resistance to compulsory universal education appears to have come from the immigrants from North Africa and Asia. Not only did these people not have any tradition of such education, but they recognized it as a threat to the local traditionalism which was central to the way of life they had just left physically. "I still remember a woman in Rosh Ha'ayin, standing in the entrance to a large tent (the type of housing in which many newcomers had to be accommodated in the early years of statehood), in the traditional Yemenite dress, staring after the little boys and girls going off to school with their satchels, murmuring something I could not understand. A man explained: 'She thinks it isn't good for the girls to learn. . . . The boys, perhaps. . . .' " (Aliza Levenberg, "Education for all Israel's Children," New Outlook, May 1968, p. 19).

Ultimately, people come to accept compulsory education as a habit, as part of a way of life. That is part of a state's success. Later, they come to demand it as a right and to demand its extension to include more years. That is a state's acceptance as legitmate.

A political system that does not have either full legitimacy in the eyes of its polity, or which is subordinate to another whose authority is absolute and final, cannot exert such compulsion and demand compliance. One of the ways by which the British colonial government supported and strengthened the quasi-autonomous government of the Jewish sector of the population was the power it gave to the National Council (va'ad le'umi) to tax Jews and to enforce this power in the civil courts. The ultra-orthodox Jews, who refused to have anything to do with any of the three "trends" or, as a matter of fact, with any of the political institutions of the Jewish sector, were exempt from taxation.

As a result of this system of taxation -- begun around 1928 -- most, though by no means all, Jewish children received an elementary school education. (Kibbutz education, which was a variant of Histadrut schools, was of course universal for all children of those settlements.) But there was another principle of Israeli education that was established in the 1920s and 1930s which, to a large extent, persists, though it is now on the verge of being changed. Secondary education became a private enterprise of considerable proportions, was enjoyed by a small minority of the population, was a privilege of the higher social strata, and became highly utilitarian in character. "Their aim was to satisfy the parents, most of whom wanted nothing more than a matriculation certificate as the gateway to a career in after life" (Joseph Bentwich, Education in Israel, p. 23). The latter still tends to be true of Israel, although the social, occupational, and mobility value of a secondary school diploma is starting to be diluted by the rapid expansion of university-level education. The Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Technion in Haifa were founded in 1925. The utilitarian orientation of education generally can be seen in the fact that the Technion began with 18 students and the Hebrew University as only a research institute, not graduating its first class (of 13 students) until 1932.

There are no comparable data for the percentages of Arab and Jewish children receiving education during the pre-1948 period. Most record keeping, including that dealing with education, for the Jewish sector of the population was in the hands of the Jewish National Council; these records are notoriously poor and incomplete. It is thus generally difficult, to say the least, to make accurate and quantitative comparisons between the pre- and post-1948 periods, or even to have a very clear quantitative picture for the pre-1948 period per se, for the Jewish sector of the population. While this situation has improved to an exceptional degree as far as the post-1948 period is concerned, there continues to be a persistence in certain ideological aspects of record keeping which shed some light on the reasons for the poor state of statistics for the pre-1948 period. Even today, with an exceptionally high quality of sophistication in some aspects of Israeli statistics -- Israel's annual statistical abstracts and reports can serve as an enviable model -- there continues to be a constant infusion of "pipe dreaming" in these supposedly rational and objective activities. For example, many long range rational planning programs continue to be based on the assumption that hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Western countries will soon migrate to Israel and settle there. Only slowly is the realization dawning that planning has to be conducted on the basis of a realistic evaluation of available and present resources, and that needs have to be calculated accordingly. In the sphere of actual record keeping, there is still the tendency to confuse ideology with reality. For example, the Ministry of Education has introduced a program called the "extended learning-day" for those schools in which "culturally deprived" children predominate. I will leave until later a discussion of the concept of "cultural deprivation" as it is applied in Israel. What is relevant here is that Ministry of Educational officials and statisticians continue to believe that this program is in effect throughout the country because they have decreed it, and their statistics reflect this. They continue to do so even though the Ministry has been informed on excellent authority that this program continues to be more dream than reality. Ministry officials expressed considerable anger when they were informed of this and, in effect, asked that the facts not be made public (they weren't); apparently, they did not consider the alternative of correcting their published information or enforcing the program.

This cannot be attributed to ineptitude alone or to personal failings of Ministry officials per se. It is, instead, a byproduct of a much more fundamental process in Israeli society; this probably exists in most new nations. In any nation, leaders must, in one way or another, continually tell the polity that "you've never had it so good," or that conditions are bound to improve to such an extent that the present discomfitures and inequitles are merely passing phenomena which are means to greater ends. Sometimes, conditions in a society are so difficult and insecure that, in order to assure stability, the leaders must seek to convince the polity that conditions are better than they actually are. This is especially necessary in a new nation, in which bureaucratic, economic, housing, and other conditions have yet to be stabilized. More importantly, the leaders of new nations are often forced into "noble lies" in order to legitimate their authority and gain acceptance, especially from disenfranchised groups whose members feel that they are going to be frozen into positions of inequity. This can easily become a habitual way of thinking by those in positions of authority and power.

Now, the status of being a new nation has no fixed terminal point. It is a process, rather than a quantitative span of time. Israel has been a new nation for nearly half a century, and it may continue in this frame for at least another decade, or more. It must still gain legitimacy -- or imagine that this remains a task for the future -- in the eyes of other nations as well as in the commitment of many segments of its population, Arabs and Jewish North Africans and Asians. Without being conscious or deliberate in what it often does, it must -- perforce -- make conditions appear to be better than they are; this has become so habitual since the 1920s that it is almost reflexive. But it is not only for internal and external-political reasons that this is done; it is an important magnet for money and personnel, two of the most important resources that Israel must import. Money from American sources has been extremely important to Israel's educational development; Americans -- to understate the matter -- generally prefer to support success rather than to help improve admittedly poor conditions. (During the war of June 1967, when many people outside Israel had doubts about Israel's ability to win against overwhelming odds, and when Israel was in urgent need of capital, far more money was imported from European and other countries than from the United States.) Therefore -- perhaps without realizing what is being done -- conditions have to be made to appear somewhat better than they are.

Now, with this background in mind, let us return to the question of statistics during the pre-1948 period. Almost all records of the Jewish school population during this period systematically omit the size of the school-age population in the Jewish sector; the basic and total numbers provided are almost always of those who actually were in school I think that observers who were on the pre-1948 scene are probably correct when they say that only a small minority of the school-age population in the Jewish sector went without schooling, but this must be treated more as lore than as a datum. However, since records of the Arab sector of the population were kept by the British and by Christian missions, we have somewhat better data for this portion of the population. By 1945, it is estimated that in the towns approximately 85% of the boys and 60% of the girls received some degree of schooling; in the rural villages -- where the majority of the Arab population lived at the time -- it is estimated that 60% of the boys and only 7% of the girls had any education.

The Arab village situation in respect to education is, of course, best understandable in terms of the religiously legitimated and supported traditionalism of the culture; one of the most important aspects of this was the segregation of women. But it would be misleading to think of this as exclusively or primarily Arab; let us remember that prior to the 1880s, when Jewish education was almost exclusively religious, no Jewish girls received any formal schooling. This is only one example of the extraordinarily close correspondence between traditional Moslems and ultra-orthodox Jews, and their fundamentalist anti-modernism.

According to the Statistical Abstract of Israel, the percentage of boys among pupils in Arab primary schools has declined steadily since 1948:

1948	1951	1956	1960	1964	1965	1966	
81.4	67.9	69.7	61.9	58.7	58.8	58.4	(in percentages)

By contrast, the percentage of boys among pupils in Jewish primary schools have been much more representative of their position in the population and has remained much more constant since 1948.

1948	1951	1956	1960	1964	1965	1966	
51.0	51.4	50.6	50.9	50.6	50.5	50.6	(in percentages)

(Source: *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, no. 18, 1967, p. 529)

Boys constitute about 50.5% of the Arab population in the 5-14 year age group according to the 1966 census; hence, they continue to be over-represented in the school population. By contrast, boys in the 5-14 age group among Jews are slightly *under*-represented in the school population, since they constituted 51.2% of the total age group in the Jewish sector in 1966 (based on Tables 38 and 39 of the *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, no. 18, 1967). This naturally suggests a higher rate of truancy among boys, an impression which is confirmed by observations of school-age children in the streets during school hours in many parts of the country. I expect to be able to analyze actual rates of truancy shortly in one urban area; unfortunately, this is the only part of the country in which such data have been collected (by a team of epidemiologists at the Medical School of the Hebrew University). The data that I do have from that study, undifferentiated by sex, indicate a much higher rate of truancy and absenteeism for non-medical reasons in the lower socioeconomic strata. However, as I will also discuss below, there appears to be a much greater tendency for teachers and principals to eject lower-class children from school for periods of up to a year than upper-status children. In addition, family control over girls appears to be much greater in the lower socioeconomic strata, in which religiosity also seems to predominate, thus lending further support to the hypothesis that truancy is the principal reason for the underrepresentation of boys of the Jewish sector in elementary schools.

However, this is not the principal issue under discussion. What I want to emphasize here is the difference between Jewish and Arab patterns in school attendance. As the foregoing data indicate, this pattern was established during the reign of the British colonial government, especially between the early 1930s and 1948, when the de facto Israeli state came into being. The persistence of the pattern -- though with decreasing statistical emphases -- must be seen in the context of the persistence of the Jewish policy of separatism and rigid cultural as well as physical segregation. It did not spring forth de novo in 1948.

The first major change in Israeli education after approximately 1932 was enacted in 1949 -- on September 12, 1949, that is, one year and four months after the state's international legitimation -- when schooling for children between the ages of 5 and 13 was made compulsory and free. The significance of this was discussed above, and it was also the first attempt by the state to introduce some measure of guaranteed equity -- a characteristic of firmness of national boundaries.

However, and no matter how significant the change, it is important to examine other parts of the law ("Compulsory Education Law" - 1949) because there was a retention in it that was *equally* significant. Chapter 4 of this law reads as follows: "(a) Parents [may] .....declare that they wish the child or adolescent to attend an educational institution for elementary education belonging to a certain recognized trend or that they wish him to attend some other educational institution for elementary education. Where no such declaration is made, the parents shall be deemed to have declared that they wish the child or adolescent to attend the official educational institution for elementary education which is nearest to the place of residence of the child or adolescent.

"(b) The Minister may, by order, require a local education authority or several local education authorities jointly to open and maintain, at the wish of the parents of children or adolescents resident in the area or areas of jurisdiction of such local education authority or authorities, an official educational institution for elementary education of a certain recognized trend or another official educational institution for elementary education."

The law recognized as trends in Jewish education -- thus explicitly distinguishing between Jewish and Arab educational subsystems -- "The General trend; the Labor trend; the Mizrahi trend; the Agudat Yisrael trend." This perpetuation of "trends" continued the de facto decentralization of the educational system that had begun in the 1930s. I suggest that it is only a state without even a claim to firm boundaries that can officially admit to and recognize such divisive factionalism in one of its most important areas of power and competence. (It also did this in establishing its court system, dividing its powers among civil and several religious court systems.) But even the perpetuation of the "trends" incorporated an important change, namely the addition of "the Agudat Yisrael trend." This included -- for the first time -- the elementary schools of the ultraorthodox Jews within the state educational system and bridged an important source of division within the society as a whole. In turn, however, this was bought at a rather important price which was only first challenged in late 1967: the exemption of certain ultraorthodox religious students from military service. While this had the force of law, it was an extra-legal or -legislative agreement reached by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and the leaders of the religious groups. In return, as represented in Agudat Yisrael's willingness to be included in the "Compulsory Education Law," it won the indispensable element of religious legitimation for the state, excluding, of course, the most extreme of the religious fanatics.

Thus, in the "Compulsory Education Law" of 1949, Israel took an important step in assuring unequal recognition of different groups in the society. In addition to recognizing the four "trends" and adolescence in this law, however, the government published a set of supplementary regulations in the Official Gazette (Sefer Ha-chukkim) of September 18, 1949, saying in part, "The services enumerated hereunder shall be customary services within the meaning of section 6 (b) of the [Compulsory Education] Law: (a) supplementary lessons for new immigrants. . ."

Ministerial regulations published in the Official Gazette have the force of law equal to parliamentary legislation in Israel. As in many other parliamentary systems, these regulations contain specific implementations of the generalities set forth in legislation and have generally been agreed upon in political negotiations prior to the legislation's enactment. To the best of my knowledge, the explicitness of the reference to "new immigrants" in the enactment regulations of the Compulsory Education Law have never been challenged. Nor is this to say that such privileges for immigrants -- and concensus in Israel recognized that "immigrants" almost invariably refers to people from North Africa and Asia -- are not resented by citizens of long standing, especially those of European descent. Usually, such feelings are stated in terms of "look how much we have done for the establishment of the state, and what do we get? Do we get free nursery schools, free high schools, extra elementary school lessons, and so forth? No, there is nothing for us, only for these newcomers who have not done anything for the state. They just come here and take from us." This is a fairly representative statement, and while it represents many sources of strain and tension in the society at large, it is irrelevant to the broader question of the legal recognition of the separateness of these subgroups within the society.

One of the most important reference points in the study of a national culture is its sequences of decisions and policies which maintain, reduce, or increase the recognized and sanctioned boundary-maintaining subgroups within the society. The reason for the importance of this framework is that nations are generally rapidly changing systems in which the direction and rate of change is often centrally controlled and regulated. Few nations are stable, though some are more so than others, especially with respect to increasing centralization.

Israel's next major step in consolidating educational centralization and reducing the number of boundary systems in the society was taken in 1953 in its "State Education Law" of that year. Formally, the law abolished the "trends" that had existed in the educational system since 1932.

While the law formally abolished the "trends" -- and the importance of this formality as a step toward true centralization and uniformity in the educational system is not to be gainsaid -- it did not abolish them in fact. Instead, the law reduced the number of trends (though they were no longer called this) from four to two. Specifically, these are the subsystems of "state education" and "religious state education." The relevant provisions of the law are in its first paragraph: "In this Law, 'state education' means education provided by the state on the basis of the curriculum, without attachment to a party or communal or any other organization outside the government, and under the supervision of the Minister or a person authorized by him in that behalf; 'religious state education' means state education, with the distinction that its institutions are religious as to their way of life, curriculum, teachers and inspectors . . ." (State Education Law, passed August 12, 1953, emphases supplied). The law also created a Council for Religious State Education which "may, on religious grounds only, disqualify a person for appointment . . . at a religious state-educational institution."

The latter provision effectively assured the autonomy of religious schools or, more accurately, the religious sector of the educational system. Stated otherwise, it was this provision which provides the clue to the lack of firm boundedness of the state as reflected in its educational system. One of the criteria of a firmly bounded system is that its personnel can substitute for each other within the network. For example, most armies can assign their personnel anywhere and require them to serve in any branch of the organization. Similarly, a firmly bounded educational system can theoretically require any of its teachers to serve in any school or capacity within its purview. In the United States, for instance, it is not the national educational system which is firmly bounded but, instead, the subsystems of its petty states and cities, since it is only within the latter's schools that people are freely interchangeable. By creating two separate teacher corps and, in effect, two governing bodies over these subsystems, the state indicated that it neither considered itself firmly bounded nor had achieved the degree of unity and homogeneity in the society that is a state's goal. But it had nevertheless taken a step in that direction in reducing the number of recognized trends by half.

Actually, the law left another trend in existence, but by default. This was the educational system of the kibbutzim which continued to be an aspect of the Labor (i.e., Histadrut) trend. By and large, kibbutz education remains autonomous, although teachers in the kibbutzim are paid by the state (their salaries going to the kibbutz treasury along with all other kibbutz income), inspectors do visit their schools, and their curricula are theoretically established by the Ministry of Education. However, the lack of official and legislative recognition was an important step in the direction of unifying the entire educational system and, in retrospect, an important blow at kibbutz autonomy.

I do not think anyone could have realized or predicted this at the time. As a matter of fact, this was also the year that the government first drafted its new co-operatives law -- not to be brought up for legislative consideration for 15 years -- which was to bring the kibbutzim under closer and more direct government control. Since many factions, which made strange bedfellows, were certain that they could delay consideration of the new co-operatives law, the kibbutz leaders probably felt that their autonomy, as reflected in the educational sphere, was assured by their remaining unmentioned. The full implications of this omission in the law were not to be realized until 1967-1968, when the kibbutz federations found themselves in alliance with the religious groups in fighting the proposed educational reform of 1968.

The law of 1953 also constituted two other blows at the autonomy of firmly bounded educational sybsystems. The first was a provision in the legislation itself prohibiting "propaganda for a party or other political organization among the pupils of an educational institution." This formalized an important aspect of curricular uniformity; as noted above, it is unlikely that there was actually much, if any, political propagandization in classrooms. But an important aspect of the ideologies of the different trends was that the transmission of political philosophy was an important aspect of education. This, of course, is true; but one of the prerogatives claimed by a central state is that only its political philosophy must be transmitted in the educational process, to the exclusion of factional philosophies. Whether or not the latter is part of the curriculum, a state's ability to deny it -- and succeed in the denial -- is an important aspect of its growing centralization and firm boundaries. Stated in terms of the theory of social boundary systems, one of the important criteria of a firmly bounded system is that it is able to exclude influences as well as people. While the law of 1953 provided this privilege to the religious sector of the educational system, it made an important claim to an exclusion of all political philosophies except its own in prohibiting "propaganda."

Just as each of Israel's educational "trends" or educational subsystems maintains its own staff of teachers, with almost no movement across the lines separating the various educational subsystems, so in the United States teachers are licensed by each of the petty states. No matter where teachers received their education and certification, each petty state must approve their credentials. As an accompaniment of this, every time a teacher moves from one petty state to another, he automatically loses tenure and other professional benefits. (This does not happen in Israel in the rare instances in which teachers cross comparable lines.) Often, in fact, there are losses of privilege and benefit in moving from one district to another within the same petty state. However, despite the local district's autonomy in hiring and firing, it is the petty state that seems to be the educationally bounded unit.

The Israeli educational law of 1953 provides another illustration of the idea that a system -- in this case, the educational facet of the central state -- does not advance simultaneously on all fronts in increasing the firmness of its boundaries and weakening those of its competitors. This is a matter of necessity, not choice; there are several reasons for it. First, too rapid a destruction of the previous or established way of life would lead to massive resistance and rebellion. Second, the rulers of a state are themselves the products of the very organizations which they seek to subvert, such as (in Israel) kibbutzim, the Histadrut, and religious groups. This is the world they know; even when they know the experiences of other societies, these are not directly transposable; furthermore, especially in a country like Israel with its utilitarian emphases, political rulers are not overly eager to seek out the advice of social scientists who may tell them how to proceed on the basis of other societies' experiences. Instead, they respond to the catagorical imperatives of the political system that they are trying to mold, even though they are not fully cognizant of their goals; but since no man can completely transcend his own culture, their own cultural backgrounds serve as brakes on the lengths to which they can go. Third, and perhaps most important, new nations must work toward converting initial compliance into allegiance and to creating willing and loyal followers. It is necessary for the rulers of a nation who are trying to subvert local boundary systems to make it appear that some of the most significant changes in the daily lives of the populace occur so slowly and subtly that they become part of their thinking before anyone is fully aware of what has happened.

The next major change did not come until six years later; it was related to the prohibition of "propaganda" but had far more far reaching de facto consequences than the legislative prohibition. It struck a serious blow at the religious groups and eliminated an important source of divisiveness within the society; the length of time required to make the ruling indicates the opposition it encountered. Since the beginning of the "trends" system in 1932, each of them had always engaged in active campaigning and recruitment for students. Israelis to whom I have spoken and who recall this vividly emphasize that the words "campaigning" and "recruitment" are misrepresentative understatements. The terms that are used in describing these activities are, most often, blackmail and threats. People would be threatened with loss of jobs if they did not enroll their children in a particular trend; they would also be promised jobs, patronage, and protekzia if they did. This psychological warfare apparently took a severe toll in the populace, and indications are that the religious groups were the most terroristic in this respect. Officials in the Ministry of Education sought in 1953 to have these practices eliminated, but the best they could do was to reach a compromise in 1959 prohibiting such "propaganda" during the week of school registration. Efforts are still being made by the Ministry (especially by its legal department) to bar such activities throughout the year. The date of this minimal compromise is significant: it was also the year during which the Wadi-el-Salib incidents occurred. The divisiveness achieved by these terroristic practices in recruiting children to different school "trends" was most noticeable among immigrants from North Africa and Asia, who were easy prey: they knew nothing of the educational system -- finding the very concept of free and compulsory universal education a strange one -- and were desperate for jobs; blackmail by the religious groups must have seemed to them to constitute promises of jobs. These pressures were supplemented by tales in and out of the press of sexual immorality, and worse, by teachers in the classrooms of non-religious schools. Active recruitment of children for religious schools continues in 1968, especially in the lower classes, by offers of free lunches for children. Often, as I have been able to observe, this is the deciding factor in parents' decisions to send their children to state religious schools.

There was no change in the formal structure of the Israeli school system from 1953 until 1968. There have been many non-legislative changes -- in teaching methods, the introduction of educational television, programmed learning in several subjects, and the like -- which promise to have far more reaching effects in the education of the populace than any legislative changes can have. These will be discussed below. For the moment, I wish to confine myself to those aspects of educational persistence and change that mirror the organization of groups that make up Israeli society.

I have stressed above that the increasing firmness of Israeli national boundaries took an important step forward in 1967-1968 by the government's launching of a major assault on the autonomy enjoyed by the Jewish Agency, the Histadrut, and the religious groups. Closely related to this is the consideration of a new law, fifteen years after it was first drafted, governing the relations of the kibbutzim and moshavim to the state, and the first serious challenges to the exemption of ultra-religious students from conscription. The latter two have not been acted on, but their very consideration at this time is important. Another serious challenge to the autonomy of the religious sector of the society came in 1967 and 1968 in the form of several challenges of the legality of religious control of marriage laws, succession, and the definition of citizenship. These are of a piece, and they will be long in being resolved, since they go to the heart of Israel's definition of itself as a Jewish state.

Thus, it is not surprising that the government undertook a major change -- what is generally referred to in Israel as a reform -- of the structure of the educational system. (The parliamentary debate on this structural reorganization of the school system ended on July 25, 1968, and a content analysis of this debate is being conducted; this is being done together with content analyses of debates over the previous changes in the school system, and will provide an excellent picture of persistence and change in values.) Brifely, the major change is to have compulsory education from the ages of 5-15 (in place of the present 5-14) and to limit elementary education to the first six grades (instead of the present 8), introduce a new school subsystem including grades 7, 8, and 9 within the framework of the secondary schools, and limit secondary education to grades 10, 11, 12 (in place of the present 9-12). The middle range of grades (7, 8, and 9) will correspond roughly to what we call in the United States "junior high school." While the elementary grades will continue to be placed in schools that are largely based on residential patterns, the middle grades -- since they are now to be within the framework of secondary schools -- will be independent of neighborhood and each will include children from different localities. Since social classes and ethnic groups tend to be rigidly segregated by neighborhood in Israel, this is an important step forward in weakening the educational system's conformity to class and ethnic segregation patterns.

The latter, of course, is one of the most important sources of opposition to the change and there is no attempt to employ euphemisms or polite detours around this issue. The Teachers Union -- which is part of the Histadrut -- has, in fact, sought to justify such segregation ideologically and make it into a virtue. They do not say, "Would you want your daughter to marry one of them?" Instead, as in the United States in arguments over integration by "busing," they say, "Would you want one of your sons to play with them during school recess?" For example, I attended a meeting of the teachers of a state-religious school in a Development Town who were addressed by the principal of the elementary of a religious moshav bordering on the town and who is also the head of an urban branch of the religious section of the Teachers Union. Two of his arguments in trying to drum up support for a teachers' strike in opposition to the reform, were that (1) middle range classes will combine children of different ethnic groups and socioeconomic backgrounds, thus making it much more difficult to teach any of them, and (2) there will be trouble among the children during recess periods and play times because they come from different ethnic groups: there will be rock throwing. (Note the similarity in this to arguments in the United States in opposition to school integration.) He did not mention that rock throwing is largely a pastime of religious groups in Israel. These were only two of his arguments -- there were eight in all — and the rest will be discussed below. It must also be recalled that "democratic socialism" is one of the prime Histadrut ideologies which are regularly disseminated.

But the proposed structural change goes even deeper in striking at the roots of social inequality in Israel as it is reinforced by -- and reflected in -- the educational system. This is the elimination of the "seker" examination, which is the Israeli equivalent of the British 11+ examination. The official ideology of the seker examination -- which produces terror in children and their parents, not unlike the Japanese "examination hell" -- is stated as follows: "After finishing 8th grade [actually, during the second month of 8th grade studies], pupils take a country-wide examination known as Seker. This examination is administered not only to determine what the pupils know of the subjects they have studied but also to guide parents and teachers in the choice of secondary and vocational orientation for the children. The marks the children receive on the examination are an element in determining their eligibility for tuitional support in secondary schooling" (Randolph L. Braham, Israel: A Modern Educational System, p. 64).

In reality, the use of the results of the seker examination are quite different. As noted, most secondary schools in Israel are privately run. This is principally true in the urban areas. In these, the results of the seker examination are intended exclusively as criteria to determine which children from the lower socioeconomic strata will have their tuition fees paid in full by the Ministry of Education. In reality, they do more than this. As the results of the examination are applied, they serve to maintain secondary schools as a province of the privileged European classes. Officially, seker examinations are graded in the following way. There are two passing grades, a higher one for children of European parents (among whom are included parents who are second generation Israelis) and a lower one for children of the "Eastern regions," that is, of North African and Asian immigrants. Several weeks before taking the examination, each child fills out a card listing his parents' and grandparents' places of birth, his parents' income, and other vital statistics. According to these data, the child is placed in one or the other category. According to official statements, these examinations are graded by anonymous officials at the Ministry of Education who have no access to this information. Most of the questions are of the "objective" type, and include a heavy emphasis on mathematics, geometry, and Bible. A separate part of the examination -- taken on a different day -- is made up of an essay written by the student. About 10% of the grade is known as a "defense" score, made up of the grades received from the teacher for classroom work. Ministry of Education officials assert that there is an almost perfect correlation between the latter "defense" scores and the grades achieved on the examination itself. While there is no reason to doubt these statistics themselves, it must also be observed that many teachers create a "self-fulfilling" prophecy in this regard, so thoroughly brutalizing certain groups of students that their examination performances are almost foreordained; this will be described below, when we discuss "pejorative pygmalians" (chapter 7).

Before discussing how these grades are used in selecting different children for secondary education, it is necessary to distinguish this "ideal pattern" from the actual practices in Development Towns. Each of these has at least one secondary school, and often as many as three or four, which is under municipal control and administration and which is entirely financed by the national Ministry of Education; there are no tuition fees. Each of these Development Towns has at least one general secondary school -- which prepares students for the Bagrut (matriculation) examination for admission to the university -- and at least one secondary school which can be referred to as a vocational school, preparing children for manual trades and skills. A few urban areas (such as Tel Aviv) also have some municipal secondary schools as do a few old towns that have combined to form central secondary schools serving at least two such towns. In the latter cases, tuition fees are set on a graduated scale, and these are determined according to parents' income and the total number of people in the household.

Where there are no municipal secondary schools -- that is, when there are only private secondary schools available to a student -- his admission is determined exclusively by the school proprietors. Theoretically, they are supposed to admit only those students who have passed the seker. In reality, they reject some students who have passed the examination and accept others who have failed. This selectivity works as follows. The principal burden for making these selections is placed on the elementary school principal. The pressures on him are entirely informal but nevertheless effective. It is his task to decide which of the students in his school who have passed the seker examination are most likely to succeed or fail in secondary school. His task is to "discourage" those students in the latter group from enrolling in a general or academic secondary school and to apply instead to a vocational school or even none at all. Principals claim in conversation that their advice is offered only on the basis of the merits of the individual student. Although most urban principals I have spoken to tend to encourage no more than 3 or 4 children of North African or Asian immigrants to enroll in a general academic secondary school, even though there may be a dozen or a score of such children who have passed the examination, it would be too facile and glib to dismiss their decisions simply to ethnic-group prejudice. As will be seen below, the education process -- especially in urban Israel — selectively renders children of these ethnic groups incompetent for study in secondary school, and often even for study in the higher grades of elementary school. In many respects, it can be said that the elementary school principals are fairly accurate in predicting who will and will not succeed in secondary school; but a principal's accuracy is based not only on the child's innate capacities but also on what has been left of his motivation to learn. For many of these children, little motivation is left by the time they reach the seker examination, and much of the responsibility for this rests with their teachers.

In Development Towns, in which the entire student body is often descended from North African and Asian immigrants, the selectivity is not among ethnic groups but, rather, within them. Those children who do appear to have the capacity to succeed in a general academic secondary school are encouraged to enroll while the rest go on to vocational schools.

Thus, when reading figures for the percentages of pupils in secondary schools according to ethnic group, it is important to remember that they are grossly inflated with respect to the children of immigrants from North Africa and Asia; there are two principal reasons for this inflation. (1)

They are national figures, and do not distinguish between Development Towns and other areas, especially the urban centers in which educational disenfranchisement is most endemic. (2) The figures are for students according to their birthplaces, whereas the truly important data are for students according to their parents' birthplaces. Nevertheless, even these inflated figures provide an excellent clue to ethnic inequality in access to secondary school education. These figures are for 1961-1967 (Statistical Abstract of Israel, no. 18, 1967, Table 534).

	Continent of Birth		
Type of School and Grade	Europe-America	Asia-Africa	Israel
General secondary	66.5%	25.4%	8.1%
Vocational schools	46.4	47.0	6.6
Grade 9	46.7	45.3	8.0
10	55.5	36.8	7.7
11	64.0	28.3	7.7
12	73.6	18.9	7.5

Strangely enough, although the Ministry of Education keeps careful tabulations of those students that it considers to be of Asian-African descent, it does not publish them. But I think it appears that of all the children in Grade 8 in Israel, more than half are of Asian-African descent. Thus, they are under-represented in the secondary schools. Also difficult to get -- because they are regarded as highly secrectby the Ministry -- are the seker achievements of students in different schools (a few highly selected people are given access to the electronic tapes in which these data are recorded, but the analyses are done on a national basis rather than by school) Let us consider, however, the seker results that I have managed to get for 7 schools in an urban area and 2 in a Development Town. In the following table, I present the number of students who passed/took the seker examination in two overall ethnic categories:

School	Asian-African		European-Israeli	
Lower status girls' religious	11/37	(29%)	--	
Upper status boys' religious	11/26	(42%)	46/52	(88%)
Lower status co-ed religious	23/49	(47%)	1/1	
Lower status co-ed secular	10/41	(24%)	0/1	
Lower status co-ed secular	22/53	(41%)	2/5*	
Upper status co-ed secular	14/24	(58%)	74/85	(87%)
Upper/middle co-ed secular	28/43	(65%)	15/24	(63%)
Devel. Town co-ed religious	8/24	(33%)	--	
Devel. Town co-ed secular	7/22	(32%)	--	

It will be noted that the groups of European-Israeli descended children are consistently higher in their seker examination performance than any of the Asian-African groups. In fact, no group of Asian-African students approaches the lowest ranking European-Israeli group, except in the upper/middle co-ed secular school, in which the two groups perform almost equally. The seker examination can be considered as a constant "X" factor administered to various groups and we thus have something of a measure of group performance. But these statistics must be taken with some degree of skepticism, for several reasons.

First, I find it surprising that even 29% of the students in the lower status girls' state-religious school passed the examination, since the girls in that school even at the higher grades, are barely literate. The same is true of the lower status co-ed religious school. I am admittedly suggesting that subjective attitudes enter into the final scoring of the examination. Several principals admitted to me that there are instances in which children fail the examination but, as a result of the principals' intervention with the Ministry, they are then passed. Only one admitted to me that this happened in 1968 (the 2 European-Israeli children in one of the lower-status secular schools).

To a large extent, Israelis' careers are frozen by the time they are ready to leave elementary school: a secondary school student can transfer from a general academic secondary school to a vocational school, but not vice versa. Thus, those who do not enter general academic secondary schools at all have almost no chance of upward occupational and social mobility. Under the reform of 1968, the seker examination will be eliminated because grades 7, 8, and 9 will be within the framework of the secondary schools; as a result, all students will be automatically transferred into secondary schools on a compulsory basis.

At this point, it is necessary to introduce the difference between what can be called "directed change" -- that is, change that results from governmental legislation or directive -- and "undirected change," that is, change that results from the level of society generally called "the masses" or "popular change." Almost all changes in Israeli education that result in greater egalitarianism and in industrially more appropriate curricula are almost esclusively the results of "directed change." I suspect that, in this regard, Israel is no different from any other modern and socially stratified society.

Let me provide two examples from two of Israel's major urban centers. The first example involves two schools cited above in the compilation of seker scores: an urban lower-status co-ed secular school (in which 24% of the Asian-African children passed the examination) and an upper-status co-ed secular school. These two schools are in the central residential area of one of Israel's cities and they are separated physically by a fence. In the Fall of 1967, upon his transfer there from a co-ed agricultural school (also in the sample of this research), the principal began to agitate for a greater mixture of upper- and lower-status children in the two schools, or what is popularly called "integration." By December 1968, he succeeded to the extent of persuading the Ministry of Education to appoint a committee to look into the possibilities of such mixture. The upper-status school is one of the three most prestigious schools in Israel; the other two are in the other two major urban centers of the country and each has a secondary school attached to it. The school under discussion has a high representation of children of cabinet ministers, Histadrut and Jewish Agency officials, other high government functionaries, and the like.

The committee appointed by the Minister of Education consisted of representatives of the Ministry, the municipality, some university consultants and the principal of the lower-status school. Probably knowing that popular sentiment would oppose the integration of the two schools, the Minister directed that the meetings of this committee were to be entirely secret (though it did not remain secret for more than a few days). But he also effectively sabotaged the possibility of integrating the two schools by including two clauses in his directive. The first, and the most damaging, was that the committee was "to look into" the possibility of integrating the two schools; he resisted pressure from some of the committee members to direct the committee to effect an integration of the two. The second was his charge to the committee to consider closing down one of the two schools -- disregarding the fact that neither of the schools could hold the pupils of the two -- and that the school to be closed was the lower-status school.

After two months of almost weekly meetings held in secret, teachers of the two schools were invited to join the deliberations. They outdid themselves in pejorative insults to the pupils in the lower-status school. Opposing the integration of the two schools, they said such things as, "Everyone knows that you do not expose healthy people to diseased people if you can avoid it," "one does not mix kasher [ritually clean] food with non-kasher food," "one does not put an ox and a goat under the same yoke," and so forth. While I will discuss the implications of these attitudes for the ways in which teachers treat children of lower socioeconomic and ethnic strata below (chapter 7) suffice it that these expressions of antipathy toward the lower-status children were effective warnings by the teachers about what would happen if integration did take place. Later, the meetings of the committee were thrown open to the parents of the schools; the venom ran so deeply that the committee had to be disbanded by ministerial order.

I suggest that if the Minister of Education had ordered the schools integrated, rather than leaving the matter to "democracy in action," the results would have been quite different. There is, of course, a large body of social science theory which says that such incidents can be explained by the fact the "the society was not yet ready for it," or that "this is an example of the feedback between government and polity in a democracy," and the like. Very few fundamental changes in society which clash with popular opinion have ever been taken "democratically," whether they be laws prohibiting homicide, standardizing health practices, or enforcing compulsory education. People have never been "ready" for anything that is loosely called "advance" or "progress," rationalizing ad hoc functionalist theories of society notwithstanding.

The second incident involves a man protesting social inequity. He can sometimes give the impression of being a "wild eyed radical." He fairly jumps out of his seat, arms waving, his voice trembling and becoming louder when he becomes excited about his cause which, he says, is in the following, one of the many posters he has hung on the fence surrounding the Histadrut building in Tel Aviv:

"Strike of unemployed teachers suffering discrimination.

"We are striking in protest against our cruel and senseless firing -- because we demand equal rights for pupils of 'Oriental' origin. We have been striking for nearly eight months [as of April 1968]. During our strike, police force was used against us on 10 occasions. We were jailed 3 times and handcuffed twice as a result of pressure applied by the teachers' union. Because of our unjust confinement, we staged a two-day hunger strike during our detention. At the same time, 'strongmen' were sent by the teachers' union who took all the property we possessed at the site of the strike. At present, our families are going hungry and all government agencies concerned are ignoring us. We have done an outstanding teaching job, and have good documentary references to prove this. A senior teacher among us with nine years of experience was fired solely because he opposed discrimination against pupils of 'Oriental' origin.

"Let the people judge.

"Is dark skin 'enemy number one' of a man in Israel?"

This man himself is not dark-skinned. He is literally Caucasian, having emigrated from the Soviet Union's Caucasus to Israel about 10 years ago; there he had been a teacher of retarded children. Movingly, he told me that he had decided to devote his life to children after the death of his first-born son from meningitis. According to him, he was given a job in a school in Tel Aviv in which he described treatment of Asian and North African children that was only slightly worse than is described below (chapter 7) for some schools. He told me that he, on the other hand, treated his pupils with dignity and respect, and they responded to him accordingly. His principal demanded his dismissal on the grounds of insubordination, claiming that he tried to take over management of the school. He had a hearing before a board of teachers' union which approved his dismissal. Several teachers joined him in a strike, and they picketed the Histadrut enclave in Tel Aviv. They were arrested several times for trespassing on Histadrut grounds and for insulting public officials; the last was a result of caricatures of the heads of the Histadrut and teachers' unions portraying them as animals. After the first arrest, only this man and another carried on the protest, but it was only the former who was tried. His dismissal has been upheld by the courts, though his other convictions were reversed.

I do not know what the facts of the case really are (this man conducted his own court defenses), but there are several aspects of this that are more important than the facts themselves. He described to me situations which, as will be seen, are not outside the range of actual behavior in Israeli schools. Nevertheless, these were consistently denied by his prosecutors during the union hearings and in court; it was they -- not he -- who were believed. I observed people passing by his placards outside the Histadrut building, and almost all of them were derisive. One cabbie to whom I spoke, for example, said that his displays should be destroyed in view of the fact that the tourist season was at hand. Almost all teachers to whom I spoke about this felt that this teacher should quietly forget the matter and go back to teaching. Only a few newspapers carried any news about this, without giving any details about the case. The radio carried no news about it.

The important factor in this, to my mind, is that the overt focal point of this incident is discriminatory behavior against what are called "Orientals." This has not been able to serve as a rallying point for any segment of the population. To be sure, very few people know what goes on in the classrooms; those who recognize the existence of inequality see it in antiseptic terms, such as the discriminatory functions of the seker examination, corrpution in the civil service system, unavailability of a decent livelihood for North Africans and Asians, and the like. A few teachers cared, and one of them was willing to take the consequences. No one else cared, and that is the important thing. A spark failed to ignite. It was "undirected" from above.

To return to "directed change" in connection with the educational reform of 1968, it is important to note that under the pre-1968 educational system, there were two "freezing points" in the educational careers of many pupils, especially those from the Asian and North African ethnic groups. The first of these was Grade 8, when many are eliminated from the educational mobility system through the seker examination. I use the word "eliminated" advisedly -- rather than, let us say, "weeded out," which suggests that it is lack of ability and capacity that is the cause -- because the data gathered demonstrate conclusively that the elementary school experiences to which many of these children are subjected make it impossible for them to succeed according to standardized criteria of educational success. As will be seen, many of these children are systematically held back from gaining the knowledge that is necessary for success on the seker examination; many of them are forced to spend many years in schools in which their cognitive orientations are toward unpredictability and uncertainty; and the experiences of many of them make it necessary to conclude that they associate -- and are conditioned to associate -- schooling with brutality and demeaning behavior on the part of teachers and principals.

But this must be qualified with respect to Development Towns which are also predominantly Asian and North African in origin. The present research in Israel must be considered incomplete as far as these settlements and their populations are concerned; it will not be completed until this research is repeated in another decade and again in two decades, because I suspect -- and hypothesize -- that the pressure from the children now going to school in Development Towns is going to be too strong for existing Israeli institutions to withstand in ten or twenty years, or perhaps even less. One source of pressure, of course, is going to come from such incidents as young "Orientals" telling the government, "This is an Ashkenazi war, go and fight your own wars." But there will also be other sources to this pressure, and it will result from the educational sphere. I anticipate that the children now in school in Development Towns are not going to tolerate the disenfranchisement which their parents passively tolerate. One reason for this is that their parents came to Israel with a tradition of passive acceptance of existing status quo. Another is that their orientation to the country is in terms of being on the "sacred soil of the Promised Land," not toward a particular political system. The children in the Development Towns do not have this attitude toward the soil of Israel; having grown up on it, they cannot see anything sacred in the scrub, rocks, and sand. Instead, they are politically oriented and are aware of what "the system" is like and what it does to them and to their parents. In a decade or two -- and there is even basis for wondering whether it will take that long -- they are going to start demanding admission to the universities and to other institutions that give access to the means of mobility. I suggest this on the basis of the following, though there are other indications of it.

In the Spring of 1968, when I was conducting my school observations in the Development Town in my sample, I wrote in my journal, "I am impressed with the eagerness of these children to learn." They generated an excitement over the learning process which is, of course, impossible to quantify, record, and describe. Several months later, after the summer recess, one of my research assistants, a native Israeli university student (European), was conducting further observations for me in several settlements, including this Development Town. When she completed this series of observations and we were reviewing them together, I asked her, "Taking all these cities, towns, and villages together, what one thing struck you most?" She thought for a moment and said, "I was impressed by the eagerness of the children in [this Development Town] to learn." She had never read my journal or any of my classroom-observation protocols.*

The elimination of the "freezing point" at Grade 8 through the elimination of the seker examination is a major step toward egalitarianism -- the ideological aspect of what is called interchangeability -- in the society. A further provision of the reform program is that students can transfer freely from either vocational or general academic tracks to the other after Grade 7, thus removing the "freeze" on occupational and social status at an early age. Correlatively, on July 28, 1969, the cabinet approved draft legislation on guaranteed employment and unemployment insurance for the first time in Israeli history, and requested the Minister of Labor to prepare a bill to this effect.

The next major step will be the elimination of the second "freezing point," in Grade 10, which will be more difficult; it will provide the currently disadvantaged ethnic groups more equal access to university education. Of the more than 23,000 students in Israeli universities and colleges, approximately 12% are of Asian-African descent. The problem in this connection is similar to the particularism that obtains in connection with entrance into secondary schools, though it is more pernicious. It will be recalled from a foregoing table that while 45.3% of the students in Grade 9 are of Asian-African descent, only 18.9% of all the students in Grade 12 (the final grade of secondary school) are of these ethnic backgrounds. Considering the fact that almost all the students in Development Towns are of Asian-African descent, this means that almost none are left in the urban schools.

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* I want to note my deep appreciation at this point to Miss Yafa Elkin who participated with me in conducting classroom observations and who quickly became indispensable to the completion of the research in Israel.

The reason for this is that since secondary schools are private enterprises run for profit, secondary schools compete for students. Their best advertisement is the success of their students on the Bagrut matriculation examination. Before the last year, principals of secondary schools inform their students as to who will be permitted to take the examination, though according to law all secondary students are entitled to take the examination. The principals eliminate all those whom they feel will not pass the examination; not surprisingly, concensus is that these are by and large the students of Asian-African descent. Actually, however, most of this elimination takes place in Grade 10.

Several studies conducted by Israelis have demonstrated conclusively that there is no correlation between the score achieved on the Bagrut examination and success in university studies. (The one exception to this is the finding that those who become elementary and secondary school teachers are generally the lowest scorers on the Bagrut.) In view of the seriously limited facilities for university education in Israel, new standards of selectivity for university education will have to be found in the future.

The selectivity practiced by elementary and secondary school principals in keeping children of Asian and African descent out of the secondary schools and the university is reinforced by another factor which I only want to mention briefly here; I will discuss it in more detail below. It is important to remember that the transition from one school to another had been governed by examinations, and entrance to the university will continue to be controlled in this way for several years to come. Furthermore, students at Israeli universities go to school to pass examinations rather than to learn. They take as many as 10 courses each trimester, have almost no contact with their professors outside the classroom (and some often do not even know their professors' names), and their grades are based exclusively on examination performance. Now, in view of the importance of examinations in many modern societies in controlling occupational and social advancement, it is tragic that we know almost nothing about what can be called the "culture of examinations," the motives that go into them, the responses of different individuals and groups to them, their relationships to other institutions, and so forth. Israeli establishment educationists and psychologists have stressed that the highly disproportionate rate of failure on examinations by children of Asian and North African immigrants is due to their "primitivity" and to the lack of discipline that characterizes their traditional culture. What needs to be pointed out here is that there is a wide discrepancy between the training for examinations in schools in which Asian-African students predominate from schools in which Europeans (including Americans and Israelis) predominate. In the former, children are simply not given any experience in sitting and working individually and quietly; in the European schools, this training is consistent and quite successful. If it is argued by many social scientists in Israel that this is a function of the children's "cultural backgrounds," as they often do maintain, I will counter that (1) the African-Asian children are rarely even given a chance to demonstrate that they could profit from this training, (2) the interference in children's individual and quiet work -- the frame of any examination -- is demonstrably the fault of teachers, rather than the children, and (3) to the best of my knowledge, no Israeli social scientists concerned with education have ever taken the trouble to compare the teaching and training of European and non-European children in situ; instead, most Israeli social scientific pronouncements about the differences between ethnic groups in the schools is based on highly selective gossip and the pejorative reports of teachers.

However, the expansion of higher educational facilities in Israel -- either through the elimination of the Bagrut examination itself or of selective access to it -- poses far greater problems for the society than the process of social inequality suggests by itself. At the present time, there is an almost perfect balance between the number of jobs available to university graduates and the number of these graduates annually. In other words, there is almost a perfect guarantee for every B.A. that he will get a job after completing his university studies. (There are relatively few people going on for the M.A. and an infinitesmal number going on for the Ph.D.; in either case, most of those going on for post-B.A. degrees are almost always full-time employees, and it is rare for a person to get an M.A. much before he is 30.) That is the extent of available employment for university graduates. Were Israel to adopt a policy of greater access to university education for people who are now denied access to it, it will create almost automatic pressure from a large body of university graduates for whom there is no employment commensurate with their education. This is one of the major problems now being faced in Egypt; the example of India in this regard is also well known. The Israeli economy is simply not expanding at a rate that would rationally justify the creation of a significantly larger population of B.A.s. Thus, one could say that there is an important "functional" element in the policy of keeping a large segment of the population out of the universities. However, this does not deal with the question of whether people should be denied access to a university education on the basis of individual abilities or whether the current practices of discriminating against groups may not pose even more serious problems for the society in the long run.

In the United States, the Scholastic Aptitude Test test as a predictor of college success is reported not to predict college success as well as the students' high school grades; the latter were regarded as "unreliable" and thus leading to the development of the SAT. An outstanding issue in many colleges and universities today is the admission of "disadvantaged students" who score low on the SAT but, on the basis of intelligence tests and recommendations of teachers, appear to have college "potential." This in turn has led to an outcry against a "lowering of academic standards," despite the evidence that the SAT is not a reliable predictor. Jencks and Reisman, in The Academic Community, observe that while the combination of high school grades and aptitude tests do not predict very well, they predict better than any other "forecasting device" available. They also add that the predictors are no more "middle class" than the colleges themselves. And as for the notion that "tests are unfair to the poor," they comment that, "Life is unfair to the poor: tests merely measure the results." The colleges that are administering programs to admit "promising" students who score badly on the usual "predictors" are usually successful only to the degree that they also offer "intensive academic survival training" to these students.

There are many other changes that will accompany the structural changes in the Israeli pre-university educational system, but I will not tarry to go into them in detail in this report. One of these which bears mentioning is the attempt to upgrade the level of teachers. Until 1966, Israel suffered from a dearth of trained teaching personnel; it is commonly agreed among Israelis that elementary school teaching is an excellent job for a housewife who needs to supplement the family income. Until 1966, there were even teachers without a secondary school certificate. This picture has suddenly changed, largely due to the improved economic situation in Israel enabling more people to go to the university for teaching degrees, and the Ministry has embarked on a program to eliminate teachers without a minimum of B.A. degrees from its rolls. This of course has aroused strong opposition from the Histadrut. I think that the Ministry will succeed in this regard, but only because it has gone about it through the back door, so to speak. Since the law requires all secondary school teachers to have at least a B.A. degree, and since Grades 7, 8, and 9 will now be within the framework of the secondary schools, their teachers will have to conform to secondary school standards. Ultimately, it is expected that all elementary school teachers will have university degrees.

How will the reform of the educational system affect the religious subsystem? While the details of the new system have not yet been worked out, surprising as this may seem, it is clear that the government is going to have to build additional school facilities, and it is unlikely that it is going to build many religious intermediate schools. Furthermore, these are not going to be based on residential groupings, and most religious people are residentially segregated; instead, students in Grades 7, 8, and 9 will travel out of their neighborhoods to attend these schools. The fear being experienced by people in the religious sector that more children will be placed in non-religious schools is well founded, since their contention is apparently correct -- though there are not any statistics on this -- that every transfer from one school-level to another (as from kindergarten to elementary school and from elementary school to secondary school) results in proportionately heavy losses for the religious schools.

I have already referred to the traditional anti-intellectualism of the kibbutzim, an idea that is in no way original with me. Also referred to has been the series of discussions among kibbutz federations with regard to the possible establishment of a separate university which will be run for and by the kibbutzim themselves. This is one of the clearest recent indices of the changes currently taking place in the relationship of the kibbutzim in relation to the total society. Increasingly, as noted, individual kibbutzim are being brought within the purview of urban institutions, especially their ties to an urban and internation economy as a result of the growing industrialization of almost every kibbutz. As a result, especially in view of the control (or at least influence) exerted over the economy by central state institutions, kibbutzim will soon be as subject to these pressures no less than the rest of the society. Most seriously affected is the very heart of kibbutz organization, namely, the organization of labor. As industrialization of the kibbutz increases, there is need for specialized or skilled industrial labor; this draws manpower away from agricultural activities. The skilled labor is almost always drawn from the reservoir of kibbutz manpower. Replaced agricultural labor is almost always Arab. There are two basic reasons for this. One is that kibbutz policy has always been to use its own labor force for its most profitable enterprises -- and there is hardly a kibbutz that can survive today without industry. Second, the Arab labor that is available for hiring by kibbutzim is almost invariably unskilled; skilled Arab laborers generally gravitate to the cities. This is also an aspect of change occurring throughout the society, which is also tied to the caste-polarization of the population: skilled and white-collar jobs in almost every sector of the Israeli economy is becoming a Jewish monopoly, and correlatively, manual -- or what Israelis call "black" -- work is becoming increasingly characteristic of Arabs (and Asians and North Africans, who are often referred to as "Jewish Arabs").

As Aharon Cohen put it in his book, Israel and the Arab World (in Hebrew, 1964): "There are few types of work where the salary of Arab and Jew is comparable (highly skilled professionals in large plants which had been established during the Mandate period and civil servants). But even in these, the Arab is often discriminated against in terms of job level. . . . The Arab worker, to the extent that he found work, was compelled, in general, to take the more toilsome and less remunerative jobs, those which the Jewish laborer does not hurry to take. On the invalid and often baseless grounds of different work habits: the claims that Arabs are accustomed to certain kinds of work while Jews are not. Discrimination in wages and in work conditions and benefits are perpetuated even in comparable work."

For many Israelis, this is the bell that tolls for Zionist ideology, but that is really little more than a polite set of terms for an important facet of Israeli apartheid. As noted, the kibbutzim are no less free of these pressures. As Israeli industrialization increases, and as the country's standard of living rises annually, more and more members of kibbutzim are leaving their communities to acquire the skills and professions of the urban areas, and this usually demands university education. While kibbutzim are usually able to replace their members who leave, these replacements are generally transient. Loss of membership is becoming the central issue in kibbutz organization; this can be seen in the fact that, during the last several years, there has been a growing number of legal suits by departing kibbutz members who demand to be compensated for their original capital investments in their kibbutzim and for a return for their labor. This problem will be governed by provisions in the new "Cooperatives Law," and urban lawyers and kibbutz members agree that this is its central feature.

In discussions among representatives of the different kibbutz federations concerning the proposal to establish a kibbutz university, the issue of loss of manpower predominates. I have not yet had the opportunity to do a content analysis of the transcripts of these discussions -- and one more very important transcript is still being typewritten from a tape recording -- but my impression from reading them is that a simple word count of each will reveal this predominance. In almost each of these discussions -- no matter what federation is being represented by different speakers -- it is consistently noted that every man who now studies at a university is lost to the kibbutz for seven consecutive years; implicit in these statements is that it is unlikely for a person who has been absent from his kibbutz for so long to return. First, he is absent for four years of national-military service (kibbutz members are obligated for longer periods of service than non-kibbutzniks). Then, if he goes to the university for a B.A., he is lost to the kibbutz for an additional three years. (Higher degrees naturally require even more time.) Urban life is much more attractive than life in a kibbutz; I have often had the feeling that a monograph on kibbutz life should be entitled, "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow."

The growing engulfment of kibbutzim by the total society -- which is sometimes physical, as noted earlier -- is also symbolized in another problem that is related to the proposal to establish a kibbutz university. Traditionally, kibbutz members do not take Bagrut (matriculation) examinations and do not receive preparation for it. Since 1967, more and more people within and outside the kibbutzim had been mentioning this, and many have been recognizing that if there is no kibbutz university, there will be increasing pressure to prepare kibbutz secondary-school pupils for this examination. This will not only be a further breach in the insularity which kibbutzim try to maintain but it will also make entrance to the university much easier and more automatic for many.

This is being reinforced by other aspects of changing life in the kibbutzim. As is well known, and thus need not be repeated here, communal upbringing -- the commingling of education and socialization -- has been one of the most outstanding features of kibbutz organization (as it generally is in one form or other in most firmly bounded communities). However, more and more kibbutzim are abandoning this in favor of nuclear-family household organization. Thus, ties are being strengthened within the family in kibbutzim, and this is always at the expense of communal ties. Furthermore, as industrialization increases, children in kibbutzim are being introduced to agricultural work at later and later ages. From the point of view of the family in the kibbutzim, the forces at work are increasingly centripetal and this cannot but have repercussions for the educational system and the individual's relationship to the community. Thus, for example, the increasingly frequent introduction of refrigerators and stoves in kibbutz households -- which kibbutz die-hards seek to dismiss as a mere accompaniment of rising standards of living in the kibbutzim -- is the direct cause of an increasing frequency of families taking their meals privately in their own apartments and is of a piece with the increasing convergence of kibbutz education with that of the rest of the society. Communal meals are also an important feature of kibbutz traditionalism. One afternoon after lunch in a left-wing kibbutz, I automatically began to walk toward the kibbutz social-hall (or club house, as it is sometimes called) for coffee. My host began to walk in the opposite direction, toward his own apartment. I stopped and gazed after him; when he realized my perplexity he said to me, "Why should I have coffee there when I can have it in my own apartment?" During our subsequent conversation, he and his wife expressed strong doubts and misgivings about handing over the child they were expecting to the communal nursery of the kibbutz; both of them were born and brought up in traditional kibbutz atmosphere.

The threat sensed by the religious and kibbutz sectors (especially the left-wing kibbutzim) thus has little to do with administrative details. The law of 1968 is a big step toward increasing centralization of control over the educational system. This has to be won at the expense of boundary maintaining subgroups within the society.

After all that I have said about the importance of the reform, it may seem unfair, or at least anticlimatic, to point out at the very end that the reform is merely a legislative ratification of changes that have already taken place. Specifically, the changes introduced by the law of 1968 have been in effect in all Development Towns since around 1963. In all of these towns, all children who wish it receive a secondary education free of tuition charges. That is, the seker examination is entirely without relevance to children in Development Towns. This program is one of many that were first introduced in these areas and, having been found (or felt) to be successful, are then introduced to the rest of the society. Although the law of 1968 will formally apply to the entire society, its impact will be on the urban centers and on the old towns.

This reform, of course, will not provide a panacea for the inequality which prevails in Israeli social relations, but it will help as an important step in that direction. No amount of inoculating or decorating people with diplomas or degrees will overcome despisal or fear of children with dark skins or mothers who wear colorful Yemeni or Moroccan dress. What Israelis can hope for is that whatever else accompanies the acquisition of a university degree -- acceptance of differences, a more sophisticated awareness of the underlying social processes in the malignancy of the disenfranchisement of groups (assuming they are permitted to learn about these in the university), greater social and economic security and a corresponding reduction of socioeconomic marginality, and the like -- will combine with other and more important forces in the society to eliminate disenfranchisement: the loss of autonomy of groups that perpetuate firm boundaries and the particularistic values that almost invariably accompany these.

As I have tried to show, movement in this direction has begun in Israel within its overall institutional structure, and this is mirrored in its educational organization. Changes in the classroom, especially in the curriculum, have barely begun, and there is a lag between the two. The elimination of firm boundary systems within the society, and the increasing firmness of the state's -- and therefore the educational system's -- boundaries will not eliminate inequality in the society. Present knowledge suggests that inequality is an integral aspect of the political structure of all nations. But what is to be hoped for is that this inequality will be more equally spread throughout the population and will be based on individual ability rather than ascribed status and the cementing of disenfranchisement of groups -- within the limits discussed below.

It will require a separate study -- for which, as noted, there was not time in this project -- to draw a comparable picture of persistence and change in American education. Without such systematic research, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what has persisted and what has changed since, let us say, 1870. This is especially difficult today when, at least on the surface, education in many parts of the United States is in physical turmoil. As this is being written (in Israel) the first incomplete reports of armed students on the campus of Cornell University are filtering through, and the combination of physical distance and lack of a time perspective make it impossible to draw any conclusions. At some future date, books and monographs will refer to the "period of social change" in United States society and education in 1968 and 1969. But it is in the nature of homo sapiens that social change can only be understood in retrospect, when its resolutions have become clear. We do not yet have that retrospect.

Nevertheless, it is possible to make a few tentative observations. For example, despite the many legislative programs in connection with American education since 1963, it has been very difficult to produce change in the vast school complex of United States society. One of the reasons for this is that the overall organization of group relations in the society have remained resistant to fundamental change. Despite this, it is probably safe to say that there has been more change -- however minimal -- in the educational sphere of American society than in other parts of the social system. Whether this impression is correct; whether the educational system will be able to produce changes in other spheres of activity; whether there is more change in the society as a whole than meets the eye -- all such questions are matters for the future to determine.

Another question that cannot be answered at the present time -- however unfortunate the question itself is, as will be seen in even greater detail in the next chapter -- is whether, as in Israel, a suitable ideological enemy is indispensable to national unification and the provision of central goals in the educational sphere. But the question is not so simple as, Whom can we hate? It is, instead, a problem in the comparative-historical analysis of social systems. I mentioned one of these earlier, namely, the need to distinguish between new nations and established nations. New nations have either their former colonial masters to hate or, as in the case of the United States and Israel, the conquered people in whose midst or alongside whom they live. Established nations -- especially in the contemporary world of intercontinental communications and missle systems -- cannot, it would seem, afford such cheap luxuries. (Even if the prohibitive cost of such ideologies is mythical, it is a myth worth preserving and fostering.)

But there is an even more urgent problem in this comparative-historical analysis, and it is a pressing one for people who assume the responsibilities of planning, as in education. This is the problem of a society's relationship to other societies as a limiting factor in the type of educational system that it can develop.

I have maintained above that the reflection of Israel's organization of group relations in its educational system has to be understood in terms of the openness of its social boundaries vis-à-vis other societies, and that the degree to which it has been able to centralize its school system has mirrored the breakdowns in group barriers in the society as a whole. Both of these, I have maintained, have proceeded to the degree that the nation has been able to exclude influences and personnel from other societies. That is, domestic homogeneity and egalitarianism is, the argument runs, a function of autonomy in the international sphere. (As I will attempt to show in the chapters that follow, equality of opportunity in schools increases as group and school autonomy decreases.)

History never repeats itself, and no level of sociocultural integration can replicate any of its predecessors. Nevertheless, it is possible to extrapolate processes from a comparison of different stages of sociocultural development. However one feels about such developments, it is nevertheless clear that intersocietal involvements and dependence are increasing; insularity -- or what is popularly called isolation -- is becoming more and more difficult. This is so because of the development of worldwide communications systems, increasing travel across national boundaries, technological interdependence, and an inchoate world political government under a system like the UN or a more successful successor. In view of this, every nation's openness to outside influences will increase in direct proportion to its involvement in an intersocietal network. Hence, firm and closed social national boundaries will be relatively impossible. Under such conditions, it is possible to anticipate three major correlates: the tolerance of sustained outspoken dissent within each nation; the continuation of firm and relative autonomous boundary systems within each, and competition among them; and non-interchangeability of roles among individuals, since people will derive their roles and statuses from their subgroup memberships within the nation, as well as from the nation itself.

The second and third correlates of relatively open national boundaries suggest the continuation of particularism within the society, including in the educational sphere. The comparative-historical record, I believe, demonstrates that these social-structural factors are much stronger than ideological oppositions to them. To state the matter bluntly and colloquially, this is a state of affairs and a set of forces that "we are stuck with," just as we are saddled with the limitations (and the potentials) of our physiology and our minds. But I do not believe that these factors require their passive acceptance, any more than the limitations of physiology and mind required that homo sapiens remain at the level of foraging or agriculture. As I have maintained in Man in Adaptation, science is an integral part of contemporary human adaptation, and it is as incumbent upon us to use it as effectively as we use medical and other scientific knowledge. Once we understand the processes involved in the effects of intersocietal relations on intrasocietal social organization -- and this understanding has barely begun -- it may be possible to free ourselves of some of these limitations to some extent, comparable to the ways in which technological advance has freed man from many of his habitational and biological limitations. Naturally, this is social engineering. But so is the administration of antibiotics, producing, among other things, increased population size; so is income tax; and so, in fact, is compulsory education.

I have thus far dealt with the broadly based institutional aspects of Israeli education historically and contemporaneously. But to revert to the cliche of the functionalists, individuals lurk behind the facade of every institution. Putting this otherwise, how are these institutional patterns carried out in the lives of the mass of ordinary men? Institutions are nothing more than abstractions from the activities of people who make use of what is available in particular ways. But before turning to the other side of the ledger -- to "what the natives do" -- it is necessary to describe the goals of education: the business of the schooling industry. It is to this that I now turn.

VI

The Schooling Industry

An investigation of the interrelationships between a nation's educational system and the rest of its institutional matrixes must, at one point or another, ask the question, What is education for? There are two approaches to this problem. On the one hand, it can refer to education as a self-contained phenomenon or process independent of any particular society or setting, in much the same way that we talk about love, the meaning of life or death, good or evil, and the like. On the other, it can refer to the actual, specific, and localized version of the process in -- and relevant to -- a specific society at a particular time. When taking this view of education, it is a given axiom that what is "educational" in one society may be corrosive in another. Such local and particular applications of the educational process have to be distinguished from the former and more general process.

This is necessary because as my mind often wandered during the hundreds of hours that I sat in Israeli classrooms -- that is, when the frequent sensory overload permitted me to -- I asked myself, "Is *this* education?" What I was observing, whether I was in a corner of a kindergarten or at a university seminar table, had little resemblance to my preconceived ideas of education -- disciplining and liberating the mind for the purpose of free and enjoyable use of its potentials in the exploration of ideas -- which I had acquired in a completely different sociocultural and national context. My moment of truth, as it were, came when I realized that the educational philosophers from whom I learned had never heard of Israel, or, if they did, they had never faced this problem: These are the realities of life in Israel [leaving aside the question of the definition of reality, whether it is an artifact of self-fulfilling prophecies or an axiom of the milieu over which no one has any direct control] ; how does one educate people in and for *these* realities? Could Israel survive, could its citizens function effectively, could people in Israel successfully get from one day to the next if its education were based on the high-sounding ideals of the American, English, or German philosophers of education? Consider, for example, this statement by Whitehead in *The Aims of Education* (taken at random): "The logic of the discovered is the deduction of the special events which, under certain circumstances, would happen in obedience to the assumed laws of nature" (p. 61). I think it is a safe conclusion that the educational process in Israel is devoted, in part, to a systematic eradication of habits of discovery, the valuation of discovery, its enjoyment, or the desire for it. Is Whitehead's statement -- or even the concluding sentence in his book, that "Our problem is, in fact, to fit the world to our perceptions, and not our perceptions to the world" -- irrelevant to Israel, or to any other set of realities for that matter, or is his view itself irrelevant? Simply, it is neither (or both). Instead, it can be said that no society is concerned with education *per se*, but only with the systematized training of individuals to live in a particular set of realities, to accept those realities without question, to be obedient subjects.

The realities of life to which Israeli schooling is adjusted -- in the sense in which I have used the term "adjustment" in Man in Adaptation -- are twofold. First, there are the realities of life as they exist in all national societies, especially in the attempts by the state's rulers to achieve national and societal integration, uniformity, and homogeneity. This is the general problem of schooling. Second, there are the realities of life as they exist in Israel (or in any other society) and nowhere else. In Israel, this is the problem of inculcating a set of attitudes, values, and reflexes of mind (and trigger fingers) which enable people to live as *colons*, in a constant state of war and tense belligerency, and as constantly justifying systematized inequality. This is the specific problem. Given these realities -- and the same can be said of any national society -- Israeli education could hardly take any other shape or content. We, in the United States, once faced almost precisely the same set of problems - and evolved almost precisely the same set of solutions *at the time*, with the exception of centralization -- when we took a continent that was not ours: our Puritan villages were not unlike Israeli kibbutzim in structure and ideology; our schooling was heavily influenced by religious considera - tions; our *colon* status was rationalized as the fulfillment of the deity's will; our genocide was barely different in intent or justification; and our caste system, too, though slightly different in detail, was barely separated from these other considerations. As Israel enters the last third of the 20th century, it copes with problems that we began to face in North America about 250 years ago. When we began to build a school system, we did not face the problem of incorporating the intellectual climate of the 1960s into our curriculum; we did not have to watch a Cotton Mather reconcile the imperatives of a "space age" with the demands of religious legitimation and law. The point is not that Israel is a "1700 society" while we in the United States are a society of the 1960s; rather, as I have noted above, the point is that Israel is a "new nation" while we, in the United States today, are so far along the road to nationhood that we are literally beginning to relegate the study of our origins to archeologists. Israel is also using archeology in the same way, and their task is to find a fictional set of origins; but that is another chapter. Let us first turn to the general problem in the adjustment of schooling to a new nation.

As one eavesdrops among the tourists making their lifetime or annual pilgrimages to Israel, he hears the ritual phrase, "Isn't it a remarkable country." More often than not, it has a plaintive quality to it, because it comes out somewhere between a question and an assertion, almost as though those uttering it want to be assured that Israel is, indeed, "a remarkable country." In many respects, it is, but hardly for reasons that tourists can see. What they do observe are cities like many in other countries -- though marked, perhaps, by considerably more rudeness and abrasiveness -- as well as overcrowded roads with incredible rates of traffic fatalities, large and small industries, prosperous neighborhoods and slums, various kinds of agricultural villages, rubble, sand, ugliness and indescribable beauty. They see what Israelis want them to see: Jews as farmers and as members of other occupations that Jews were supposedly incapable of filling. But there is really nothing remarkable about this.

What is of special interest in Israel, at least for the social scientist, is the probably unparalleled speed with which a state was created and set into effective motion. Its educational system is a microcosm of this. Among the first steps in a state's attempt to entrench itself is the establishment of courts to enforce national laws, economic control, the regulation of labor, the creation of an army and a police force, and so forth. But in addition to such formal institutional centralization, it is also necessary for the rulers of a nation -- those who speak in the name of the state -- to gain legitimacy, the belief on the part of the masses that the former have the right to rule and impose their wills. This is the problem faced in every new nation, and it most directly affects the rulers' activities in the educational sphere. Being a new nation, this is among the principal concerns of Israel's educational system, and this is what shapes it. In the United States, on the other hand, where legitimacy has largely been gained, the educational system has very different characteristics. In Israel, the outstanding characteristic of education is the attempt to inculcate legitimating ideology; in the United States, it appears that the emphasis has shifted from the inculcation of legitimating ideology to training for participation in the forms and etiquette of a particular kind of political life, or what may be called the "American style." Current events in American secondary schools and universities, in which students can be said to be participating in the long overdue reform of medieval educational systems (although there are, admittedly, other ways of seeing these events), can be regarded as an index of the success of United States schooling in this regard, namely, in activist participation in the process of change. But let us first turn to Israel, in order to gain a clearer picture of schooling which focuses primarily on the inculcation of legitimating ideology.

When one pauses to consider Israeli education as a systematized attempt to inculcate a set of legitimating values while, at the same time, listening to the elders of the oligarchy who rule Israel, he is struck by a tragedy, in the sense of dramatic tragedy. The members of the "second aliyah" who rule Israel -- emigrés and expatriates of the Russian revolution of 1905 -- were driven by a particular ideology: the normalization of Jewish life, the need to demonstrate that Jews could do anything that other homo sapiens could do. But this had a very specific edge, aside from their demonstration that Jews could be farmers and soldiers and the masters of a nation. It was the desire to prove to themselves and to everyone else that Jews could rid themselves of the "psychology of the diaspora or exile," that they could shed the character traits of second-class citizenship and the defensiveness that was an integral part of these. They wanted to be rid of the "hunchback personality" (as one Israeli put it to me) of constant awareness and preoccupation with being Jewish, of looking over their shoulders to see who was watching them, of marginality, of a sense of being different from all other homo sapiens.

They have succeeded and, as some are willing to admit wistfully, that is their tragedy. Shortly after the 1967 war, I was driving on an interurban highway with an Israeli in his late 70s -- who had grown up in eastern Poland -- and stopped to give a lift to a soldier on weekend furlough. We had a long way to go, and after a while we broke down our reserve with each other and the conversation became somewhat bantering. The soldier, it emerged, had been on active service in the war and had seen some bad fighting in Syria. The old man laughingly said that he had tried to enlist in the war but had been told that he was too young. The soldier replied, and I do not know to what extent he was aware of the sharpness of his remark, "That's all right, old man, you people did your part, now it is time for you to sit aside and let us do the work." The Israeli version of the "generation gap" was clearly put, and we rode along in silence for many miles.

Many immigrants from Europe have told me that their children, who have been born and brought up in Israel, have absolutely no comprehension of what their parents are talking about when the latter speak of their lives as Jews in their countries of origin. One would expect, in view of the original goals of "normalization," that they would be happy about this, but their speech and bearing are always sad when discussing this. While they admit that they have succeeded in achieving what they always wanted more than anything, they feel that something important has been lost: the feeling of uniqueness, the quest for intellectual creativity, the drive for excellence, the sense of separateness and style, and the like -- all of which, of course, were defensive responses. The elders' identification with what they refer to as their national past and heritage finds no responsive chord in a vast sector of the native born Israeli generations. My impression is that most _sabras_' identification with their national past is more akin to United States children's identifications with the heroes of their imaginations who fought the Indians and opened the American western frontiers. The veterans of the "second aliyah" and the _sabras_ may use the same words when talking about this national heritage, but their meanings and symbolic representations are greatly different. The former still carry with them the aspirations of their youth -- the future-oriented element in their consciousness of this heritage -- while their native-born Israeli children are immutably committed to the present. The _sabras_ never knew the whiplash of Jewish minority status in Europe and elsewhere; their parents have never been able to erase its scar tissue. A very small handful of the older generation admit, in voicing their regrets about this symbolic and ideological gap, that they still want their cake after having eaten it; most, however, not unlike their intellectually sclerotic confreres in most other societies who can think of little except the shallowness of youth and its irresponsibility, say in one way or another, "Materialistic youngsters -- well, what can you expect." A prominent Israeli biochemist who escaped from _Anschluss_ Austria and one of Israel's best concert musicians who is the scion of a wealthy American family, put it to me almost identically on two separate occasions: "I was the only Jewish child in my class, I couldn't afford not to be the best in my class. My son? He's almost the worst in his class, and he couldn't care less." The biochemist's son's happiest day came when he was accepted as a cadet for Israel's air force; the musicians' son -- much to his father's consternation -- has not the faintest idea of what he will do when he finishes his army service.

This is not only important as an important aspect of the Israeli experience but also as a significant qualification of accepted notions of education as, among other things, an institutionalized means for the transmission of culture from one generation to the next. Israel's educational system superficially bears out the contention of the oligarchs than an ancient cultural tradition is being transmitted in the nation's schools. But the appearances here are very deceiving. The Old Testament, Prophets, Talmud, Oral Law, and the like, may be the same texts that were learned in the small cheder-schoolroom in an Eastern European ghetto. Their meanings could not be more different if the texts were the writings of Confucius.

However, I do not want to convey the idea that the ideological gap between Israel's generations is of chasmal proportions. There are important "myth systems" which cut across this divisiveness and which effectively unite the nation; I will discuss these below in connection with "Israel's Silent Generation," the nation's politically passive university students. But these are not the outgrowths of the educational system, but rather of events that have occurred far away from classrooms. At this point, and with the foregoing qualifications in mind, I want to focus on the content of Israel's schools.

The achievement of unity and the maintenance of centralized control are interdependent, and they are among the most prominent concerns of the people staffing the state's bureaucracies. The motivations of these people is an intriguing problem because state bureaucrats often also occupy important positions in local groups whose autonomy and authority the state -- that is, these very same people -- seek to supplant and subvert. In Israel, for example, as was seen above, one of the threads running through its history has been the attempts by the government to subvert and eliminate the autonomy of such organizations as the Histadrut (the General Federation of Labor), the Jewish Agency, the kibbutz federations, and religious groups. A great many of the leaders of these groups are also the managers of the government's major bureaucracies, that is, they are cabinet officials. These processes are mirrored kaleidescopically in each of several spheres of activity: the control of labor, production and consumption, the control of water and other sources of energy, law and education. Much more will be known about the nature of national social systems once the problem of bureaucrats' motivations can be investigated systematically; all that can be said in the present stage of theory and knowledge is that power seems to be its own reward. Bearing in mind this limitation on our understanding of national systems, it is also important to remember that it is insufficient for a centralized national system merely to impose control and unity; for a centralized state system to succeed, its controls must be accepted and adopted by the polity. For any social system to succeed, it is necessary for the mass of ordinary men to believe that the state is legitimate, that its bureaucracies have the rightful authority to impose their will, to call for obedience and physical sacrifice, and that it must be defended against all attacks from with and without.

Nevertheless, the justification for a state's exercise of force and authority is not in these attributes alone. A state must see to it that a sentiment of unity is established, a feeling of being one people committed to a common goal despite divergent or opposing interests. Somehow, a reflex of mind has to be instilled so that the oppressed peasant and the aristocratic ruler, together with the middleman who mediates their relations (and probably detests both), feel that they have a common bond and obligation, a set of loyalties which override all differences. At the same time that members of different social classes, ethnic and caste groups, communities and regions, religious and non- (or even anti-) religious groups, political parties, and the like, claw and vie, maneuver and intrigue for privilege, wealth, power, natural resources and sources of energy -- and sometimes just for the feeling of being overlord or upper-dog -- they must be made to feel, and indeed come to feel, that they are one group and that they depend on each other for survival and for achieving common ends and goals. More often than not, these sentiments, provide the meat of the empty rhetoric without which no national birthday would be complete. But the rhetoric is not unimportant, because it provides the tendons, however flaccid, that join the muscles that must do their jobs when the society is threatened or feels that it is threatened.

An example is provided by Israel; actually, this society has provided many such examples during its relatively brief history. But let us take one from May 20, 1967, when Israel began its general mobilization in preparation for the war of a few weeks later. Israel's is a citizen's army; all men serve periods of active duty of 24-36 months, depending on the country's military needs, beginning at 18 years; afterwards, they serve in the reserves until they are 49. Reserve duty in Israel normally involves two weeks of duty once a year; since the war of 1967, men have been called up for 32 days in addition to their war service, and some already have been called up two or three times. When Israel's military situation is quiet and secure, men seek every loophole in the law to evade reserve duty, and many succeed. When there is a general mobilization, entire units are activated by coded messages over the general radio stations as well as by personal communications from those members of each unit who have telephones. (Telephone ownership is far from universal in Israel.)

Let us take one infantry unit with which I have some familiarity. (My knowledge of the unit does not contain anything that is classified as secret.) Its members include a mayor of an important urban center, a university professor (both of them are privates), several other professionals, and a majority of laborers and clerks. Most of the laborers in the unit are from the lowest socioeconomic strata in Israeli society and from its most demeaned ethnic groups (that is, North African). The professionals in civilian life are European. When the general mobilization was announced, the latter members of this unit were concerned about their "Orientals," as North African and Asian immigrants and their descendants are pejoratively referred to in Israel. These men had been notoriously unenthusiastic soldiers during their reserve maneuvers; but this was war -- again a "war for survival" -- and how would such a unit fare during "the real thing?" The unit was to assemble at a secret point on the edge of a major city by 7 a.m. Anticipating laggards, errors, and the usual run of military and bureaucratic snafus, it was quietly hoped that the unit would be able to board its buses and leave for the front by 9 a.m. Actually, not only did every man in the unit appear, but the group was mobilized at such an early hour that their buses were able to depart at 7:20 a.m.

This was not an isolated incident; in fact, it characterized almost every unit in the army, some of which had more than 100% response to call-up because many over age men joined their former units and insisted on accompanying them to the front.

However, as noted at the outset of this report, response to mobilization calls was not universal in 1967. Some men in the disenfranchised groups within the Jewish caste did refuse to be mobilized; while it is impossible to learn how many men took this attitude (since it is a closely guarded military secret), my estimate is that their numbers were roughly equivalent to one division. History is a retrospective activity, and it is always the victors who write history. According to the Israeli version of the events of May and June 1967, mobilization was universally effective; however, a careful look at what is said and written shows that the emphasis is on the units which had more than 100% response to calls to active duty.

But the claim itself is not unimportant. That, too, is part of the effort to attain legitimacy. Important for our consideration here is that many Israelis -- perhaps those who did not know about refusals to serve during the war -- said that the universal response to mobilization calls was evidence of the success of Israeli education. While there is no gainsaying the fact that Israeli schooling did probably play a role in the military success of those who did respond to mobilization notices, there is a more fundamental problem from the point of view of the questions being probed here. It is likely that those men who refused to serve in 1967 had very little exposure to Israeli schooling. Hence, one cannot say one way or the other whether, and to what extent, this schooling did not succeed among them. The real test of this will come during Israel's next war or two -- which are almost certain to take place -- when greater reliance will be placed on a generation of personnel who have passed through the school system. This is not mere speculation; I am saying this in order to alert future investigators who are concerned with such problems and who can make preparations to study this problem at the point at which Israel will be involved in another major war. Given the unusually high intellectual level of Israel's General Staff and its orientation to research (as well as its sincere concern with such problems, which are national and not confined exclusively to military considerations), this should not be impossible. There is organizational precedent for such research, as in the teams financed by the National Research Council in the United States to study responses to natural disasters. Regardless of whether a team has to wait 3, 5, or even 15 years to carry out such research, it should be prepared for.

A nation tends to take its nationhood for granted -- much as does a person in respect to his breathing -- most of the time. It is crisis, however, the belief that the nation is threatened and that its existence is in danger, that tells the extent to which normally warring and mutually distrustful groups also feel themselves to be one group. Perhaps this is unfortunate, but this is the way it is. I was in Jerusalem during the snowstorm which paralyzed it in January 1968, and heard many "Orientals" grumble in bare grocery stores that they were certain -- many even stated it as known fact -- that Europeans in the higher status neighborhoods had ample food deliveries, and that their water and electricity had been restored. These suspicions were largely untrue as far as I was able to determine by personal observation. During the war of 1967, there was apparently no hoarding or theft of food, and it is said that all shared with each other in their shelters regardless of ethnic background. During the snowstorm of 1968, it was not unusual for many grocery stores to have their shelves cleared by theft and pilferage. Small wonder to anyone familiar with the abrasiveness of daily life in urban Israel that many of its citizens, especially in Jerusalem, long for "the good old days" of the last war.

Which, then, is "the" nation, any nation? Its response in crisis, or the routine flow of events and social relations? Naturally, it is both, but not always in ways that are obvious. Sometimes, the ruling groups in a nation -- those who control its bureaucracies -- will manufacture a crisis, or more than willingly move into it, in order to unite groups within the society who appear to be moving so far apart from each other that their divisions threaten to rend the entire societal fabric. (There are sufficient data which suggest that this is true of Israel in connection with its last two wars, the Sinai campaign of 1956 and the war of 1967.) And sometimes, the ruling groups of a society encourage divisiveness within the nation in the old political spirit of "divide and conquer." For it is when classes and ethnic groups, regions and religions, communities and political parties so thoroughly distrust each other that a central government can capitalize on these distrusts and impose its own policies in the vacuums thus created. "Divide and conquer" is a useful strategy of domestic rulers as well as invading powers; when different groups in a centrally controlled society are stimulated to have different vested interests it is difficult for them to unite, challenge, and overthrow the established authorities. Israel's educational system provides a kaleidescopic picture of the total society in this regard. Like the rest of the society -- including its military arm: Israel once had three armies that were as bent on each other's subversion as they were determined to defeat a common enemy -- Israel's educational system began as a completely decentralized institution. At two critical points, in 1953 and 1968, major steps were taken in the direction of greater centralization; both followed divisions in the society that had been systematically generated throughout the society's history.

Distrust each other and believe that you are one; that is not empty rhetoric, but one of the most important policies that a state can follow in creating unity. It is what Plato referred to as the "noble lie"; today, it is variously referred to as "ideology," "legitimation," "political myth," and the like.

Where is the deception in the "noble lie?" It is in this: that almost every nation in history has been the offspring of groups that have been brought together by one means or another to produce a society larger than their sum, and entirely different from any of them. What is regarded as legitimate is not the unions of the diverse groups, for it is in the very nature of a state to eradicate diversity and encourage uniformity. An important part of the noble lie in many modern states -- as for example, in Israel, which by and large imported it from the United

States; if it did not import it, it would have had to invent it -- is the assertion by those in power that they do not want to obliterate the unique customs or cultures of the many groups of their societies, because it is just such diversity which lends color and charm to the national landscape. (It is also very good for the tourist industry.) The lie is noble because it manages to serve two masters. It deludes these cultural enclaves into believing that their distinctive customs will be preserved while the latter are, in fact, systematically undermined as quickly and as effectively as possible. Were it otherwise, its proponents could easily be accused of trying to subvert the state itself by encouraging a situation in which each group will respond to its own symbols, its own leadership and authority, and develop local rather than national cultural patterns.

Were the noble lie not a deception, every one of its purveyors should, logically, oppose a uniform educational system. The Israeli purveyors of this doctrine -- and there are many -- should thus be expected to support the establishment of Yemeni, Moroccan, Tunisian, Polish-Russian, Western European, North American, and other school systems, cut across by religious and secular schools, different political ideologies, and various other ethical systems. As a matter of fact, as was seen, Israel once had a school system bordering on just such chaos. Those who pay public lip service to the notion of preserving the quaint and colorful customary differences among ethnic groups have actually been in the forefront of centralizing and unifying the school system; they are doing the work which is the stuff out of which nations are made.

A state is a bastard, because there are no standards defining it as "natural" as there are, for example, in the blood ties out of which a band of kinsmen or a lineage is formed. A state is also a bastard in the sense that it is extremely rare for most groups within and outside the society to recognize -- at its moment of birth -- its right to exist, to exercise its privileges, and to claim others' obligations to it. It legitimizes itself in many ways: by instituting a centralized legal and judicial system, a police force, and an army; by establishing economic controls; and by forming a centralized educational system which will train people to recognize the state as legitimate and to respond to its symbols.

To exist and function as a state, to evolve and adapt to challenges, and to develop a sense of national unity and identity among its polity, a state must erase its bastardy: it must be legitimized. The means for doing so differ in respect to its relations with other states and in relation to its own polity. The former are beyond the scope of this research, although they are not unrelated to the latter. But before discussing the means by which Israel has sought to establish its legitimacy through its educational system some of its other legitimating activities provide an excellent background and introduction to its educational system. More accurately, Israel's -- or any other nation's -- educational attempts to legitimate itself mirror its other legitimating activities. Neither can be treated separately.

Every nation faces a set of unique problems in its search for legitimation; by similar token, each also possesses a set of unique potentials that it can exploit in the process. The reasons for this are that no two nations have had precisely the same origins, no two have faced identical sociopolitical and geographic conditions, and no two have been made up of the same smaller social fabrics. There are many valid points at which one can start in describing the principal features of a national social system and its problems and potentials in its search for legitimacy. For the purposes of the present research, however, there is one which seems to stand out in its contribution to Israel's uniqueness: it is an international society -- though this characteristic will eventually atrophy and disappear -- and it is the only state in history to have been created by an international political body, namely, the United Nations. It is the international character of Israel that is the pivotal feature of its social -- and therefore educational -- organization.

Once stated, this assertion must be qualified immediately. Israel has been in existence since the 1920s; its "creation" by the United Nations in November 1947 actually refers only to its international legitimacy. Israel's social organization generally, and its educational system in particular, are incomprehensible without this distinction.

By the United Nations' resolution which "created" it -- along with an Arab state that never came into being -- Israel's nationhood was recognized by other nations to have begun with the departure of the British colonial government (euphemistically known as the Mandatory Government) on May 15, 1948. In seeking to understand Israel's search for legitimacy it is interesting and important to note that this is also the date from which Israel formally counts its birth. Why should a nation focus on a birthday that is not its true birthdate?

Like many nations in history, Israel came into existence gradually, almost without anyone realizing what was happening at the time. As noted, its true provenience dates from the 1920s. The later date (1948) is used for a variety of reasons. First, it is always convenient for a state to have a definite date of birth; this enables it to have annual rites and ceremonies of intensification which revalidate it; it is concrete and provides the polity with a fixed moment of beginning and thus of a sense of reality. Israel's annual Independence Day parade -- until 1969 an exclusively military display -- is the high point in the nation's annual cycle. History is usually conceived in the minds of most people in terms of a fixed sequence of events, rather than as a process; fixed dates meet popular expectations of what historical events are supposed to be.

In addition to the difficulties that would arise from using the vague beginnings "in the 1920s" in terms of popular conceptions of what constitutes history, "the 1920s" poses five other difficulties for those who are most concerned with the state's legitimization. First, it is too remote and too far back in the past for almost half of the adult populace to identify with; their immigration to Israel came after May 15, 1948, and it is therefore easier for them to feel closer to. Second, although Israel is the oldest of the "new nations" of the modern world -- a fact which is almost never mentioned in Israel -- the later date provides Israelis with an important rationalization for what they feel to be many of its shortcomings: "it is a young nation, give it time." Third, if the earlier date were used, the state and its bureaucracies would be even more clearly associated in the minds of its North African and Asian immigrants with the Euro-American ruling classes; this would exacerbate existing tensions to a point of unmanageability and volatility. Israel is a society of immigrants and its population -- which remains extraordinarily conscious of ethnic and national backgrounds -- comes from about 100 different national backgrounds. Approximately 65% of its Jewish population came to Israel after 1948; prior to 1948, most of this population was of Euro-American extraction, and it is this group which continues to rule the society. Relations between the latter groups and others, especially those from North Africa and Asia, are among the most important sources of tension in the society. Fourth, May 15, 1948 was also the date on which the states surrounding Israel invaded and sought to destroy it. This was the first of Israel's three major military successes and it is now referred to as the "War for Independence"; a successful war of this kind is an important element in any state's search for legitimation, and none would eschew it. Fifth, an important element in Israel's search for legitimation involves its attempts to create a "Jewish" state which is free of the connotations of minority and, often, disenfranchised status with which "Jewishness" was associated in other countries. Thus, Israel seeks to be a nation "like all other nations," with special emphasis on its status of political equality in the family of nations. For Israelis, the 1948 date marks the first time in modern history that Jews have constituted an autonomous nation, and this is overwhelmingly important to them.

The pains to which Israel's ruling groups go to legitimate the nation are underscored by their omissions of events surrounding May 15, 1948 and the War for Independence. May 15th fell on a Saturday in 1948; by Jewish custom, and later Israeli law, the sabbath begins at sundown on Friday. One of the rules of orthodox religious Judaism is that no business or writing, among other activities, may be conducted on the sabbath. On the afternoon of Friday, May 14th, the leaders of the Israeli state -- it was not called that at the time -- met to draft and sign a Declaration of Independence, which was to take effect at midnight of the following day. A quarrel arose among those assembled over the wording of those portions of the document dealing with the relations of the Jews of Israel to those abroad. (This continues to be a subject of intense debate in Israel.) The quarrel became so bitter that it was impossible to draft the document; as sundown approached it became clear that the people present would have to disperse or continue without the orthodox religious members of the group. For reasons that have been discussed, the latter alternative was clearly unacceptable to all concerned. It was then decided that all those present would sign a blank scroll, with the debate to be continued and resolved after the sabbath. This was done. The proclaimed date of the state's birth and its Declaration of Independence are so important in Israel's process of legitimation that the nation's leaders were very successful in burying this bit of history: only a handful of Israelis appear to know the story of the drafting and signing of their Declaration of Independence, and they rarely discuss it.

The war of 1948 itself, in addition to being a fight for survival, has become one of the foci of Israel's search for legitimation. Important in itself for an understanding of many aspects of the nation's social organization, it also plays a very important role in Israel's educational system, especially in its curriculum. Hence, it deserves careful and detailed attention at this point.

Israel's claim to legitimate existence as a nation is based on a myth. Now, it needs to be made explicitly that this is not a pejorative statement, any more than the platonic "noble lie" is pejorative. Many sociopolitical groups, whether they are clans or larger territorial units, are often based on myths, such as mythical ancestors or founders, mythical events, or mythical origins. The assertion that Israel's claim to legitimate existence is based on a myth is not to deny or challenge its right to exist; it is only one of the sine qua non for an understanding of its social system generally and its educational system in particular.

The basic ingredient of the myth -- though there are several variations -- is that the territory of Israel is the rightful property of the Jews: they inhabited it from the time of Joshua or, as many other Jews claim, from the time of the Patriarch Abraham. However, most Jews prefer Joshua as a validation because Arabs also use Abraham as a patriarch and as part of their claim to the territory. The Jews claim that exile from the land by the Romans was only a hiatus in their occupation of the land that was rightfully theirs; and throughout their dispersion -- or exile, as it was referred to until the 1960s -- they never abandoned their claim to the land that was rightfully theirs. Hence, the establishment of the state of Israel is to be regarded only as a return, neither more nor less.

There are many other ingredients to the myth, but they are all elaborations of, or additions to, this basic element. Among these are the claim that God had always intended the territory to be Israel's, that there is no other place in the world in which Jews can live in peace and free of persecution, that only in an autonomous state of Israel can Jewish culture survive, and that the Balfour Declaration -- a memorandum of policy by England's Lord Balfour, when he was its Foreign Minister, in 1917 -- guaranteed Israel's right to existence.

It is extraordinarily rare for Israelis to question these arguments, at least publicly. What is entirely absent in Israel -- and, importantly, among its enemies without and within-- is, perhaps, an even more important question: What are the consequences and implications for an emerging world community, for the Middle East, and for Israel itself of a claim to legitimacy that is based on religious or ethnic exclusivity, of relating intellectually and emotionally to the past, of having different classes of citizenship for Jew, Arab, and Christian -- of, in fact, an ethnic that can only be designated and tribalistic? While this report is not the place in which to deal with these questions, they cannot be left unstated because they have important consequences for Israel's educational system; in fact, an omission of these questions would render Israel's educational system entirely unrecognizable.

Since the 1920s, Israel's existence has been vis-à-vis "the Arabs." Important in this connection is that "the Arabs" are always thought of by Israelis collectively, as an ethnic -- if not a racial -- entity. In reality, there are important differences in almost all aspects among Israeli Arabs, West Bank (Palestinian) and East Bank (Jordanian) Arabs, those in the Gaza area, and those in Israel's neighboring countries. In this, Israelis differ little from some of the ideologies that were prevalent in many countries prior to 1945 about "the Jews." Israelis' counterposition of their national existence vis-à-vis "the Arabs" has its parallel in the latter's policies toward Israel. Stated colloquially -- and I can find no better way of putting it -- "it takes two to tango," and this also finds its expression in the educational systems of Israel and its neighbors; they cannot be separated.

When Israelis do take exception to the official and dogmatic legitimating ideologies -- the "noble lie" -- of the state, they tend to say that "in historical fact, of course, there is no identity with the past. From an ethnic point of view, Egypt, Sudan and other countries are no more 'Arab' than, say Spain or Sicily. Likewise, it would be hard to prove ethnic identity between modern Israel and the Jews of two thousand years ago. But what matters is not identity but identification; not the actual extent in time and space of the kingdoms of the past, but the efficacy of the myth. What are decisive are not the historical facts themselves, but their interpretation by people in our time, wishing to assure their group identity by joining those realizing the common vision . . . . From this point of view, *the essential similarity of Arab nationalism and Zionism is striking* . . . . The danger of these ideologies is not only in their weakness as principles of action at the present time, but even more in their preventing the protagonists from seeing better alternatives for the future" (Yosef Shatil, "Ideologies in the Israeli-Arab Conflict," *New Outlook*, Vol. 10, no. 8, November 1967, pp. 8-19, emphases supplied).

Let us listen to another Israeli who, like the author of the foregoing, is a member of a kibbutz. "Even if all the Jews had been assimilated among the peoples of Europe, the Jew would have continued to be present there. Someone would have had to discover him. He was, one might say, doomed to exist as an archetype in the basement of Western consciousness, to shine and to repel, to suffer and to swindle, to be fated to be a genius and fated to be an abomination. Therefore, being a Jew in the Diaspora [the exile, the dispersion among "the nations" or "the Gentiles"] means just that one terrible thing: Auschwitz is meant for you . . . . Therefore, there is no place for me in the world other than in the country of the Jews . . . . The country of the Jews, I said. The country of the Jews could not have come into existence and could not have existed anywhere but here. . . . Our justification in respect of the Arab inhabitants of the country cannot base itself on our age-old longings. We have no other objective justification than the right of one who is drowning and grasps the only plank he can. . . . Why here of all places? Because here was the focus of [our] longings" (Amos Oz, "Meaning of Homeland," *New Outlook*, Vol. 10, no. 9, December 1967, pp. 9-20).

I noted that the authors of both statements are members of kibbutzim. Kibbutzim have played an important role in Israel's political development. They have also provided homes for thousands of survivors of the German concentration camps. Life in a kibbutz is safe, secure, and sheltered, and when one wonders how and why people -- some with advanced scientific training and academic degrees -- continue to live in these enclaves (I am almost tempted to say socio-emotional ghettos), he need only listen to a few of the life histories of the survivors of the extermination camps who have found the only safety they have ever known in kibbutzim in order to understand the fundamentalism of their claim to Israel's legitimacy. It does not take much for even the most hardboiled empiricist to see the ghosts of Dachau, Treblinka, and Auschwitz stalking a kibbutz at the elbow of the armed guard of a kibbutz on his nightly patrols.

Thus, whether oriented to the first or the twentieth century, Israeli legitimating ideology is based on the premises of Jewish exclusiveness, separatism, and defensiveness against aggression and onslaught. Its fundamentalist exclusivity itself carries echoes of the irrationalities of Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, of Russian policies toward some of its minorities between 1920 and 1940, and more recently of the horrors of Nigeria. I have chosen my descriptive terms advisedly: tribalism, fundamentalism, and the like. Without them, Israeli society and education are not comprehensible.

This is the background from the Jewish side to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. As noted, it takes two to tango. Israel's enemy neighbors have themselves participated in much the same kind of thinking about Israel as has Israel about her neighbors. Most of Israel's neighbors are either exclusively or largely Islamic in religion. Though their relations with each other have been characterized by conflict and intrigue, they have invoked the fundamentalist banners and slogans of tribalism and ethnicity when dealing with Israel, or with each other in relation to Israel: pan-Arabism. In the early 1930s, Israel's neighbors, while not particularly happy about the prospects of Jewish settlement, were not prepared to go to war to prevent it. But 1945 marked an entirely new political situation in such countries as Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and others that counted themselves as "Arab." 1945 saw the emergence of nationalism in many of the colonies of the European superpowers. This nationalism not only sought independence from colonial rulers but also the unification of their respective polities into independent and legitimate nations. And on both sides, religions have been transformed into nationalsims.

Now, there is nothing like a war -- especially one that appeals to the fundamentalist sentiments of religion and ethnicity -- to unify a nation, especially one that is internally riven by class and other social cleavages and barriers. The emergence of Israel as an autonomous state under the auspices of the United Nations in 1948 provided Israel's neighboring states with one of the cheapest and facile means for advancing their respective causes, of internal unity: an external war -- exalted by the "noble lie" of a "Holy War" -- against enemies of Islam, against people who live by different customs, against strange and unknown value systems. From the point of view of the rulers of these societies, the loss of life and property was a minor price to pay for goals that they valued more than anything else: domestic power. If Israel had not been created, the rulers of these states would have been hard put to invent it or find some substitute for it. Israel's creation was a dream come true for the leaders of emerging states in which the mast majorities of their populations were illiterate peasants, wallowing in ignorance, poverty, and disease -- people for whom tribalist sentiments have the greatest appeals.

In view of the experiences of Jews throughout the centuries, it is not surprising that the policies of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and the others, are frequently interpreted by Jews as anti-Semitism or anti-Jewishness in the European sense of the term. This is not the place to tarry and demonstrate that this interpretation is demonstrably false; I have seen many Israelis become visibly upset at such a demonstration, and I can only interpret this disturbance as being a result of a direct threat to the nation's raison d'être for existence. What is important in this connection is the nature of policy and sentiment in Israel's surrounding "Arab" enemies. Israelis reiterate in justifying their blitzkrieg of June 1967 that the Egyptians, Jordanians, and Syrians had vowed to kill every Jewish man, woman, and child if they won the war of that summer. That is true; but what Israelis do not mention -- and perhaps many do not know -- is that these enemies of Israel also publicly promised to kill all "heathens": Christians, Armenians, Jews, and other non-Islamic people, including Arabs. It does, indeed, take two to tango.

The nationalist sentiments of Israel and its neighbors are not only similar; they are rooted in the same basic premises of religion, religion transformed into nationalism, ethnicity, exclusiveness, of an enemy to be overcome at all costs. If one wants to think in terms of "right" and "wrong" it can only be said that both sides are equally "right" and "wrong". But that is not the issue; instead, the issue is that they exist, and their existence has consequences.

In the war of 1948, most of the Arabs -- generally the wealthiest -- who lived alongside the Jews in Israel fled. Most of those who fled became the well known Arab refugees of Gaza, Jericho, and elsewhere. I have seen these concentrations of rotting humanity; I hope never to see them again. When I saw them I was able to understand the guilt that many Israelis feel about the refugee camps -- what a polite and antiseptic term! -- but which they only express privately, among themselves, to those they feel they can trust to be friendly: "We, better than any other people, should know the meaning of refugee camps; that is our hypocrisy." (I heard many such statements, but none so concise as this, from the wife of a cabinet official speaking sotto voce to a highly placed government official.) This guilt is easily explainable. One of Israel's most important claims to legitimacy is that the "original" Jewish inhabitants of the area were exiled by the Romans, and that they did not leave of their own will. Their exile was the great wrong that was done to them. But the Arab refugees have also been exiled, and those who experience this guilt realize that was wrong for one is wrong for another. In addition, and what is not discussed in Israel (either in schools or elsewhere) is that the banishment of conquered populations was an accepted policy at the time of the Roman Empire; it is not an accepted policy (to understate it) in the 20th century.

According to official Israeli doctrine and ideology, repeated almost weekly in the newspapers, on the radio, in tourist leaflets, and -- most important -- in the schools, the Arabs who fled Israel did so as a result of orders broadcast to them over Egyptian and Transjordian radios. Most Israelis believe this. In fact, however, there is not a shred of evidence to support this contention. The Israeli government has not produced a single tape recording or printed page of such instructions. The Arabs who fled claim that the Jews warned them that they would be killed if they did not leave. After several pogroms in Arab villages as the hands of the Jews, thousands of Arabs fled.

There is certainly more to the story, but I doubt whether all the facts will ever be ascertained. But one thing is clear. There had been armed clashes between Arabs and Jews as early as the 1930s; during that decade, the Jews suffered most, at least in terms of losses in life. But I think it is wrong to view all of these conflicts under the rubric of Arab-Israeli conflicts and let it go at that. Prior to the war of 1948, Arab attacks on Jews were expressions of ethnic animosity, if not xenophobia; Jewish attacks on Arabs, especially in Israel itself after its invasion, were nationalistically motivated.

And it is this anti-Arab nationalism -- as an important aspect of its legitimation -- which underlies much of Israeli education. While it was the mass exodus of Arabs in 1948 which gave the Jews a majority in the country, it is now used as but one more example of the perfidy and hatred that Jews can expect from non-Jews. When Israelis explain the reasons for the Arab exodus in 1948, they say that their Arab neighbors were ordered to leave so that the surrounding armies could destroy Israel and then all Arabs would join to reoccupy the territory. That no Arabs can be trusted, that they must be kept outside the pale is an important aspect of Israeli policy in maintaining economic, residential, and school segregation of Arabs. An important part of the education of almost every Jewish child in Israel is that he does not attend school with Arab children.

Thus, there are many threads that ran together in the war of 1948 and today they constitute some of the most important aspects of Israeli legitimating ideology. One of the most important of these, as noted, was the military success itself; there were some important losses and while these are almost never mentioned, they are never forgotten and are avenged when the opportunity to do so exists. For example, Israel lost the Latrun enclave during the war of 1948. This is a valley between the Hills of Judea (atop which Jerusalem perches) and the coastal hills. It is a lush and fertile valley, and the view of it from atop the coastal hills is beautiful. Because it is so flat, the outnumbered Israelis were unable to defend and retake it in 1948; then, their strategy depended on surprise nighttime attack. They did retake it in June 1967, at considerable loss of life. Before 1948, the Latrun enclave was the main link in the water supply of Jerusalem, which has almost no water of its own. The recapture of the valley in 1967 also reopened the direct and shorter road between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean coast. But it also gave Israelis a chance to settle an old score. One day, while I was riding in a staff car with a high ranking Israeli army officer, he said to me, as we entered the valley, "You cannot appreciate the emotions of an Israeli in riding on this road again." He was correct, for I could not. But I also waited for a justification of Israel's demolition of three old and established Arab villages in the valley after the 1967 war. He did not mention them; nor did I. The inhabitants of the villages are now in refugee camps near Jericho.

On the Western edge of the Latrun valley begins the steep ascent to Jerusalem. Whoever travels by car or bus to Jerusalem from the western portion of the country -- that is, from those sections which had always been Israeli, because Jerusalem is at the eastern edge of the country -- must make this ascent. Lining it on both sides for the first few miles are the burned out hulks of armored cars that took part in breaking the siege of Jerusalem in 1948. Their red paint is frequently freshened, and every May fresh wreaths are placed on them. When the road is repaired, widened, or diverted, these memorials are carefully moved and replaced, some perched precariously on bolders, others on the shoulders of the road, some among trees, but all to give the impression that these are the precise spots on which their heroic defenders were finally stopped.

War memorials are a very important part of the Israeli scene. There are the carefully preserved bombed out Arab houses in the Jaffa part of Tel Aviv-Jaffa; there is the bombed out section near the shore in Haifa; and there are a few reminders -- more since 1967 -- in Jerusalem. But these are not only memorials and landmarks. They are also educational. For example, in one small agricultural village in the center of the country (the religious moshav school in my sample), there is a lovely and modern school building. Its sole doorway faces the shells of houses that had stood there -- about 30 yards away -- in 1948. The scene can be considered part of the children's daily curriculum.

Another physical site that plays a very important role in Israeli life and in the state's legitimation -- as well as in the current international political scene -- is The Wall. Known also as the Western Wall or the Wailing Wall, it is probably one of the greatest unifying forces in Israel. It is inside the walled -- or "old" -- city of Jerusalem. Supposedly the western wall of the Second Temple, built by King Herod, Jews have always regarded it as a sacred place, standing in lieu of the Holy of Holies of the Temple. To pray at the Western Wall is, for many religious Jews, the supreme religious experience.

Denied access to The Wall by the Jordanians -- in violation of the cease fire agreement of 1949 -- the Israelis captured it in June 1967, along with the rest of the city, after bitter and bloody fighting during which they refused to use planes and tanks within the Walled City of East Jerusalem for fear of hitting religious edifices, at least their own. (They did score several hits from the air on the Church of the

Nativity in Bethlehem even though there do not appear to have been any soldiers in it at the time.) The story of the paratroopers who finally captured The Wall and who wept at it, donning religious paraphernalia and offering prayers of thanksgiving, are well known from newspaper accounts, photographs, and television films. The Wall was taken late Tuesday afternoon, and was militarily secured by Wednesday. On Thursday morning, an estimated 20,000 Israelis appeared at the gates of the Walled City waiting to be admitted so that they could go to The Wall. By Saturday, it is estimated that more than 100,000 Israelis -- 4% of the total population -- had visited The Wall at least once. They came from all over Israel, many of them on foot, others hitching rides on tanks and troop carriers, from north, south, and west. Most were not religious; some, in fact, are members of vehemently anti-religious organization. A few prayed, but most came to "be" there, to experience the sense of being Jewish by standing before The Wall.

"It was late Wednesday afternoon. We were standing in line waiting to get our food at the mess tent. The Syrians had been shelling us heavily for several hours, but they had not found our base. One of the men in my unit had his transistor turned on. The news came on. And we heard, 'Jerusalem is ours, the wall is ours.' I didn't think I had felt anything in particular, but I looked around at my men -- we had already heard rumors that Jerusalem was ours. There were no cheers, no one said anything, no jumping, or anything like that. They all stood where they had been. But tears were streaming down the face of each man. Then I turned back to move up the line to get my food, and I realized that tears were running down my face too, all along tears had been running down my face. I didn't understand it. I still don't." This was told to me by one of Israel's most prominent scientists, a platoon commander in war time. I do not think that he even remembers his last visit to a synagogue.

Let us now turn to some of the major aspects of the transmission of legitimating ideology in Israeli schooling. There is a custom in Israeli schools of conducting a special ceremony during the winter term at which the children of Grade 2 are given their first Bibles. This is intended to coincide with their being introduced to the study of the Bible. It is a very festive occasion, on which the class puts on plays and other performances for their parents; the latter prepare cakes, cookies, drinks, and so forth, and it has many of the characteristics of a rite de passage but without physical mutilation. My observations in Grade 4 at an upper-status coed secular school coincided with this ceremony, and I was invited to attend; as an inducement, I was told that the President of the country would be present. Attendance by the President or other high ranking officials is not unusual at ceremonies in this school; but this was the only major difference between this school's rite and others'. The program was scheduled to begin at 4 P.M. Two long tables were arranged parallel to the side walls of the gymnasium, heaped with food. Against the walls were seats for parents, grandparents, and other kinsmen; across the tables, on the open side, were the children's seats. At 4:20 the children marched in, the girls in white blouses and skirts, the boys wearing white shirts and black trousers (the traditional male Israeli attire), and skull caps; many of the boys seemed to be quite unaccustomed to such headgear. At 4:25, a teacher stood and self-consciously announced, "We are waiting for someone," and asked a parent accordion player to begin a song. She tried to get everyone to sing, but only a few parents joined in and most of the singing was done by the children. Between two of the songs, the accordion player reminded the children to stand when the President enters, which he did at 4:30 with his wife and uniformed bodyguard. All present rose, and the President waved his hat in all directions, bowing and smiling, even though the President of Israel is elected by the parliament, not by popular vote. He and his wife occupied two seats at one end of center space, between the rows of children. The teacher of Grade 2 opened the proceedings telling the children, "Not only are you receiving the Torah (Bible), but the President is here!" Once the hierarchy of values was made clear, the performances began with a valedictory address by one of the children. There were several skits and plays interspersed with songs, one of which was entitled "Love they Neighbor as Thyself."

At 5:07, these performances end. The teacher of Grade 4 (who is also the assistant principal in charge of the first four grades, the only school of which I know in which there is such an arrangement) delivered a short speech re-emphasizing the importance of the occasion. She ended this by asking the President if he would accept the honor of handing out the copies of the Bible to the students of Grade 2; the request was intended to sound spontaneous. He began doing this at 5:10, and immediately the visiting anthropologist and the parents began taking pictures; the anthropologist had one of the more inexpensive looking cameras. The saddest moment came when a father, who had been taking pictures of all the other children receiving their Bibles, could not get his camera to work when his own daughter came up to receive her Bible from the President. The President spent about 30 seconds with each child, holding him by the arms or hands, addressing most of them by given name, speaking to him and telling him that he remembers when one sibling or kinsman or another had received their Bibles many years ago. The parents enjoyed this hugely. (I doubt, as I heard one guest note, whether many of these children will vote for any party except Mapai in 10 or 11 years.) This part of the rite ended at 5:27, and the President returned to his seat. There was a hushed silence; then the teacher of Grade 2 came over to the President with a dish heaped with goodies, offered it to him, then to his wife, then to his bodyguard (he was armed), and then to the parents seated closest to the President. She then withdrew with the dish, and one of the children of Grade 2 approached the President and handed him a large bouquet of exquisite red roses. At 5:30 the President rose to leave, and everyone else rose. He was only about 30 feet from the door, but he did not get out until after 5:35; he stopped and greeted almost everyone between his seat and the door by first name and exchanged a few words. Traditionally, only parents of the children are invited to this rite, and they often also bring along the children's grandparents. "The children will never forget this," I heard one parent say to another. "Especially the connection between the Torah and the President," another said in all somber seriousness.

As noted above, the President's participation -- and the resulting delays in the programming, as well as his appearance of electioneering --

was the only difference between the celebration in this school and in others. Where no high ranking or prestigious figure is available for the festivities (which is usually the case), the mood is even more joyous and gastronomic. It is the most important day in a child's life since his first day in school and it sets the tone for the kind of schooling he is going to receive in more ways than one, and in many more ways than is intended. It is not only metaphorical that this ritual centers around the distribution of Bibles and the beginning of Biblical study. The Bible is Israel's claim to legitimate existence, and it is not unusual for Israeli army battle orders to contain reference to it. But what is even more important, at least to an outside observer, is that the Bible is literally and figuratively the symbol of absoulte and unquestioned authority: it is Truth, it was (it is said) handed down by God, it is sacred and not subject to question. These are themes that are repeated throughout Israeli schooling, whether the subject is Biblical study or agriculture.

The importance of Biblical and related traditional (technically referred to in Israel as "sacred") subjects can be seen in the following tables, giving Ministry of Education and Culture program requirements:

Table 6-1

Grade 4 Schedule for State (Secular) Schools*

Subject	Number of Hours Per Week
Prophets and Legends	5
Hebrew	5
Homeland and nature	3
Arithmetic	4
Physical education	2
Crafts	2
Art) Music)	2
Social hour	1
Total	24
Agriculture (where conditions permit)	2
Total	26

*Source: Schedule of Studies for State Elementary and State-Supported Religious Schools, Grade 4, Ministry of Education and Culture (Israel), 2nd edition, Jerusalem, 1967, p. 4. [In Hebrew]

Table 6-2

Grade 4 Schedule for State-Supported Religious Schools*

Subject	Number of Hours per Week
Prayer and laws[1])	4
Oral Law)	2
Bible	3
Prophets	3
Hebrew	3
Nature and Homeland	2
Arithmetic	3
Physical Education	1
Crafts[2])	1
Music)	1
Art)	1
Total	24
Agriculture (where conditions permit)	2
Total	26

*Source: Ibid.

1. First hour -- about 35 minutes daily -- for prayer. Remainder of first hours devoted to meditation over prayers, (religious) law and oral law.

2. It is possible to combine these hours and distribute them differently, depending on local conditions and with inspector's permission.

Table 6-3

Schedule for Grades 7 and 8 for State (Secular) Schools

Subject	Number of Hours per Week
Bible and Prophets	4
Oral Law	1
Language (Hebrew) and literature	3
Arithmetic and geometry	4
History[1]	3
Geography and homeland	2
Science	2
English	4
Calisthenics	2
Art	1
Music	1
Social hour[2]	1
	28
Agriculture[3]	4 - 3 - 2
Crafts	
	32 - 31 - 30

1. The third hour of history is to be devoted to the strengthening of Jewish consciousness. Half of the third hour in Grade 8 is to be devoted to national information (news).

2. It is desirable to have the social hour on the same day and at the same time in all the classes, so that it will be possible to have joint activities among all the classes or a general assembly of the entire group.

3. In a class in which crafts and agriculture are taught, 8 hours; in a class in which only agriculture is taught, 4 hours; in a class in which only crafts are given, 6 hours. Hours are to be adjusted according to local conditions.

Source: Schedule of Studies for State Elementary and State-Supported Religious Schools, Grade 7, Ministry of Education and Culture (Israel), 2nd edition, Jerusalem, 1967, p. 4 [In Hebrew].

Note in original tables, for State-supported Religious Schools: "Distribution of Hours to be Published." (Author's note: It was not published by the Summer of 1969, and is not likely to be in view of the reorganization under the reform program passed in 1968.)

As can readily be seen from these tables, and with the exception of Hebrew in Grade 4 in the secular schools, traditional "sacred" subjects are given far more time than any other. This is esepcially notable in Grade 7 (and it is actually even more extreme in the religious schools), since "Oral Law" is an aspect of Biblical studies.

One of Israel's goals -- as stated repreatedly by its rulers -- is to become the Middle East center of "Science-based" industries. In the light of this, it is interesting that the same number of hours are devoted to studying arithmetic and the Prophets of the Old Testament in Grade 4. These are the horns of Israel's dilemma: can a nation be equally oriented to the present and to a pastoralist and an agricultural past of 2,000 years ago? Of course, the equal emphasis here on the past and the present is understandable in the light of Israel's need for legitimation, especially of the religious variety.

This problem is accentuated ever further when we look into the content of some of the other subjects taught. In terms of content, many more than 4 hours weekly are spent in indoctrination in traditionalism, the aboiutism of religiously based authority, and in dogma. For example, a lesson following one in Prophets in one Grade 4 dealt with the maxim, "Honor your father and mother." After asking the children how one honors one's parents -- not why, or even whether one should -- she asked them whether they can recall any stories in the Bible which give examples of this. She wrote their answers on the board and then added to them: "Our sages have taught us: a man has three judges: God, his father, and his mother." She then continued writing out a long legendary passage describing God's pleasure when a person honors his parents and His displeasure when he doesn't.

Later that week, in the same class, the lesson in Hebrew -- the first of the day -- presented an interesting variation on some of these themes: Israel as the promised land. The teacher began by asking the class whether everyone knew What the Diaspora -- the exile of the Jews -- is. Everyone knew. The subject matter of the lesson was a story of a Jewish Yemenite boy "who returns to his land." (The full significance of this will become clear when I discuss the teaching of the Prophets; for the moment, suffice it that Israel is considered by most Israelis to be the land of every Jew because it is so decreed in the Bible and the Prophets.) Simply, the story is of a little boy who sets out from The Yemen across deserts, beset by dangers and troubles, trusting to his talismans, and finally stumbles on an Israeli army outpost where the soldiers on guard take him in, feed him, and make sure that he reaches a settlement safetly. The last paragraph of the story begins with the phrase, "Thus said God . . . ." In the text there is a line drawing of the boy which makes him look somewhat bizarre, while the line drawings of the soldiers present them as models of efficiency and compassion. In the course of children's reading the story aloud, each paragraph being read by a different child, the teacher stops to explain the nature of talismans in a straightforward and uncondescending manner. There is no visible reaction to this from the children, but everyone knows that talismans are simply unknown in the daily lives of children in this particular (high-status) school. Incidentally, the subject of the story has no parents.

In an unpublished manuscript, entitled "Two Stereotypes of the National Mythology," Georges R. Tamarin and David Ben-Zwi present the Israeli stereotypes of the Diaspora Jew. The terms used by Israelis to describe their compatriots abroad are revealing: Lean and thin, strange pronunciations, weak and sickly, sad eyes, side-locks and/or beard, pale, trembling and wrinkled (referring to elderly people) wearing worn clothing, closed and strange, frightened and distrustful, isolated, rigid, taciturn, shy and perplexed, sad, perseverant in studies, and serious and old in spirit. By contrast, in the same study, Israelis see themselves as tall, strong and hardy, tanned, negligently simple in their clothes, alert and stormy, assertive and rebellious, ill mannered (in which great pride is taken), bright and clever, arrogant and boastful, patriotic, influential, impudent, well-liked and enjoying high status, good-hearted, serious and reasonable, bright and clever, free, sincere, pioneering, cynical and with a sense of humor.

It appears that these stereotypes are learned early and, as we have just seen, they are frequently reinforced in school by appeals of one sort or another to religious authority and dogma. Paralleling this is religious justification and legitimation for Israeli occupation of the land in which they now live. This begins at an early age. "Thus said God": Can there be anything more final than the word of God, especially for a 10 year-old child? Is there any room for argument here, or questioning, or doubt?

The study of the Prophets begins in Grade 4 with the Book of Joshua. As even a casual glance at it reveals quickly, this is a blend of military conquest, genocide and the commands of God. In every class that I attended, the theme that was stressed repeatedly and incessantly was that the Book of Joshua is the documentary evidence that God willed -- nay, commanded -- the Jews to occupy this territory, by force if necessary, and to live in it. The point that is then made, always in the same breath, is that Israeli Jews of today are the direct descendants of the Jews of then. Not to live here would thus seem to be a violation of God's commandments.

There is no such thing as a "normal" period in a nation's history. I began my school observations in Israel during the first term following the war of June 1967. While it may be argued that the echoes of the victory achieved in that war have influenced the teaching of the Book of Joshua -- and while it is true that the war has made the book somewhat more "alive" for the children, many of whom remember vividly the sounds of war from that summer -- the evidence that I have collected indicates that it is now being taught in almost the same way as it had always been here. The one difference -- and it is no slight difference -- is that now, teachers are able to point to precise parallels between Joshua's battles and those that were fought in June 1967. There is an omission in what the teachers tell their children that is significant here: they do not tell the children that the battle sites in both eras -- Jericho, Jenin, Bethlehem, Hebron, and the others -- were the same because of their topographically strategic positions. The omission must certainly have the effect of suggesting that the battles of 1967 were also commanded by God. This suggestion is reinforced by the drawing of the parallels between Joshua and the tank commanders of 1967. (As a matter of fact, one teacher asked me during a conversation after class one day whether I was able to identify with the accounts in the book of Joshua. I said that I could not, and, as she told me that teaching Joshua was identical with teaching contemporary Israeli history, I thought I detected a faintly condescending smile and regretful shake of her head. She is the widow of one of Israel's famous historians.)

This is an important part of a nation's legitimation. But these interpretations of the impact of studying the Book of Joshua as history are not entirely my surmise. This has also been investigated systematically by Georges Tamarin, and his main published conclusions about this part of his research are in an article, "The Influence of Ethnic and Religious Prejudice on Moral Judgment" (New Outlook, Vol. 9, no. 1, January 1966, pp. 49-58). I should add at this point that Tamarin is one of the very few people in Israel who is concerned -- and upset -- by what he (and others, who do not publicize their views as he does) considers to be the ethnocentrism, jingoism, and xenophobia of modern Israelis, especially as it is taught in the classroom. Taramin is a clinical and social psychologist. In addition to his private clinical practice, he also taught in the Department of Psychology at Tel Aviv University. Early in 1967, after the article just referred to raised a storm in the Israeli press, especially the newspapers of the religious sector, there was considerable sentiment in and outside the Ministry of Education for his dismissal from the university. He was dismissed just before the war of June 1967. Tamarin himself claims to me that he was fired becuase of an intra-departmental quarrel involving petty departmental politics, and that his published views played only a secondary role in his dismissal. Officials in the Ministry of Education deny that they had brought any pressure to bear on the University; there is much evidence that suggests that this denial is untrue. However, there was enough concern over the issue of academic freedom to cause the appointment of a commission of inquiry composed of members of the three leading universities as well as non-academic personnel. The commission found that while petty departmental politics did play a major role in Tamarin's dismissal, his views about Israeli values and education played such a prominent role, however secondary, that he should be reinstated on this score alone. However, he was not reinstated. His name is a pejorative within the Ministry, which controls most of the university's finances. Ministry officials have told me that their only objection to his work is that his methods, especially in connection with his probability samplings, are poor. Many highly nationalistic social scientists repeat this ritually. I know of two repeat studies of Tamarin's hypothesis which bear out his findings; they are unpublished and are likely to remain so.

In his study, Tamarin presented students with passages 28-30 of Chapter 10 of the Book of Joshua, in which Joshua's genocide is most clearly described. He then asked this group of respondents to answer two questions: "Do you think Joshua and the Israelites acted rightly or not? Explain why you think so." The second question was: "Suppose that the Israeli Army conquers an Arab village in battle. Do you think it would be good or bad to act towards the inhabitants as did Joshua towards the people of Jericho and Makkedah? Explain why ....." To another group, Tamarin presented the same test, only this time he placed the actors and places in a Chinese context; Joshua became General Lin, and God became "The Chinese War-God." (In kibbutz schools, Tamarin planned to ask several other questions -- about mixing Jews and Arabs in kibbutzim, Jewish-Arab marriage -- but was refused permission to administer them.) It should also be emphasized that Tamarin carried out his research prior to the 1967 war and before events such as the demolition of entire Arab villages in the Latrun enclave and elsewhere.

Tamarin's conclusions are worth quoting directly (p. 58): "The striking difference in the approval of the genocide by Joshua as compared to that of General Lin [60% as against 7%], leader of an out-group . . . unequivocally proves the influence of chauvinism and nationalist-religious prejudice on moral judgment . . . . The uncritical teaching of the Bible -- to students too young -- even if not taught explicitly as a sacred text, but as national history or in a quasi-neutral atmosphere concerning the real or mythological character of its content, no doubt profoundly affects the genesis of prejudices (at least as a disposition) even among non-religious students, in accentuating the negative-hostile characters of the strangers (idol-worshippers, etc.) . . . . This material is a severe indictment against our educational system, against all those who knowingly or unknowingly serve as a tool for education towards intolerance, chauvinism, and prejudice. It should serve as a danger signal for all those concerned directly or indirectly with education. It is necessary and urgent to bring about radical changes in the curriculum itself as well as in the attitude twoard the material studied."

In early August 1968, I visited The Wall on the day of the commemoration of the destruction of the First and Second Temples. (It is said that both Temples were destroyed on the same date.) This is a day of mourning, fast, and prayer. It is a national, as well as religious, commemoration; nearly 100,000 people visited the compound of The Wall on that day, very few of them religious, as my personal observations there disclosed. I had gotten there before the large crowds began to appear and was able to overhear many conversations. (In a few instances, people near whom I was sitting or standing asked me questions, and I said that I did not understand Hebrew; this was easy because of the great number of tourists present, and they continued with their conversations freely.) As one faces The Wall from across its compound (the entire area occupies about an acre), one sees a mosque to the right which towers over it, and there is another and smaller mosque to the left. Sitting on a newly constructed low stone wall at the opposite end of the compound and facing The Wall, next to a mother and her little boy (who seemed about three), she mentioned to her husband how lovely the entire sight was. The little boy turned to his mother, pointed at The Wall and said, "Is this nice?" The mother answered in the affirmative. Then, pointing to the larger of the two mosques, he asked, "Is this nice?" "No," she answered. "Why?" "Because it is Arab." A few minutes later, as the sun was setting, several Arabs in traditional dress hurried home across the compound, walking eastwards. A man seated on my left was talking to a soldier who was seated on his left. (There were scores of heavily armed soldiers there). "Let them try something, it will hurt them more than us." He and the soldier soon left and their places were occupied by another mother and her three children. The youngest, who seemed about six, asked his mother, "Are all soldiers against the Arabs?" "I don't know," she answered hesitantly. "I think they are all against the Arabs," he replied with a childish swagger in his voice. Later, I heard several people remark, "The gall of them walking across here on a day like this." (The next day, the Israeli Air Force carried out its first bombing raid on e-Salt.) While watching the spectacle, I got into a conversation with a drama student from the University of Berlin. He told me that he had dreamt and saved for three years for this trip to Israel. I asked why, and he said very simply that he wanted to come here to see concrete proof that man was able to construct a free and democratic society. I asked how his expectations were borne out. His answer, told sadly, was a simple story. Shortly after arriving, he went into a bookstore in Tel Aviv to buy a book. While there, a little boy entered and asked to buy something. The salesgirl, who seemed in here 20s to the German, began screaming at the boy saying, "Get out, get out, I don't want any Arabs in my store." After the lad left, the tourist told me, the salesgirl began weeping. "I don't want Arabs in here," she kept repeating. We sat silently for a minute or two. "Ach," said the German, and slowly walked away.

Fowl of this sort have a tendency to come back to roost. Israel's apartheid receives much of its legitimacy from the Book of Joshua and this separateness reached a spasm of frenzy in April 1969, in the month following an explosion by a planted bomb in the cafeteria of the library of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Although plans for a high wire fence to surround the entire university had been planned for more than a year, it was finally completed within a few weeks of the explosion. Only authorized vehicles are now allowed on the university grounds, and no one may enter the grounds without producing identification. Arab students at the university must produce their identity cards as well as their student cards; Jewish students need only show their identity cards. (It should surprise no one that it takes the guards twice as long to check the Arab students' identification, and they generally do it twice.) No Arab who is not a student at the university is now allowed on the grounds of the university. Arab laborers are no longer allowed to come to work individually; instead, they must all assemble at one spot at 7 A.M. and be brought in as a group by their gang bosses. Hence, an Arab worker who is late to work by five minutes loses an entire day's wages.

One day during this period, as I was walking through one of the gates to Tel Aviv University, I overheard an argument between a guard and a student; during the argument it emerged that the student was an Arab studying at a different university. After the guard carefully checked his papers, he wanted to know why the student was visiting this university. The latter replied that he was visiting a friend who is a student there. "Where does he work?" the guard wanted to know. "In the chemistry laboratory." It emerged that the visit was a surprise. "Why didn't you let him know you were coming?" "It is a surprise." "Why didn't you tell him to meet you outside the gate?" "I wanted to surprise him." "Perhaps he's busy and doesn't want to be disturbed." "He'll be very happy to see me, he is from my village." You should meet him outside the gate," the guard grumbled as he let the student enter.

Children in non-religious schools to whom I have have spoken about this feel that too much time is devoted to Biblical studies, and not enough time to science. None that I have spoken to about this, however, have said that they voiced such opinions either to their teachers or principals. While I have discussed children's schooling with many parents at various social strata, and while most of them are dissatisfied with the education their children receive, only once have I heard a parent spontaneously raise an objection to the emphasis on Biblical studies: a lady whose children attend a high-status secular school, at a small social gathering at the home of one of Israel's most well known cabinet ministers.

Were a culture a rational system, or even the product of deliberate and rational thought, it may be expected that Israeli Jews, for whom the German genocide of the 1940s is an important symbol, would adjure any association or identification with such a national policy. But a culture is not a rational system; it is a system of symbols which, of their own momentum, grow out of a set of conditions which were established in the group's history and, willy or nilly, are perpetuated. Self-perpetuating circles and self-fulfilling prophecies do not exist only in the conditions of the present, but also in feedback of present and past. As long as Israeli Jews maintain their insistence on exclusivity, which they began as a policy in the 1920s and 1930s, and which is formally represented in their caste system and in their own contributions to the maintenance of a state of war by insisting on impossible fundamentalist conditions for negotiation, they are going to need to continue to instil such values in their children at their most impressionable stages.

In my book, The Transition from Childhood to Adolescence, I hypothesized that the age at which Israeli children enter Grade 4 (about 10 years) is the stage of development at which children are most impressionable and vulnerable in their psychological development, the age at which they are most open to values which provide them with a sense of socioemotional anchorage. If correct, we can imagine how great is the power of these teachings in the formation of a Jewish Israeli social and emotional anchorage at this age, an identification and self-perception that wallows in the venom of conquests and slaughters that are ordained or commanded by God, an engendered belief in unabating external threat and imminent destruction. After the war of June 1967, it was not unusual to hear Israelis ask, "Well, how does it feel to be a member the master race?" This was said with a mixture of bitterness and humor. But the insecurity and uncertainty which underlie such national delusions are only partially rooted in conditions of present reality; their sources and their perpetuation are also aspects of national policy, exacerbated in no small measure by the status of being a new nation among technological Goliaths. Were Israel to abandon its apartheid policies and say to its neighboring states, "We recognize that to ask you to sit at a negotiating table with us is like asking an orthodox Jew to accept the divinity of Jesus Christ," it would not only face a complete upheaval in its social system but it would cause untold consternation among its curriculum planners who would find that there was no longer any need to continue with their established curriculum. But such a fantasy -- it is really a wild and bizarre dream within existing realities -- will not come to pass so suddenly, becuase similar adjustments would also have to be made in the internal policies of Israel's neighboring states, which also place such emphases on fundamentalist religious education. That is unfortuante, but Homo sapiens has almost always been characterized by learning more from his misfortunes than from an application of his capacities for rational reflection, learning, and planning.

In this connection, it is relevant to note that education has long been a battleground -- a means and an end -- in nationalistic aspirations in the Middle East, as it has probably always been in the history of many new nations. During the years of the British colonial presence in the area, there was a constant struggle between the British colonial administrators, on the one hand, who sought to impose their own curricular and other school standards on local populations, and local educators who wanted to write their own textbooks and maintain their own standards, on the other, especially in control of textbooks in history and geography. Teachers' strikes in these connections were not infrequent, and these were usually met by closings of struck schools by the British governors. (For a detailed discussion of this, see 'Educational Policy and Arab Nationalism in Mandatory Palestine," by A. L. Tibawi, World of Islam, N.S., 4: 15-29, 1956.) Today, there is what can only be called a frenzied and driven quest for education among Arabs in Israel itself and in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, especially (but not exclusively) in the West Bank. Secondary school and university diplomas are the great prizes to be displayed on sitting room walls, and they are inseparable from nationalist aspirations. If one wishes to study the inextricable relationship between the puritanical (or Protestant) ethic and the quest for schooling as an aspect of nationalism and sociopolitical mobility, these are the ideal populations for such research. The sociopolitical and cultural values of these people, together with their devotion to schoolwork and its rewards (especially in the form of diplomas), is unavoidably reminiscent of Jews and other groups throughout the West when they were in a minority status at the start of their upward social climbs. I was talking one evening with a young Israeli Arab school teacher who won his B.A. about a year previously from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The son of a small peasant farmer in Israel, he had worked as a teacher for several years after graduating from his village's secondary school. He told me that it was his father who insisted that he enroll in the university, "so that he could say, 'My son, the B.A.' " I caught myself just in time as I was about to burst into laughter, when I realized that he was not parodying the cliched American-Jewish punch line. The so-called Arab terrorist groups are often automatic post-graduate careers for many university graduates in the West Bank.

As the foregoing descriptions of the Biblical and traditionalist aspect of Israeli schooling suggests, Israelis understand the relationship between schooling and nationalism and cultural autonomy. Most young Jewish Israeli university students and professionals to whom I have spoken about this have said, "If I were an Arab, I'd be a terrorist too." I have been repeatedly impressed with Israeli Jews' empathy with Arabs' sabotage and bombings and with their extremely sharp explanations (and anticipations) of the logic of many of these activities. It takes two to tango.

It is against this background that it is possible to understand the Israeli use of Biblical and other traditionalist studies as a means of implanting a strong sense of nationalism. It appears to be succeeding, and one of the principal signal beams being followed by Jews and Arabs in the collision course on which they are travelling in the Middle East -- and which I think is justifiably hair-raising to the bystanding major military and political powers of the world -- is that the school systems of both are equally fundamentalist and nationalistic. In both, as noted above, fundamentalist religions have become the ideologies of nationalism. From the little that I know of the popular press in Israel's neighboring countries, I am certain that the following use of education as a battleground is no different there than in Israel; the tragedy is that it will require scores of generations to neutralize the resulting venom, not unlike that produced by the myths of Christ's crucifixion or the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

Very soon after the war of June 1967, the Israeli Hebrew press ran a series of frightening stories about the content of elementary and secondary school textbooks in the Gaza Strip, Jordan's West Bank, and Syria's Golan Heights. The principal theme of these newspaper stories -- and then given further publicity in two pieces of propaganda written and distributed by Israel's Ministry for Foreign Affairs, "Education in Hatred in the Schools of the Arab States" (Mimeographed, no date) and *'Hatred is Sacred': Extracts from Arab School Texts* (Jerusalem, 1968) -- is that the textbooks in Arab schools systematically used materials to instil and fan destructive hatred for Israel. In reality, this was untrue. "Generally, it is necessary to emphasize that the daily Israeli press exaggerated its descriptions of these books and their treatment of Israel and Judaism; despite the expressions of enmity against us [Israel] that are found in them -- it is impossible to find a basic or central theme in the enmity toward Israel in this literature. Many books, even books dealing with citizenship, history, and Islamic religion do not even mention Israel, and the type of arithmetic question, "If six fedayeen [Arab guerilla commandos] heroes fight twelve Jewish soldiers," is not found in the arithmetic textbooks that were found in the three [now occupied] territories ("Outline for Research in Arab Textbooks," by Hava Latsros-Yaffeh, *The New East* 17:207-221, 1967, p. 216, in Hebrew).

Most Israelis recognize the symbol, "If six fedayeen heroes fight twelve Jewish soldiers . . . ." In horrified and angry tone, the Israeli press -- which is almost entirely a controlled press -- proclaimed that even arithmetic was used to indoctrinate Arab students with genocidal attitudes by giving problems in addition and subtraction centering around the killing of Jewish soldiers. Other fabricated examples, supposedly taken from textbooks in citizenship, history, geography, religion, and the like, were given prominent display. I have heard all of these allegations repeated by teachers in classrooms just as, I am sure, comparable things are said in the classrooms in schools in Israel's neighboring countries.

The quotation that I have cited is from a report of a formal content analysis of these textbooks sponsored by the Department of Arab Education in Israel's Ministry of Education and Culture. As significant as the findings of this analysis is its site of publication : an obscure journal read almost exclusively by a few faculty members of the Hebrew University. As a matter of fact, most Israelis to whom I have spoken have not even heard of the journal; only a handful -- and most of these are sympathetic to Arab aspirations -- knew of this article. I do not think that I am being overly skeptical in suggesting that if the results of the research had been different, the article would have had wider circulation and would have been printed in a more prominent joural. Israeli ministries have their own ways of assuring the obscurity of findings that are politically inconvenient; I cannot go into these here (see below).

The author of the article also stresses the relationship of Arab states' education to their shared status as new nations, at least in the modern world, and she observes that "there is discussion of actual social questions in the Arab textbooks, such as the status of women, problems in marriage and divorce, attitudes toward coffee houses and the theatre, etiquette, professional diligence, respect for public property, and the like. All of this is presented with repetitive primitive moral preaching and fostering the desired official policy, which is often stated in the context of these problems and on the basis of some of the most important approaches, as to attitudes toward Islam and the proper ways of suiting it to the demands of modern life. In connection with this, it is worthwhile to observe that the wordy admiration for Islamic principles is absolute in all types of textbooks connected with this theme, perhaps because this is the tradition of the grand national past and the source of national pride. Because of this, it happens that an attack on Israel [which has thus far made itself inseparable from Judaism] sometimes becomes an attack (quite base) on the religion of Israel. And this is despite the fact that they do not deny or ignore the kinship between Judaism and Islam" (ibid., p. 215).

Religious legitimation in a new nation, then, is not confined exclusively to religious instruction. Consider, for example, a lesson in European history in Grade 7 in what is probably the best school I have observed in Israel; it is a lower/upper-status coed secular school in a suburb of the city in my sample. (In all protocols, statements in parentheses are in my original notes; subsequent additions, though not found in the following protocol, are in brackets.)

10:13 - Miss S comes into class for history lesson.

10:15 - Review of previous lesson on rise of the Catholic Church in Medieval Europe. She covers main points of previous lesson.

10:20 - Miss S asks class, "Could Judaism behave in the same way in respect to civil governments as did the Church?" One boy answers that it would be natural, since Judaism is the religion of the Jewish nation. Several others disagree with him. One boy says that secular and spiritual life have nothing to do with each other. Teacher tells him, "You don't know what you are talking about." She then gives the class the answer: "The Church moved in when she saw that certain civil governments were weak."

10:27 - Teacher calls for answers to homework assignment. Adds to one boy's answer to a question that there was an important distinction between Catholic and ancient Hebrew priests. Hebrew priests (during kingdom) did not constitute a bureaucracy, they were only interested in teaching the Bible and other matters of religion. (This, of course, is not true.) What is more, she says, Hebrew priesthood was uninvolved in civil matters like Roman Catholic priests (or like rabbis today?).

10:32 - Discussion of the Papacy, and the power of the Pope to excommunicate. (Leaves the impression that there is nothing similar to this in Judaism, which is wrong.) Puts diagram of Roman Catholic hierarchy on blackboard. Pupils are participating very actively. Teacher distinguishes between masses of Catholic believers who work all week and pay attention to religion only when they pray, contrasted to priests who are devoted to religion all the time. Kings in European countries are similar to the Pope. Then goes on to point out that there is no similarity between this and government in Israel. Israel is similar to the United States. Explains that papal infallibility means that no one may contradict the Pope. Hierarchial aspect of Roman Catholicism is that the Pope cannot reach the lower rungs of the hierarchy directly. Kids call out, several at a time, she rarely does more than ssshh.

10:49 - Boy in rear, to whom she said earlier that he didn't know what he was talking about, wants to comment on something that was said. She won't let him, saying that they must now turn to books.

10:50 - Turn to set of questions in the text, largely repetitious of what has just been said.

10:59 - Emphasis on the use of force to spread Christianity. Our little rebel of 10:20 and 10:49 says aloud, "Just like the spread of the Bible in Israel." Miss S is shocked. Says only Muslims do that, not Jews. Cuts off discussion by giving homework assignment. Dictates three questions to them that are listed in the textbook.

11:02 - dismisses class. (Roberts Rules of Procedure.)

11:05 - Bell rings for recess.

But religious instruction in school is not necessarily confined to the legitimation of nationhood or statehood; it can serve other purposes. In a lower-status coed secular school, Grade 4 had completed studying the Book of Joshua and were beginning to study Judges at the time of my observations. In bridging the Book of Joshua to Judges, the teacher wrote out the following problem on the blackboard: "In Chapter 1 of the Book of Joshua are listed the qualities that were required of Joshua: Copy them." After writing this, she turned to the class and explained that "not everyone can be chosen to be a leader. Thus, what qualities did God demand that enabled Joshua to become a leader?"

I had never heard such an obvious attempt to justify social stratification in any other classroom in Israel, but it is significant that this occurred in a class of children from among the most disenfranchised groups of the country. More representative is the following from Grade 7 of a coed secular school in a Development Town. The teacher of this grade is a tall, powerfully built, handsome man of 26; he is a dedicated teacher (one of the best I have seen) who also lives in the Development Town. I enjoyed watching him. My first indication of his relationship with the class came during the first few minutes of Sunday morning. This was his first day at school after more than a month on reserve duty, during which he saw heavy action along the Jordan River cease-fire line. He thanked them for all their letters to him and apologized for not having answered them because he was so "busy." (The next day, one of the children brought him a bouquet of flowers, and all the children were pleased at seeing them on his desk. There was no suggestion from anyone that there may have been "apple polishing" in this; it seemed like a genuine expression of the group's sentiments.)

A great deal of this teacher's time is spent in transmitting legitimating ideology; in this respect, he does not differ from the other teachers whom I have observed, save in his articulateness about it. During the 10 a.m. snack break in the Teacher's Room on Sunday, he told the other teachers of the school about some of his experiences while on reserve duty and, among other things, related what he saw in a now abandoned UNRWA school in Left Bank (Jordanian) territory. He said the schools were vitriolically anti-Israel, as could be seen from a map of the Middle East on the wall of a classroom in the school. The map depicted Israel in black, and a Jordanian soldier was rising out of the Mediterranean Sea and stomping on it with his boot. He despaired of any possibility of a rational modus vivendi with such people. However, as explicitly noted in the article by Hava Latsros-Yaffeh, discussed above, it is necessary to distinguish between textbooks -- which are government and officially controlled publications in all the countries of the Middle East -- and other materials, such as wall drawings, which are not officially controlled.

8:14 - Books out for Prophets lesson: Joshua 9. Calls on kids and asks them to tell him what they learned during his absence: the wars of Joshua. Teacher starts lesson with reference to Moses taking the people of Israel out of Egypt. Asks who Moses was. A prophet. Question (teacher's): what is a prophet? His answer: God's messenger to the people. Teacher asks, "What difference was there between Joshua and Moses?" Moses was a prophet, a spiritual leader. Joshua was a military leader. Moses turned a rabble into a nation through the

Bible --"and we live by the Bible today." Joshua's mission was to capture the land. Moses was a teacher, Joshua was a soldier but not a teacher. He tells them that Moses was equivalent to a university professor of today, Joshua to a Chief of Staff [and the prestige rankings in Israel are clear on this].

8:30 - Teacher asks, "How did Joshua receive his military responsibilities?" For answer, he tells them to consult Joshua 1 and to write answers in their notebooks.

8:34 - Teacher calls for answers to his question. First calls on a girl, then on other kids. Most say he received them gladly, though he was aware of the responsibility involved, but was sure God would help him.

8:36 - Girl comes in late, teacher asks why she is late, she says she overslept, he tells her to sit down.

8:36:30 - Teacher resumes, tells class that God assured Joshua that He would put proper strategy in Joshua's head -- as long as the people followed in God's ways. "There has to be faith, a soldier cannot succeed if he doesn't believe in what he does. That is why the Arabs lost and we won, and saved our wives and children [an obvious reference to the instruction to every Israeli man to kill his family and then himself if Israel lost the war of 1967]. And you have to believe that this is our land and God is our God in order to succeed in war and defend our wives and children."

8:40 - Announces 10 minutes of work: "compare and contrast Moses and Joshua, how did God choose each, their personalities, and God's relationship to each. Also, what were Joshua's military strategies? Also, write an essay, 'I overhear the conversation between God and Joshua.' "

8:45 - Tells them to start writing.

8:45:30 - Teacher repeats his instructions.

8:47 - Teacher goes around room checking work, makes audible comments to several kids.

8:48 - Again. Quiet work.

8:50:30 - Kid asks question aloud, teacher answers, asks class question about what substitute teacher taught them while he was away in reserves.

8:54 - Tells class to close books and finish at home, and to take out books for Hebrew. Asks them what they did in Hebrew while he was away: various stories. Teacher tells class he wants to start a notebook project on "Twenty Years of the State." They may start that tomorrow, but in the meantime they will start with the story on page 81 of Twenty of the State of Israel: A Reader III [one of a set of special publications put out by the Ministry of Education, marking Israel's 20th anniversary and distributed in all schools]. Calls on different pupils to read one paragraph each.

9:07 - Teacher takes over reading. This story is about the custom of written prayers that people used to place between the stones of The Wall and about a man who is punished for taking out the slips of paper and reading them. His son becomes deathly ill.

9:24 - Teacher finishes reading the story. Asks class whether this is "just" a story. They all agree that it is not. Next question, "Do you think that the author was a religious man?" Class agrees that he was not. Nevertheless, teacher says, he was drawn to The Wall. He asks class what impression The Wall made on them when they saw it. Various answers given. Teacher tells them his reaction: "These stones stood 2,000 years, Israel will also remain another 2,000 years. The stones in The Wall symbolize Israel." The moral of the story, he tells them, is that a man is punished if he violates holy places. He is forgiven if he makes restitution, like putting the prayers back between the stones. (That is what saved the life of the man's son.)

9:35 - Homework assignment: Take out all the difficult words and phrases and explain them with the help of a dictionary. ("It will help you on the seker.") "What is the writer's feeling about The Wall? What did the writer try to teach us?"

9:37 - Tells them to take out food. For first time today, he tells them to be quiet. Several times.

9:40 - Bell.

This hour was followed by a lesson in English, taught by a special-subject teacher; the hour was quite pandemonious. It was followed by an hour of geometry, in which the subject was the determination of the volume of a cylinder.

The following day, he began the morning with a discussion of the World Zionist Congress, which was being held at that time in Jerusalem. This was the only time I had heard a discussion of any sort about current events during a regularly scheduled classroom hour. In telling them about the Congress, he described the Dreyfuss trial, Theodor Herzl, the first Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897, immigration to Israel and the importance of immigration. After several pupils gave answers to his question about why immigration to Israel was so important -- the need to settle the land, the need for soldiers, and so forth -- he told them that Israel is the only place where Jews can be safe; American Jews are safe now, but so were Jews in Germany safe in 1933. Hence, Israel must be developed. This brief lesson lasted 17 minutes.

Now let us look at a continuation (on Tuesday) of Sunday's lesson in Prophets. Speaking about the meaning of the "capture of the Land," the teacher asked the class, "What justification was there for it?

Would we be justified in conquering Egypt tomorrow?" Most of the pupils answered affirmatively to the first, taking the position that "God willed it". With respect to the second question, whether Israel would also be justified in conquering Egypt "tomorrow", the class seemed about evenly split. (In a lecture to the Conference on Oral Law on August 21, 1968, Rabbi Bezalel Zolti, a member of the Supreme Rabbinical Court of Israel, said that "it is definitely forbidden, according to sacred law, to return any piece of Israel to the rule of non-Jews once Jews have occupied it." Continuing to speak about the policy which Israel should adopt to the territory captured in 1967, he went on to say, "There is no difference in this respect between Jerusalem and other areas of Biblical Israel . . . If we would keep sacred responsibility [mitzvah] not to return any of the new territories which form part of Biblical Israel, we would receive divine aid in holding them." As regards the Sinai peninsula, he said, if it is necessary to keep it for security reasons, it automatically became a sacred responsibility to keep it. Rabbis, he concluded, should not hesitate to express the sacred traditional law and point of view in connection with matters of political interest; in fact, it was their duty to do so.)

The teacher told the class, "In those days, there was no concept of nations and national boundaries." He said that Joshua's right to conquer the Land of Canaan stemmed from Abraham's occupation of it; hence, the land belonged to the people of Israel. Furthermore, "God willed it. Joshua was merely getting his own country back. Furthermore, in those days, might made right. So you see, we today have simply returned to our own land, we did not want to evict the Arabs."

The class then turned to a discussion of the "cities of refuge" in Joshua 20. The teacher pointed out to the class that "this was the first time that such laws were codified as religious laws." (This error is corrected below, q.v.) "This shows the greatness of our Bible." In this connection, and in explaining the need for such refuges, he told them about the custom of "blood revenge" among the Beduins, and that it was also the law among Israelites of those days. "Moses knew that it was a primitive and unprogressive law, but he had no choice because it was so customary in those days. But he was shrewd enough to enact the law of sanctuary, the first time in man's history [sic]".

When the bell rang, several pupils were raising their hands to ask questions; he took these at the start of the next hour, which was devoted to a lesson in "citizenship." Most of the questions centered around the legal technicalities of refuge, such as, what would happen if a man guilty of premeditated murder fled there, whether the family of a man who had taken such refuge could be killed in his place, whether all sanctuaries were in hill cities, and how a man's family fared while he was in refuge. In summing up his answers, the teacher said, "This law shows us how advanced the laws of the Jews were over all other laws. The Code of Hammurabi was not as advanced." This was the only time that the latter was mentioned during this hour, and I doubt whether many of the children were familiar with it; perhaps it was mentioned for my benefit.

The "citizenship" hour on Tuesday was devoted to the Israel Defense Forces. Previous lessons had dealt with the war of 1967, the air force, police, and the characteristics of different parts of the country. He began the hour by asking why a nation needs an army. As pupils answered, he wrote their answers on the blackboard: "I. Security; II. Aid in stress (e.g., floods); III. Makes youth into good citizens and develops a love of country; IV. Helps develop country." He pointed out that Israel was unique in the second and third factors. He then told them about the origins of the Israel Defense Forces, from its tripartite split prior to 1948 and its unification by Ben-Gurion in 1948. As part of this, he read to them in a booming voice the oath of induction which every recruit takes. His final major point in this lesson was to emphasize the phrase in the oath referring to the army's support of the established government as a guarantee of democracy -- "not like Syria, Egypt and other totalitarian countries."

As seen above in Table 6-2, the orientation to the past, which is such an important aspect of Israeli education, is given even greater emphasis in religious schools, in which approximately half of the weekly schedule is devoted to "sacred subjects." Before going on to discuss the curriculum, it is first necessary to ask, how many Israeli children receive a secular or religious education, that is, on what proportion of the growing population does the curriculum of religious schools -- and the cognitive system implied by this -- make an impact? Table 6-4 shows clearly that this proportion is significant: it is now about 35%.

Table 6-4

Pupils of Elementary Schools, by Description of School, 1953-1968*

	1953/4	1956/7	1960/1	1965/6	1966/7	1967/8
Secular	69%	69%	66%	64%	64%	65%
State Religious	24	25	27	29	29	29
Autonomous	7	6	7	7	7	6
Total numbers	219,129	285,926	361,707	395,901	392,562	385,589

*Based on Table T/10, Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 19, 1968, p. 533.

It will be noted that the first major loss in proportional enrollment by the secular to the religious schools occurred in 1960/1; this coincided with the very dramatic increase in the number of pupils enrolled in schools. The latter increase was due to the "baby boom" which followed the mass immigration of people to Israel during the early 1950s. Almost all of the latter are among the country's disenfranchised socioeconomic strata or what are generally referred to as the lower classes. It should not be assumed from Table 6-4 that, beginning in 1960, a larger proportion of parents began sending their children to religious schools. Instead, what has to be borne in mind is that there is a much higher birth rate among the lower strata than in the higher; in all likelihood (there are no available data about this), the same proportions of parents continued sending their children to the different school subsystems. However, it was their greater number of children that undoubtedly produced the increase in the proportion of children in the religious schools. Since the birth rate in Israel (as in other countries) tends to drop as schooling and socioeconomic conditions improve, it is likely that these factors may begin to affect the size of the enrollment in the religious schools (note the drop in the numbers of pupils after 1965). However, it is still too early to tell whether the trend suggested for the secular schools in 1967/8 will continue. Furthermore, it will not be possible to examine these trends even in the future because the school reform program begun in 1968 will affect the proportions of pupils in different types of schools independently of other factors.

As in many other contemporary societies, there tends to be an inverse ratio between socioeconomic and political status and degree of religiosity in Israel. Aside from adherence to ritual, what is religiosity? Without claiming that this is an empirical statement, religiosity implies a particular kind of cognitive system: an adherence to a set of dogmatic beliefs and notions of cause-and-effect which do not grow out of existing sociotechnological conditions but, instead, out of past conditions. Religious systems of thought tend to be attuned to conditions of the moment only in highly stable and unchanging societies, that is, in those in which there is almost no change in sociotechnological conditions over the course of many generations, as in most primitive societies. Now, it is an inherent tendency in most religious systems to exploit a basic predilection in human thought: to idealize existing conditions.

Let us begin with two basic tenets of orthodox traditional Judaism which, at one time or another, have been major religious-political issues in Israel: the opposition to sculpture and autopsies. I have deliberately chosen these because of the different aspects of reality to which they refer. Let us begin with sculpture. Several years ago, the late Billy Rose donated his magnificently beautiful collection of sculpture to Israel with the proviso that it be kept intact and displayed as a single unit. This was an incredible intellectual and aesthetic windfall for Israel (as well as a tax windfall for Rose), and the Israeli government decided to build a sculpture garden for the collection on the grounds of the Israel National Museum for its display. This was violently opposed by the religious factions of the country, on the grounds that it violated the First Commandment. (The sculpture garden was eventually built.)

This controversy provided an excellent example of the anti-modernism of traditional Judaism. The Ten Commandments -- if the Bible can be believed -- were originally formulated during the period when the Hebrews were pastoralists. In an unpublished research, completed shortly before beginning this research, I found that sculpture is absent in societies at two stages of sociotechnological development: nomadic hunters and gatherers and pastoralists. (There are some horticulturalists, such as those in highland New Guinea, who are also without sculpture, but this is not the place to tarry to consider this.) The most outstanding common denominator between hunters and gatherers and pastoralists is that they are non-sedentized. Often, the institutional and intellectual adjustments of pastoralists are responses to the patterns of the sedentized agriculturalists along whose peripheries the former often live (and whom they often attempt to terrorize; cf. the "plagues" which the Hebrews are said to have inflicted on the Egyptians). It is likely that the prohibition against sculpture in the Ten Commandments was an idealization of the pastoralist Hebrews' lack of sculpture vis-à-vis the very well developed tradition of sculpture of the advanced agricultural Egyptians. Judaism's prohibition against sculpture -- like Islam's -- can thus be understood only in terms of its pastoral past. Viewed within a perspective of cultural evolution, the prohibition is entirely irrelevant to sedentized agriculture, to say nothing of industrialization. To seek to impose pastoralist standards on an industrial society -- whose survival and economy rests directly on jet aircraft, in which computers are integral parts of the social system, and so forth -- can only be interpreted as an example of anti-modernism.

Opposition to autopsies can be similarly viewed. This is now one of the major issues of the religious factions' oppositions to contemporary life in Israel. It was possible to develop a tenet of the integrity and inviolability of a person's cadaver at a stage of sociotechnological development in which the very concept of pathology was unknown or in which the idea of germs and microscopes could be explained as a paranoiac's delusions, to say nothing of concepts of organic subsystems, such as circulatory, respiratory, digestive, or cell systems. Even if one does not accept the idea that the purpose of life is to sustain and perpetuate life, Israel's religious factions' opposition to autopsies can be regarded as an example of anti-modernism if only on the grounds that they seek to apply pre-industrial ignorance as a standard of contemporary life. (It must be pointed out, at least in passing, that orthodox Jews in Israel make full use of medical knowledge and skills, a great proportion of which have been derived from autopsy procedures. Also, orthodox Jews in Israel often eschew medical education becuase much of it is based on the dissection of Jews' cadavers; there would be no objection to the dissection of the cadavers of non-Jews, but that is another matter.)

The matter becomes more complex -- and also more substantively germane (no puns intended) to the present discussion -- when we do apply the standard that the purpose of life is to sustain and perpetuate life, and that autopsies are one of man's most important adaptive techniques toward this goal. Naturally, very few orthodox Jews in Israel would accept this standard, and this is the crux of the matter. Central to orthodox Judaism -- as well as other major religions -- is a different standard, namely, that man (human life) exists in order to serve the deity. Now, it is axiomatic that in all cultural systems, the deity is the ideological representation of the established social order. One of the central ethical issues in every social system is the determination (by the investigator) or the decision (by the members of the group themselves) of whether the individual exists to serve the state or whether the state exists to serve the individual. It is generally a characteristic of new nations that the official ideology often asserts in a variety of ways that the individual exists to serve the existing social order. This can be rationalized in a variety of ways, whether by the assertion that people must work hard and efficiently in order to develop the society's economy or by perceived military necessity, as in Israel today.

It must be said at the outset that there are a large number of young Israelis, most notably in the professional strata, and especially those who have been most exposed to Western ideas as a result of travel abroad, who are beginning to question seriously the tenet that the individual exists to serve the state. However, as just noted, military duty (which begins at age 18 for three consecutive years and lasts until age 49 in annual reserve callups) is an important realistic factor which repeatedly strengthens the ideal that the individual in Israeli society exists to serve the state. Thus, at the same time that young people are beginning to question this, there is an increasingly noticeable tendency for young men on active military duty to volunteer for the most hazardous assignments and the most dangerous services, such as the frogmen or commando untis. They are not impelled by a search for personal heroism or glory -- Israel does not issue medals for exceptional bravery, but only citations -- but rather seem to be motivated by a sense of duty and obligation to the society.

The two sectors of Israeli society that, as a whole, are committed to the tenet that the individual exists to serve the state or the existing social order are the kibbutzim and the religious factions. (It will be recalled that they also united in opposition to the school reform program of 1968.) The kibbutzim have provided the largest proportion of people in the political power establishment, from the heads of state agencies or bureaucracies to the managerial group of the country's industries. The religious factions constitute the most volatile and unpredictable groups in the coalition of parties that rule the country; they often resign from the coalition -- thereby precipitating the fall of governments -- but generally rejoin it shortly afterward. They also control a large proportion of American capital which enters Israel. The person who manages that section of the Ministry of Education and Culture devoted to curriculum planning had been a member of a kibbutz for more than twenty years.

How is the tenet that the individual exists to serve the existing social order taught? It is not taught explicitly; as a matter of fact, I had never heard it raised by a teacher, principal, inspector, or member of the ministry. I doubt whether it ever becomes a conscious concern of educationists in any country. But it is nevertheless a basic element in the sociopolitical and educational grammar of the society. The most outstanding means of its transmission in Israeli schools is by the constant and repeated emphasis of the group -- the Jewish people, Israel, groups within Israel -- and its referents. It is seen in other ways, as in the emphasis in shcools on group responsibility: the punishment of an entire row of pupils for the actions of one and the accepted practice of children informing on each other for infractions to teachers and principals. I have never seen a group of children remain silent when a teacher or principal asked for the identity of a culprit; nor have I ever seen any negative sanctions applied to a child or group of children who have (to use the American term with all its innuendo) "tattled" or "snitched."

The dominance of the group in the school curriculum varies along a continuum of religiosity and secularity of schools. It is most pronounced in the "Autonomous Schools" of Agudat Israel, the ultra-orthodox sector of the society, in which about 80% of classroom time is devoted to "sacred" or "traditional" subjects, such as Bible, Prophets, religious law, Talmud, Legends, and the like. In the most socially and physically isolated kibbutzim (there is a tendency for the two to covary), about 60% of the day -- including school and extra-curricular education, as in communal houses -- is devoted to these subjects together with group instruction and activities. In the less isolated kibbutzim (such as the one in my sample) and the state religious schools, approximately 45% of the day is devoted to such instruction. In the state secular schools, finally, a little less than 30% of a classroom instruction is devoted to subjects that have such emphases. (This includes Bible and Prophets -- 5 hours -- and, according to the usual distribution of hours, 2 for homeland.)

But the idea that the individual is subservient to the group and its authority -- and its representatives -- is not confined to these subjects. In addition to the classroom behavior described above, it is most noticeable in science instruction.

When one reads the biographies of scientists, especially prominent ones, he can be struck with their early childhood or adolescent introductions to the world of science, in which many of them emphasize the excitement of being able to discover things. Discovery, especially in science, is usually an individual affair, something that is carried out in private and relatively free from group influences and restraints. In line with general social values in Israel, and those of the school system in particular, science instruction is exquisitely geared to an attempt to dampen and inhibit the possibility of discovering that discovery is possible. In fact, the theme of science instruction in Israel could be designated as, "Look and learn (by rote), but don't touch."

To digress from the Israeli material for a moment, and to try to put this in perspective, it needs to be pointed out that the ideological problem of whether the individual exists to serve the state or vice versa has also not been fully resolved in contemporary United States society, although the directions of the resolution are clear. The notion that the individual exists to serve the larger group had its original source in small localized groups, such as lineages and clans or small autonomous communities. In contemporary nations, autonomous local groups -- such as religious factions or kibbutzim in Israel or communities and petty states in the United States -- are the principal nexuses in which this ideology continues to be perpetuated;

it persists to the degree that localized units are able to maintain autonomy. Thus, in the United States, for example, the principle that the group (such as the centralized state) exists to serve the individual firmly underlies many federal programs, as in education and in welfare policies. The frequent defeat of many of these programs in operation can be attributed directly to resistance by local vested-interest groups in which there appears to be equally strong resistance to the idea that the group exists to serve the individual.

Before proceeding with the illustration of this from classroom observations in Israel, let me add two qualifications to this. First, I am describing the state of affairs as they existed during most of the period of observation; this is going to change soon -- according to all indications -- when the 1968 reform program is put into universal practice. Only 7 schools have thus far been affected by the reform program. Second, there are schools (as observed earlier) in which children are introduced to participatory learning in science, even before the passage of the reform program in July 1968. These will be discussed below, in connection with sources of change in school systems. With these few qualifications in mind, let us turn to the data.

In Grade 7 of the upper-status coed secular school, the teacher proudly showed me all the equipment for a fully equipped laboratory -- carefully locked in a closet in the classroom. I asked her why these materials were not used, and she told me that that was because the school had not built a laboratory. The funds for this construction were made available two years ago by the Ministry of Education. According to the program developed by the Ministry for science instruction, however, it is desirable -- but not necessary -- to have a separate laboratory. All the equipment can be used in the regular classroom, and all the experiments in the excellent workbook prepared by the Ministry and distributed to each child can also be conducted there. (Although science is listed four times in the weekly schedule, the children are only taught it three times. Twice a week, the class is divided in half, one group remianing for science and the other going to work in the gardens or in the crafts room which is separate and fully equipped.)

The science class that I observed in Grade 7 was up to the last of 31 experiments in the experimental workbook. (This means that they had dashed through an average of two experiments per school week since the beginning of the school year.) This exercise deals with nourishment and digestion. The tables of the classroom were rearranged into squares so that 4 pupils could sit at each. Every pupil was told, according to workbook instructions, to take a piece of blank paper and place it in front of him. The worksheet then calls for each child to place a drop of oil on the sheet, rub it into part of the paper with a finger, place the sheet on a page of newspaper, and see through which portion of the oiled paper he can read the print of the newspaper. He is then asked to write on the worksheet the characteristics of the oil that he has learned from this procedure. This part of the exercise was not conducted. The next part of the exercise calls for each child to take a test tube and fill it halfway with water, and then to add a few drops of oil to the water. This was done by the teacher for each child, who was then permitted to follow the next instruction, namely, to see whether the oil sank into the water. The pupils were also allowed to follow the next instruction, namely to shake their test tubes in order to observe the resulting action. At this point, the teacher collected all the test tubes, and no other equipment was distributed for the remainder of the lesson. The second experiment consisted of the same test tube procedure with the substitution of a few drops of benzine for the water. This was done by the teacher. The third experiment in the exercise called for each child to put some oil in a flask, heat it on a bunson burner and, when the oil begins to warm, drop a lighted match into it and observe the results. All necessary precautions are spelled out in the worksheet together with the instructions. This experiment, too, was conducted by the teacher. The ritual of experimentation having been completed, without any discussion of their relevance to nutritive processes, the class was dismissed five minutes early for their recess.

But such an approach is not confined to science; consider, for example, a lesson in agriculture in a state-supported religious urban upper status boys' school. On this particular day, the lesson was conducted indoors, because of inclement weather. The lesson began with the teacher's lecturing to the class about the importance of distributing seeds evenly in a furrow and the need to space furrows to allow enough room for a tractor to pass through the field. The lesson began at 9 o'clock and my rough estimate was that only about one-fourth of the class was paying attention at any time.

9:08 - He stops his exposition to tell some boys to pay attention.

9:10 - Finally resumes his talk. Class is sort of noisy. Some of the boys are talking along with the teacher, others are talking privately among themselves. There is a boy sitting in the last row with an unlit cigarette dangling from his lips, looking like a tall and slim James Cagney.

9:14 - Teacher describing to class how the wind can cause a branch to bend and be covered with soil to make it strike new roots. He uses this as an introduction to a discussion of grafting. (How is he going to get away with this, since grafting is covered by so many taboos in the Bible?) [See below.] On blackboard, teacher draws diagram representing a graft from one tree to another. He is teaching all this in terms of "how to" instead of discussing the principles involved.

9:17 - Has class take out notebooks, and he dictates to them the rules of grafting and transplanting.

9:22 - He is still dictating the rules! It is noisy.

9:24 - Teacher stops his dictation, says that he is going to wait for quiet. Sound level reduced to a hum, but not quiet. He resumes.

9:26 - Teacher notices that door to room is open and some boys are peering through the opening. He opens the door, and he and the boys stand and stare at each other wordlessly. Then he just shuts the door. Class laughs -- it was very funny -- and becomes noisy, and teacher continues dictating.

9:30 - Abruptly introduces new topic, the cure of plant diseases and dictates rules.

9:38 - Ah, he does solve the problem. Returns to problem of grafting, and reminds class that Biblical taboos must always be followed in grafting. He seems very serious about this.

9:40 - Bell rings, over, and out.

(This is a good point at which to observe a methodological consideration. It will be noted that my protocols at about this time begin to include personal comments to myself. I do not know to what extent they reflect any biases, but I have tried to make certain that my comments and observations in the protocols are not confused. But it must also be noted that it is difficult after several months to maintain the same dispassionate attitude with which one begins, especially when classes cover very much the same material. But boredom and monotony are serious occupational hazards in this kind of research, at least for the investigator, and it is inevitable that he will develop diversions in order to help maintain his sanity. I would suggest that tape recording be used more extensively in tandem with personal observations, but this has serious disadvantages.)

I would now like to describe a lesson in science in this class. The next hour to be described (the next day) followed a lesson in Talmud in which the topic of discussion centered around the rules and taboos surrounding marriage of priests during the Temple periods; this was used by the teacher to emphasize the uniqueness of the Hebrew religion, as evidenced by the averred fact -- which is actually historically incorrect -- that the Hebrew priestly class did not have special sociopolitical attributes. The science lesson was equally dogmatic and left no room for learning the methods and modes of thinking that characterize science as it is known in other societies or in other sectors of Israeli society, as at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot. The subject under discussion is digestion.

11:05 - Science teacher enters room. Class stands, then sits on signal, he waits for quiet.

11:07 - Class absolutely silent. Tells them the topic and asks, "What is digestion?" Before getting an answer, threatens one boy that he will eject him from classroom for talking. Gets a variety of answers.

11:14 - Teacher writes on board (in Hebrew), "Digestion=Fitness of food for absorption into the blood." [The Hebrew word for fitness, as used by this teacher, is also the word for ritual preparation of food according to dietary laws.] Calls on different boys to tell him how food is digested. No one knows. He seems very annoyed that they don't (but they are probably waiting for him to tell them). He writes on board, "mouth, esophagus, stomach, intestines."

11:20 - Tells class to take out notebooks and to copy all the material on the blackboard.

11:24 - Tells class to close notebooks. Yells at standing boy to sit down.

11:26 - He asks class, "What is fitness of food." No volunteers, he calls on different boys. They sort of get it right.

11:27 - Without correcting anyone, he launches into a discussion of nature of molecules.

11:28 - He stops to bawl out a few boys who are talking, turning around, not sitting properly. Makes no impression, so he yells. Class falls silent. Resumes. (These people seem to think that science is a recitation of the facts of ingestion and digestion. The furthest thing from this lesson is science as a way of thinking or questioning.)

11:32 - Stops to scold boy for whispering to his neighbor. Resumes.

11:35 - Teacher turns to a boy in front of the room and says, "Did you understand what I said?" Boy says, "Yes." Teacher asks him, "What is digestion?" Poor boy hasn't the faintest idea. Teacher asks several other boys. No one else knows either. He says he cannot understand why they don't know, seems exasperated.

11:39 - Writes difinition of digestion on board once again, tells class to copy it. (Maybe he doesn't realize he's already done this.)

11:40 - Tells class to close notebooks. Asks different boys to repeat the steps in the digestive process -- mouth to intestines -- that he had put on board and has erased. No one knows. (They haven't had a chance to memorize them yet.)

11:43 - Gives class homework assignment: to copy a drawing of the digestive tract from an encyclopedia. Several boys protest that they have no access to encyclopedias, and he says, "Any other book will do." As an afterthought, he tells them to make certain to label the parts.

11:45 - Bell for recess, over, and out.

I do not wish to imply or suggest that none of these children will ever become fine scientists. Many of us were taught in precisely this fashion in the United States and other Western countries. Every school system has its failures -- not only those pupils who cannot regurgitate what has been crammed into them but also, and perhaps more seriously from the schools' point of view, those few individuals who, by some mysterious process, have been able to transcend the concretistic limits imposed on them in school during their impressionable years. It was during the hour just described that I recalled a very good and relatively well known scientist whom I know (he is an American). When he was about 10 years old, his parents were called to school by the lad's principal, and, in front of the child, told them, "I am afraid there is no hope for the boy." In terms of the school's objectives, and in view of the contributions the boy was later to make to his science as a rebel against accepted tenets, the principal was correct. Were it not for the failures of schools, man would still be living by digging sticks and plows. But my concern here is not with the products of schools; it is an entirely separate area of inquiry to determine how and why schools succeed with most of their students and fail with others. Instead, my concern is with the school as a product of its societal milieu.

But it would be misleading to generalize from one subject matter to another for any school. While most schools are internally consistent in their resistance or openness to influences, whether traditional or modern, there are nevertheless some schools which are able to contain comfortably influences which to some observers may appear incompatible, if not mutually exclusive. Thus, for example, this school is able to emphasize fundamentalism and religious traditionalism together with advanced training in mathematics. This is not because, as some may argue, Talmudic studies are oriented toward the manipulation of logical symbols. They are anything but that; they are anything but abstract. Instead, they emphasize hair-splitting disputations about concrete rules of behavior and action, interlaced by arguments about which party to a dispute has more authority than others. Talmudic training is a much better grounding for jurisprudence than mathematics.

I hypothesize that these two influences can co-exist in this school becuase of its firm boundedness. The concern with mathematics is a result of the Principal's personal interests; colloquially put, he can largely do as he wishes -- and get away with it. Were the school to have another principal, instruction in arithmetic and mathematics would remain at a lower level.

Mathematical instruction in this grade 7, which is taught by the Principal, consisted of learning the binary system while I was there. The pupils seemed fascinated and almost every one seemed to participate and understand fully. (I had no difficulty with the language, but the mathematics itself was beyond my comprehension.) What I found most impressive was his emphasis of the logic of the system rather than mere rote solution of problems. In passing, at one point, he mentioned to the class that this was the logical system of computers, but that he would go into that in more detail when they reached Grade 8. My protocols for these lessons do not contain a single reference to the maintenance of discipline.

The next class to be described is Grade 7 in a lower-status urban coed secular school; it was taught by a special-subject teacher. She is built somewhat along the lines of a halftrack and has actually passed the mandatory retirement age; but she is employed as the science teacher of this school because, I was told, the school is unable to secure a regular and qualified science teacher. The class gathered in the school's "nature room," in which there are old-fashioned ceiling-high cabinets with locked glass doors, artificial specimens of plants, flowers, animals, and the least controversial parts of the human anatomy. The pupils were seated in arm chairs that were lined around three of the walls and the teacher sat in the center of the fourth side. The lesson was devoted to the mechanisms by which plants receive air and water. There was not a live plant or leaf in evidence, but only a large chart with pictures of leaves on it. The discussion was exclusively anthropomorphic and mechanistic. A representative statement by the teacher was, "There are plants that know how to take air from the water." Another was, "A plant has to drink 1,000 grams of water in order to get 2 grams of salts." Toward the end of the hour, the teacher told the class to open their textbooks so that they could answer a set of questions on plant nourishment. The students reminded her that they had already answered these questions, and students and teacher contradicted each other about this for about a minute. The argument was finally settled when the teacher said firmly, "Don't argue with me." No one did, and they went through the questions. All other classes in this grade -- not only science -- were conducted almost entirely along the lines of questions asked by the teacher and answers provided -- or not provided -- by the students.

In the science hour in Grade 7 that I observed in a suburban lower-status coed secular school, conducted by a male teacher, the topic was the concept of leverage. His attitude toward the class was clearly revealed when he said, at one point, "Is there anyone who has succeeded in not understanding?" The students' reactions to him were expectable; their behavior during the class -- in such sharp contrast to their behavior when their regular teacher was teaching them -- was certainly exacerbated by his mode of teaching, which I characterized above as "look, but don't touch." Although he demonstrated leverage to them by using a plank of wood on the edge of an overturned chair, and used different weights and objects, at no point during the hour did he even suggest that a pupil work a lever or even feel the pressure exerted by one; he conducted the demonstrations, and they were required to write the given word.

The next protocol is from Grade 7 of a lower-status urban girls' religious school. It will also serve as an introduction to an important aspect of teacher-student relations in urban lower-status schools, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

11:10 - Bell ends recess.

11:13 - Teacher in the room for science lesson, goes to her desk and just sits and waits for quiet. She scolds some of the girls for talking, and says to two girls near the front of the room, "You do what you want, we'll do what we want." [She is generally very sarcastic toward the girls.] Then she just sits there.

11:20 - Teacher just sits, noise level rises as girls shout at each other, fight, yell, talk, tell each other to be quiet.

11:22 - Teacher finally starts the lesson, even though class has not quieted down. She calls on one girl and asks her to tell the class in two or three sentences what she knows about teeth. In the middle of the girl's answer, she calls on another girl to give the number and types of teeth.

11:25 - Stops girl talking to scold kids for talking, tells three of them that they will have to go home after this hour. Two girls start fighting, girls argue with each other, talk, teacher just sits. Tells girls who are calling out to others to be quiet, that she does not need their help.

11:29 - Teacher resumes discussion of dental arrangement, stops to scold a girl, resumes, stops, resumes. Stops to warn them that she is going to leave the class, resumes.

11:31 - Then turns to dental functions, stops to scold a girl (telling her how much patience she, the teacher, has), resumes as noise level is maintained, stops to yell at a girl, resumes talking about structure of milk and adult teeth.

11:34 - Turns to a discussion of parts of the tooth -- no diagrams, pictures, drawings on blackboard, or models. Books must be kept closed, teacher says, when some girls open their books to follow her with a diagram. Keeps asking them what a tooth looks like when you look at horizontal and vertical cross-sections. She makes sure to tell them that they don't know when they obviously don't, and I-will-tell-you in slow measured tones.

11:43 - Great! She's talking about blood vessels in teeth.

11:45 - Again tells girls to close books, and then tells them that there is a diagram of a tooth in the book which illustrates roots of teeth. Asks, but no one knows the difference in root structure of molars and incisors. Class noisy.

11:48 - Finally lets them open books. Drawings in book of 1 molar and 1 canine, each less than 1" high, sections of teeth very unclear. Calls on one girl to read text aloud, but she can barely be heard because of din in the classroom. Two girls in middle section, next to last table, stroking each other's thighs. [The next day, these two got into one of the most vicious fistfights I have seen in any classroom.]

11:55 - Bell.

11:56 - Teacher tries to tell them what they will do the next hour, but it is too noisy for her to be heard. In addition to the three girls who, at 11:25, she said had to go home after this hour, tells another three that they, too, have to go home now.

As I was leaving the school at 1 p.m. and stopped to get my coat outside the principal's office, I learned that the teacher had written a note to the principal that the six girls had been sent home during the fourth (11 a.m.-12 noon) hour. For children of such poor families, this is disastrous; according to rules of the Ministry of Education, a child must be in attendance at school for an entire school day in order to be eligible for lunch in the school cafeteria. Since school was not scheduled to end until 1 p.m., a note on file in the principal's office that they had been sent home before that meant that they were not entitled to lunch. When the last hour ended, the teacher announced, "We will go down to the cafeteria as a class" (her emphasis), meaning that she would be able to see whether any of the six tried to get into the cafeteria. As I left the school yard, I saw the six pleading with the principal to be allowed to eat lunch, and four of them were weeping.

During the 10:00 a.m. recess the following day, the mother of one of the six came to see the teacher. The mother was a tall, obese, sloppy woman dressed in traditional Moroccan clothes and apparently could barely speak Hebrew. I could not hear everything that went on between mother and teacher, but the conversation suddenly became heated; I gathered that the mother was trying to defend her daughter with considerable vehemence. (The teacher is a native-born Israeli in her late 40s and, like many Israelis of her generation, understands Arabic.) The teacher -- whose name, incidentally, is Tova, which is the feminine of "good" -- broke off the conversation with the mother and went into the principal saying that she (the teacher) will not have the girl in her class any longer. The teacher claimed that when she asked the girl to leave the class the previous day, the girl refused and physically held the door shut as the teacher tried to shove her out. Aside from the fact that this is against the law (which no one commented on), this was a bald lie. The teacher had not asked the girl to leave and had made no move to remove her from the class. "That girl is stronger than I am," the teacher told the principal; that is true, because she is built like her mother. When I left the school later that day, I noticed the girl sweeping the floor of the principal's office.

As will be seen below, the predominance in Israeli culture generally, and in education in particular, on the primacy of the group over the individual plays a very important role in the perpetuation and in the dynamics of systematized inequality in access to educational opportunity. The definition of the individual in terms of group memberships -- vis--vis his definition in terms of his unique attributes and accomplishments or capabilities irrespective of his particular affiliations -- is an inherent and integral part of the cognitive system (what Anthony Wallace has called the "mazeway") of an overriding number of Israelis. But before turning to this, it is necessary to consider in somewhat more detail an even more fundamental aspect of Israeli education, which has already been adumbrated, without which one cannot appreciate its flavor, its goals, and, perhaps most importantly, its relationship to the rest of the social system.

As many Israelis (Arabs as well as Jews) have told me, "No matter what you do -- whether you are buying something in a store, talking to someone, visiting, or just walking in the street -- you are always thinking, 'Is he a Jew, is he an Arab, is he a Christian?' " Almost invariably, when Israeli Jews meet a foreigner for the first time --

and foreigners are ubiquitous -- they will ask within the first five minutes or so, "Are you Jewish?" If the answer is negative, the visitor is immediately made to feel like an intruder, an unwanted alien, and as undesirable. (An excellent study will someday be written, it is to be hoped, with the title "A Gentile in Israel.") Israelis do this among themselves also, as noted. One of the first questions an Israeli asks another at their first meeting is, "Where are you from?" If it is a European (Ashkenazi) asking the question and the answer is that the respondent is from an Asian or North African country, the latter almost immediately senses a feeling of withdrawal, if not resentment.

Similarly, I have not experienced a single day in an Israeli classroom without hearing repeated references by the teacher to the separateness, exclusivity, difference, and the fact itself of the Jews (meaning Israelis). At the same time, however, Arab identity -- pejorative in Jewish schools and classrooms -- is almost never mentioned in Arab schools and classrooms, and systematic efforts are made to minimize the awareness of Arab identity in this sector of the educational system. Regardless of whether or not this set of attitudes is "understandable" -- a logical outgrowth of the experiences of many Jews in Israel before and after World War II, or whether it is neither more nor less than the behavior of a majority anywhere, especially when it is based on religion or race -- the fact remains that it has institutional correlates. It is only the latter with which I am concerned.

Take, for example, the study of "homeland" (Hebrew: moledet, which can also be translated as birthplace, fatherland, motherland, and the like) in an upper-status urban coed secular school in Grade 4. This subject is an introduction in the early grades to national geography, history, and local or civic information. The principal emphasis in this subject is on water -- its sources for different regions, its distribution, its role in agriculture, and its place in Arab-Israeli conflicts, especially in the diversion of the Hula waters at the head of the Jordan River, which had been a source of tension bordering on war between Israel and Jordan and Syria for several years in the early 1950s. Needless to say, this is always presented in such a way as to make Israel's neighboring states appear to be the villains in the drama.

But this emphasis on water and irrigation systems is more than factual information or political indoctrination in international disputes. Water is one of Israel's most important and scarce resources, and its transportation is a profoundly important problem, especially for the agricultural settlements in the southern deserts. As has long been known by historians and anthropologists, the control of water supplies is an important aspect of the policies of almost all nations. In Israel, the control -- actually, ownership -- of water was an early means by which the state gained national political power. Even today -- and water, as well as electricity, is one of the most expensive items in an Israeli's monthly budget -- water is an important element in national political policy. For example, it appears to be a deliberate policy of the nationalized water company to provide to Arab agricultural villages only about one-third the water that is made available to Jewish villages of comparable size, density, and crop specialization, thus assuring much greater productivity and profitability to Jewish farmers. By inference, it also serves as an important weapon directed at Arab villages, because their water can be cut off at a moment's notice. Though it is never -- to my knowledge -- made explicit, this is not an empty threat, because the water firm does cut off the water supply to moshavim and other Jewish settlements that fall into long arrears in paying their water bills.

Thus, at the same time that students learn about water and soils they also learn about their country's political system, and the association is clear: water is necessary for life, the government is responsible for water distribution; hence, the necessity for the government. Sometimes, as during the first lesson in "homeland" during the week that I spent in this grade, the argument is not left to subtleties. The lesson, which was the first of the day, began with a discussion of the different kinds of soils found in Israel and different degrees of fertility in the various regions of the country. This led to a consideration of the role of the government in providing water to the arid regions of the country. In this connection, the teacher asked one of the children to read a portion of a chapter in the textbook. One of the themes of the chapter is the perfidy of the Arabs, while the Jews wished only to make the desert bloom. When the student had finished reading the selection aloud, the teacher asked the class, "When a man works in the field, he needs security. Where does he get security from?" The class answers in unison, "From Zahal" (the Hebrew letters that stand for the Israeli Defense Forces). "Correct," she replied quietly. She then went on to emphasize the role of the kibbutzim and the private sector in cultivating the land. (Strangely, the moshavim, which are heavily populated by African and Asian immigrants, were not mentioned in this discussion. The kibbutzim and the private sector are almost exclusively European in origin.) But for both, she continues, Israel needs immigration, and she described the role of the government in settling new areas in the country. (Incidentally, the class was very restless throughout this discussion, and there were many private whispered conversations in progress which she interrupted from time to time.) After a child read the remaining portion of the chapter that had been begun earlier, the teacher asked the class, "Why is the government so interested in developing the rest of the country outside the fertile coastal plain?" One child answers, "Because otherwise the Arabs might come in and settle the unsettled parts." The teacher nodded her approval to this answer, and told the class to go outside for their scheduled gymnastics lesson. Political indoctrination can take many forms and occur in unexpected curricular corners.

Wednesday's hour in "homeland" was devoted to a comparison of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa. In the course of this, the teacher explained to the class why it was necessary to build the port of Haifa: The harbor of Jaffa was very poor; furthermore, Jaffa (now part of Tel Aviv-Jaffa) is almost entirely Arab, and the hostility of the Arabs in 1936-1937 made it necessary to have a port in a Jewish city. Furthermore, Haifa -- which has a large Arab population, though segregated, but the teacher did not mention the presence of Arabs in Haifa -- could provide a much larger port than Jaffa, and Israel needed a larger port to handle the large immigration waves.

Water was again the subject of the science lesson of the week. When I came into the classroom a little before 8 a.m. one day, there were seven questions and topics listed on the board: 1) where does rain come from; 2) advantages and disadvantages of rain; 3) erosion of soil and its prevention; 4) which place has the most rain; 5) how is hail and snow formed; 6) what harm is caused by hail; and 7) when is dew found? The hour began with the children being told to answer these questions in their workbooks, at which they spent 20 minutes. The rest of the hour was devoted to a review of the questions and their answers.

The three days that I spent in Grade 7 in this school were rather easy for me. This was the week of Purim, a nationalistic holiday marking the persecution of the Jews of ancient Persia by the notorious Haman, and their subsequent miraculous liberation by the Queen Esther. The fifth and sixth hours of Sunday and the second hour on Monday were given over to rehearsals for the Purim festival that the school was going to present on Tuesday afternoon (the holiday itself fell on Wednesday), and only the first hour was held on Tuesday morning, and that half-heartedly. This is a holiday on which all children dress in outlandish costumes of all sorts, play pranks, and generally have a wonderful time striking back at the adult world and exchanging gifts with each other. (On the day of Purim in 1968, some students at one of the universities set up a lemonade-type stand on a street selling "bottled holy Jerusalem air." They managed to sell about 15 bottles -- I do not know how many people were serious in their purchases -- and contributed the proceeds to a charity.)

But an anthropologist's windfall and respite from the seemingly unending routine of sitting in classrooms can also be instructive. There are three nationalistic and quasi-religious holidays that cut out large portions of time from the curriculum during the course of the school year: Purim, Passover (which generally roughly coincides with Easter), and Hanukka (which generally roughly coincides with Christmas). From kindergarten onward, great preparations are devoted in the schools to the celebration of these holidays. As Georges Tamarin pointed out to me in a conversation, there is an important common denominator in these celebrations: hate the Persians (Purim), hate the Egyptians (Passover), and hate the Romans (Hanukka). Aside from the fact that these preparations and celebrations also provide the schoolchildren with a respite from -- what must seem to them also -- the unending routine of classroom life, and despite the loss from curricular schedules, these celebrations are nevertheless important ingredients in Israeli education. They are part of the nation's legitimation, so much of which is based on the theme of the Jews as a persecuted people who must always take a defensive stance against hated enemies who are bent on their destruction. This is reinforced almost annually by the nearly week-long celebrations in connection with Independence Day, which falls two weeks after the end of Passover.

The thrust of these themes is carried into the study of the Prophets which, in the 7th Grade, is primarily concerned with the later prophets who chronicle the destruction of the state by the Babylonians.

Whereas the Book of Joshua provides an important legitimation for warfare and territorial conquest, the later Prophets instruct youngsters in the important Israeli ideology that there is nowhere else for them to live and survive because of the hostile policies of other nations.

However, as we saw above, such legitimation is not confined to the study of the Prophets. In Grade 4, this is also reinforced by study of Legends and even stories. In Grade 7, it is also reinforced in the study of history and geography, which take up an additional five hours a week. History in Grade 7 usually deals with the medieval period of European history. In Grade 7 of this school while I was there, more than 500 years were covered in one day beginning with King Karl. The main theme under discussion in these connections was King Karl's treatment of the Jews in relation to Muslims and Christians. At another point, the lesson turned to the life of the Jews in Western Europe after 800; the teacher asked the class what some of the main characteristics of the period are. "The persecution of the Jews by the Christians," one boy answered readily, if not automatically. "The Christians didn't bother us [sic] during this period," the teacher corrected him. He emphasized the conflicts between Islam and Christianity and between Muslims and Jews. But this ethnocentrism cannot be attributed to the prejudices or interests of individual teachers. The textbook chapter on Turkey in the 16th century, which they began to consider toward the end of the hour -- I do not know whether the pupils were as breathless as I by the time span covered during the hour -- begins with the following sentence: "The year 1492 is considered a turning point in the history of Israel." The reason for the momentousness of this date, the teacher explained, is this is the year that "Turkey took us [sic] in. Why; because they liked us? Who knows! Maybe they did like us. But they took us in because we were useful." At this point, the lesson ended.

I would like to digress here momentarily. The important point here is not the misuse of history. Rather, it is that the teaching of history in Israel is barely different from that in any other society, whether it has written records, and access to them or not. It is unfortunate that professional historians have by and large been reluctant to concern themselves with the teaching of history in the elementary and secondary schools, even to the extent that natural scientists and mathematicians have become concerned with pre-university teaching of their subjects. I suspect that this state of affairs in the teaching of history may be an aspect of national educational policy, and that the groups that are primarily concerned with political indoctrination and legitimation do not want to see professional historians "meddling" in the teaching of history with their slavish devotion to facts.

The designation of the year 1492 as a turning point in the history of what was then known as Palestine has no basis in fact; nor was there a particular year during which the Ottomans could be said to have gained control over the area. But this is no different from the way in which history textbooks in the United States have mythicized the policies of Lincoln in respect to the American South and slavery, the formation of American domestic economic policy between 1870 and 1910, or the involvement of the United States in World War II and subsequent wars. The same is true of every other nation. Instruction in history in the elementary grades in Israel (as well as in the United States, the U.S.S.R., England, Germany, France, Egypt, and so forth) has not advanced qualitatively from the stage in primitive societies in which myth-cum-history was transmitted from generation to generation around open campfires. Instruction in history -- in all societies -- can be regarded as little more than an attempt to justify, if not glorify, the present by reference to a past which, if it did not exist in reality, has to be created through the lenses of the present. Instruction in history is, in essence, indoctrination in the political ideology of the moment. The curriculum is political, not academic or intellectual.

One of the principal reasons for this is that such instruction serves as an effective ideological barrier to change in the social system by the polity. This is an integral aspect of the culture of a nation, in which self-regulation and self-determination are removed from the local community (or from the polity in general) and become prerogatives of the state, which is the decision-making and implementing unit of the society. As discussed above, nations (like all other societies) are changing systems, but one of their characteristics is that the centralized bureaucracies which constitute the state claim the privilege and right to regulate and control -- and sometimes to stimulate -- change in their own interests.

One of the ideologies of historical studies is that the present is an outgrowth of the past; therefore, the implication is that the present is locked into the past. In reality, this is true only in a very limited sense. Since the past cannot be changed, it is implied, neither can the present system be altered. Now, it is not accidental that historical study originally developed in the context of the development of nations, especially in ancient Greece and Rome. Since, as I have maintained elsewhere (in "Ends and Means in Political Control," dealing with the relationships between political organization and the evolution of sexual controls), the concept of a "state-free sphere" is anathema to a state, whether the sphere is physical aggression or intellectual activity, it is very unlikely that states would look kindly on historical studies which might challenge their vested interests, including their legitimating ideologies. The notion that the past is responsible for the present is an ideology that clearly serves the interests of the vested power groups of a nation; it must be considered as an integral aspect of a state's legitimation. This is why states periodically encourage -- and sometimes sponsor -- the "re-writing of history," not only in the U.S.S.R., Germany, China, and the like, but also in the U. S. and Israel. They do so in order to create a new "past" into which the revised or new "present" can be locked and out of which it can be said to have grown. The apparent goal of historical instruction in elementary and secondary schools is to render the polity impotent with respect to the direction and control of change by making it believe that all that exists at the moment is the ineluctable outgrowth of the past that can neither be controlled nor changed. Just as anthropology developed as the intellectual arm of colonialism, and sociology as one of the legitimating weapons of the groups controlling urban centers, history can be regarded as the intellectual agency of national domestic policy. It is doubtful whether the conflict and conspiracy theories and orientations of the most state-approved (i.e., school) history are the products of systematic research, analysis, and thought. More than likely, as in the case of Israel (or the U.S.S.R., Germany, the U.S.), it neatly "fits" the prevailing sociopolitical ideology of the moment.

This is the purpose served by instruction in the later Prophets and in all other indoctrinations in the history of official and quasi-official persecutions of Jews and their claimed ancestors. The lesson always drawn from these in Israel is that there is nowhere else in the world that Jews can live in safety, peace, and security. Now, as long as the Israeli curriculum teaches its students about the Babylonian and Roman invasions as though they were acts that must be considered within the same framework as modern or medieval anti-Semitism (which is palpable nonsense); that the opposition of Arabs to Zionism and Israeli statehood is another example of anti-Semitism (which is equally erroneous); and as long as it ceases its historical surveys of the Jews with the German genocide of the 1940s, and does not say a word about the treatment of Jews elsewhere in the world since 1945 (with the exception of the exaggerations of current Soviet and Polish policies), it creates a history which leaves the student with the inescapable conclusion that Israel is, indeed, the only country in which Jews can survive. Once again, let me reiterate that the curriculum is not the source of these attitudes. Instead, the curriculum is a validation or legitimation of the state's ideology.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Israeli curriculum, which could serve as a model for other elementary school systems in other nations, is elementary school instruction in geography. It is what we, in the United States, would designate "cultural geography." In large measure, this subject is taught in straightforward manner. The subject always deals with other countries -- Israel's cultural geography is dealt with under other headings, such as "homeland" -- and each chapter in the textbooks begins with a description of the country's geographical location, its resources, production, and concludes with its major political institutions. Often, the latter are explicitly compared with Israel's -- usually, as can be expected, to the latter's benefit. But even the cultural geography of other nations is used as a springboard and pretext for instruction in national ideology, because the discussion of each nation -- without exception -- ends with a section on "the Jews in . . ." whatever country is under discussion. Naturally, the accomplishments of the Jews of Eastern Europe are the most prominently mentioned, since most of the political leadership of Israel are immigrants from those countries. The genocide of the Jews by the Germans in the 1940s is described in these sections in exceptionally dispassionate and quite accurate language.

I mentioned early in this report that the relation of the Jews of Israel to those of other nations is a thorny issue in Israeli policy, and it is only just starting to be resolved. Archival materials have been found describing the curriculum of the Jewish sector of the population in the 1920s and 1930s. One of the most striking themes in these archives is the emphasis in the elementary schools of that early period on having schoolchildren establish and maintain contact through correspondence with Jewish children in other countries. Thus, the notion that Israel is the nation of all Jews, whether or not they live in Israel, is a theme of long standing in Israeli education and is an important aspect of the openness or fluidity of national boundaries. The political instrument of this relationship had always been the Jewish Agency and, to a lesser extent, the Histadrut. With the Israeli government's recent emasculation of the Jewish Agency, the nation took its first step toward firming-up its boundaries and toward a self-perception as a nation like all other nations, in which the original stimulus to immigration has its source in the residents of other countries. But this has not yet been fully accomplished, as can be seen in the fact that the government has established a Ministry of Immigration and Settlement, one of whose major responsibilities is the encouragement and stimulation of immigration of Jews to Israel. Hence, in terms of continuing national policy, the concluding section of every chapter in textbooks of cultural geography continues to be appropriate.

One of the major institutional sources for the spread of universalistic orientations in a state society is to be found in its legal system. A basic distinction which can be made is between customary and formal law. While traces of each can always be found in the application and practice of the other, there are nevertheless essential differences between them, especially in the roles that they play in total legal systems. Generally speaking, customary law is made up of established laws, but without formal or impersonal procedures. Customary law is enforced in face-to-face relationships within the community. It is thus largely grounded in particularistic orientations. Formal law, by contrast, which is the law of states, is made up of established laws which are administered through formal -- i.e., stereotyped -- legal procedures. The criteria that lawyers, judges, and arbitrators are expected to apply in the administration of formal law are impersonal: rules of evidence, solemn ritual, the claim that the law is the respecter of no person, and the like. Thus, one of the most fundamental premises of a system of formal law is that it is grounded in universalistic orientations.

Six times a week, for 15-20 minutes after prayer, there is a lesson in religious schools in "Laws." These are not the laws of the state; instead, they are the laws of traditional orthodox Judaism, which are without the sanction of courts, but which are enforced in face-to-face relationships. Naturally, the person who does not wish to obey them need only disregard them and the opinions of his neighbors. At the same time, there is in this school no instruction, formal or informal, in any Israeli schools in the laws of the state. The textbook for this subject begins with problems dealing with property, including theft; in this connection, it was pointed out to the class by its teacher that "it is as wrong to steal from an Arab as it is from a Jew." Other subjects deal with laws requiring donations to poor people (though no suggestion was made that one is obligated to contribute to Arab poor, whether in the cities or in the refugee camps), proper dress for religious people (including their rituals of manufacture), rules governing prayer, blessings over daily food and food eaten on special occasions, obligations concerning study of sacred texts, laws governing the observance of the sabbath and holidays (including Purim, Passover, and Hanukka), and the like.

The concern with laws, regulations, and traditions -- and, therefore, modes of thought -- rooted in a socioeconomic environment the world will never again know is reinforced by the study of Bible and Mishnah. Mishnah refers to a collection of oral laws which formed the basis of the Talmud. The lesson in Mishnah in Grade 4 in the upper-status boys' religious school during the week that I was there dealt with the question of religious fasts -- the number of fasts in the calendar, the people who are supposed to fast, rules governing fasts, prohibitions during fasts, and so forth. The lesson in Bible on Wednesday, for example, was based on Deuteronomy 11:13-18 and emphasized the concept that Israel is unique among all the nations of the world. Prophets here, too, dealt with the Book of Joshua, and the teacher told me with great satisfaction that when, a few weeks previously, they had reached the portion in which Jericho fell to Joshua, the class applauded heartily and noisily.

Another important source in educational practice for the subservience of the individual to the group is to be found in connection with training for the values of chevra; this word can best be translated (to use a neologism) as "togetherhood." To a large extent, Israel can be thought of as a "sociocentric" (vis-à-vis "egocentric") society, not unlike Japan or even many pre-industrial societies. As has already been noted, one makes his way in Israeli society by virtue of the preordained groups to which he belongs, by being passed from hand to hand by members of his in-group and from group to group by people whose memberships overlap those of different groups. Except in the army, one neither succeeds nor fails on the basis of ability alone. (There are indications that this situation is beginning to change in the army as well, which appears to be under pressure from groups representing the more traditional Israeli value systems.) Words are insufficient to transmit this concept of anchorage or internalized social map. Such an orientation to the social world is acquired by experience, by participating in sequences of action and their consequences.

It would be absurd, of course, to suggest that it is experiences in the school that are responsible for this state of affairs. Nor are there any overt or explicit instructions in these values. Similarly, I doubt whether teachers, principals, and ministry personnel are aware of their translations of these values into school-policies. Instead, these values must be regarded as a set of basic premises with a logic and momentum of their own, whose behavioral manifestations are almost an inevitable outgrowth.

We have already seen that one of the emphases in Israeli culture -- whether in the kibbutz or in the city -- is on the notion that the individual is supposed to derive his satisfactions from a group, not from within himself. A chevra (the word is used in Hebrew as a noun as well as an adjective) is the same relatively closed group of people who visit among each other weekly, on Friday evenings and Saturdays and holidays. Chevra is, for example, a man coming to visit at the home of a member of his clique on a Friday evening about 10:30 and, seeing the latter's three year-old son still awake, demands to know from the child's father why the boy is not in bed and then chastises the parent for allowing the child to remain awake for so long. Chevra implies the right of the group's members to intervene in marital disputes and disagreements, even though they have not been asked to. Chevra is a young university student from a different city telling me, after we have sat and talked for a couple of hours, "I am homesick, I am going home." I asked whether she wanted a ride to the central bus terminal. "No, I can walk." When I seemed incredulous that she would walk all that distance, since the terminal was on the other side of the city from where I lived, she patiently explained that she was longing to see her roommates -- whom she hadn't seen since the morning -- and not her parents or siblings.

One acquires a chevra in one of two ways; while they are not necessarily exclusive, they usually are. One of these -- which is the older pattern in Israeli society -- is by forming a clique late in high school, the members of the group remaining banded for the remainder of their lives. Since secondary schools are socially and ethnically homogeneous, such chevra are almost always similarly homogeneous. The second way of acquiring a chevra, which is much more recent in its development, and to a large extent seems to be replacing the first, is from among one's army peers. The importance of this is that such military units are socially and ethnically heterogeneous, although -- except for a few cases (see below) -- even these chevra seem homogeneous. Sometimes, these groups become so tightly bounded that the military unit and the chevra become identical. For example, a very well known commando unit in the Israeli army is made up of semi-skilled men, a university professor, a lawyer and a doctor, an accountant, and a minor clerk, among others. They also come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. These men and their wives also constitute a chevra. Further, by informal agreement with higher authorities, no man can be accepted into this commando unit without unanimous approval of the men (and, as one of the wives told me, of the women in the chevra too). No member of the group would consider using a different physician or lawyer or accountant, and these men provide their services without charge. The men see each other weekly, the wives almost daily (they all live in the same region).

When a person has access to neither of these sources of chevra, he is an isolate (this is one of the reasons, among others, that American students spending their junior years abroad are generally so unhappy in Israel). A very charming, pretty and intelligent Israeli girl in her early 20s whom I know was failed out of secondary school at the end of the second year and, because of her parents' opposition on religious grounds, did not serve in the army. Although quite capable and able to learn skills very easily, she has not been able to get a steady job. One of her liabilities is that she is from an Asian country. But her main difficulty is that she has no social lines of defense outside her large family and, largely as a result of her mobility aspirations, refuses to make use of them. She had been accepted as a trainee in a locally-based American firm and was doing very well. However, after about a month of training she was summarily dismissed because an older lady, who was a chevra-member of a cousin of the local manager, wanted the job.

This is as difficult for Americans to understand as it often is for Israelis to understand the American pattern of friendship. One of the reasons for this is that while Americans have various kinds of friends -- ranging from close or intimate to casual -- Israelis have friends in addition to chevra; non-chevra friends constitute a separate category. I once happened to mention to an Israeli social scientist, when discussing these patterns, that all my present friendships had been formed in graduate school and afterward, and that I maintained no friendships with people that I went to high school or college with, or with whom I served in the army. "But, then, how do you make friends?" When I tried to explain the pattern to him, he admitted that he found it entirely incomprehensible -- though he has written some excellent reports of the social systems of non-Western societies.

The epitome of chevra is a kibbutz, but it is not confined to that community-system. It is also characteristic of urban institutions, such as the Histadrut (of which all kibbutzim are automatically members), political parties (almost all of which are formally represented in the Histadrut), religious factions, business and trade associations, ethnic enclaves, and the like. Thus -- and this could just as easily have happened in a kibbutz as in a major city -- we have seen how a young urban lady who wishes to be away from her lover for a while is thought to have something wrong with her. One almost never sees lone individuals strolling along the roads enjoying the scenery, but only in groups. I once went to the movies alone and got to my seat just before the performance began; mine was the only empty seat in the row. The young man on my left, who appeared to be about 25, said to me after I sat down that he was certain that that seat would remain empty throughout the performance. I asked him why he thought so, and he said, "Because it is a single vacant seat." I asked him whether it is so rare for people to go to the movies alone and he replied that he did not know of anyone who ever did so. In another instance, I was talking to the manager of a branch bank who occasionally regales me with the financial situations of well known Israelis who keep their accounts at his branch. Our conversation was interrupted by a telephone call to him, and he spoke to a lady who is a friend of his wife. He invited her to visit them for the evening; after she accepted, he asked her to meet him outside the bank and accompany him home to await his wife who ends her working day about two hours after him. I gathered that she was reluctant to, but he explained to her "I don't like to be home by myself," and she agreed to meet him outside the bank.

As an illustration of the nature of the pressures to conformity which result from such narrow and intimate associations, I had bought a rather large sculpture from a gallery in a different city from the one in which I lived and it was delivered by truck. Coincidentally, the truck driver had known the artist since childhood. Since it was an unusual sculpture, especially by the standards of conventional

Israeli art, I asked the truck driver what he thought of it. Shrugging and scratching his head, he said, "I don't know. I guess it's good. But . . . But he's always got to be original, always original." I detected a not inconsiderable amount of disapproval in his voice and manner. "Isn't that good?" I asked him. "Sometimes it's good, but not always, not always original, original, original." The tone of his voice suggested an irritant that he was trying to remove. Later, over a cup of coffee, he told me of many of the sculptor's personal difficulties since his childhood and suggested that his "need to be original" was the source of many of these trials.

How are these values reflected in school policies? Training for such values receives reinforcement in the schools from a very early age. To illustrate, let me begin with an elite cooperative nursery school. This nursery school was deviant for a variety of reasons. First, not only were there several English-speaking children in it, but the nursery school teacher was was willing to converse with the English-speaking children in English. Other nursery school and kindergarten teachers refuse to do so, even when they are able to speak English. Second, contrary to Israeli norms, it was the parents who set policy for the school, occasionally overruling the teacher. Third, the children in the school were drawn from the upper stratum of Israeli society, such as Foreign Office personnel, foreign correspondents, university professors, and the like, rather than from a particular neighborhood, as is the usual pattern. Fourth, subscribing to the values of the children's parents, the teacher emphasized what she called "inner" rather than "external" or superficial discipline among the children. Thus persistence in completing a task seemed to be more noticeable among the children of this school than others. Physical aggression, which seems to be pronouncedly high among Israeli children of all socioeconomic strata, seemed to be lower among the children of this nursery school, though far from absent. The teacher of this school subtly encouraged and rewarded independence of mind and action among the children, even when they disobeyed her, as long as their behavior harmed no one and was not disruptive. Her success -- as well as her deviance -- was underscored by a kindergarten teacher who received several children from this nursery school. She found these children difficult to deal with -- and explicitly criticized the nursery school teacher -- because the children coming out of this nursery school were internally disciplined at the expense of automatic obedience to commands. They would insist on completing a task -- such as painting a picture or constructing something -- even when the signal had been given by the kindergarten teacher ending the time allotted for the activity. They would insist on painting and drawing pictures of their own choosing, rather than assigned subjects.

At another nursery school for 3 and 4 year-olds in a housing project inhabited largely by Asian and North African immigrants, the children (about 20 of them) were playing and romping happily outside. Suddenly, the teacher called out to the group that they must come in for "free play." Some of the children wished to remain outside. (The date is September 28th; it is still summer in Israel.) No, the teacher said, everyone must come in, no one is allowed to remain out of doors. (The yard is completely fenced in.) Once inside, each child is required to find a seat at one of the four tables scattered about the room and to work. They are given games -- puzzles, small peg board-sets, semi-mechanical toys, and the like. The teacher patrols the room, periodically stopping alongside a child, poking him or her in the shoulder or ribs and exclaiming "Work!" She does this even though the child is working assiduously. The children are not permitted to move their chairs from the tables. Periodically, when the noise level becomes too high, the teacher screams -- not shouts -- for quiet.

The following is a sequence of 20 observed items over a $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour period in this nursery school on another day, a month later.

1) A boy is playing with blocks in a tray. He seems very content. The teacher comes over to him and, for no reason that is apparent to me, moves him to another table. She dumps the tray of blocks with which he was playing onto the table to which she moved him.

2) The teacher is repeatedly yelling for quiet.

3) Teacher goes into a corner in which some girls are playing house; they are noisy and seem happy, each trying to boss the other around. She threatens them with punishment "woe unto you" -- if they spill water on the floor, which is tiled and concrete (they had not yet spilled any water).

4) Two groups of boys and girls are playing quietly, mostly talking among themselves. Teacher comes over to them, breaks up their groups, takes their chairs and lines them up in a row into a train; she adds a wheel to the chair at the head of the group. The children are directed to sit "in" the train, which they do -- and they just sit.

5) A girl is piling up blocks in a column. She wants to topple them, but looks up apprehensively at the teacher who is watching her. Their eyes meet for a moment and the teacher says, "This is the way to build?"

6) Three girls and a boy join the six others on the "train."

7) Two boys at a table near where I am sitting are banging with hammers which they have made from a tinkertoy-type set. One of them keeps looking at me apprehensively, as though waiting for

me to tell them to stop. I just smile at them. Teacher comes over to them and tells them to build, not bang.

8) Teacher lights a cigarette.

9) Two boys move the "engine" from the "train." They are making believe that it is on tracks. The rest of the group on the "train" remain seated.

10) The train group breaks up, and the teacher moves the chairs to the side of the room.

11) Teacher makes a make-shift slide from a see-saw, where the "train" had stood. With one hand, she helps the children slide down, the cigarette in the other.

12) Two boys are playing with a portable gate. Teacher comes over and grabs it from them for no reason that is apparent to me.

13) Teacher goes back to the "slide" group. About 15 children are now trying to slide down the slide. She makes no attempt to teach them how to stand in line.

14) Teacher abruptly breaks up the slide group. (This activity lasted about 15 minutes.)

15) A boy and a girl at a table near me (they had not joined the slide group) are playing with blocks. There are several dozen blocks strewn about the table. The teacher comes over to them, cleans up all the blocks that are not in immediate use and replaces them in trays on the table. She jabs the boy on the shoulder, saying, "Work!"

16) The other teacher comes in (she had not made an appearance all morning), and within seconds complains loudly about the noise level in the room.

17) Newly arrived teacher goes into kitchen to make herself some coffee. Other teacher picks up the boy whom she had placed at the "train engine," kisses him, tosses him in the air, and puts him on the slide, which had remained where it was.

18) Newly arrived teacher comes out of kitchen, and cleans up two tables of blocks with which children are playing. She goes away, and the children at the table resume playing with their blocks.

19) At 12:15, the children are lined up in two parallel rows of chairs to put on sweaters and jackets. (The weather has turned cold and damp during the past few days.) The children must remain silent while getting their clothes on.

20) The two teachers lead the children in a "silence game": one child stands between the two rows, beckons another to come to him, they silently shake hands. The first child then sits down, and the second beckons another. This keeps up for about 4 minutes. They then sing songs as parents come for their children one at a time.

Thus, not only is the twig broken -- instead of merely bent -- from a very early age in the school-experience, but children have long experience in being trained for togetherness activities instead of individual experience. An important element in this, as can be seen from the foregoing sequence, is that they also learn very early to keep a constant watchful eye -- a psychological as well as a physical eye -- for the teacher. Throughout the elementary school years, a teacher's presence is like a thick layer of clouds: it completely dominates the entire scene.

Prior to 1948, there was a notation after the name of each child in the class roll telling whether he was Ashkenazi (Eastern and Western European), Sephardi (Spanish tradition), or Yemeni. In 1948, this custom was dropped; while it is not clear to me why this was done -- the answer will probably have to await the completion of the content analyses of Ministry of Education policy materials -- I suspect that it was a formal step in the direction of egalitarianism (an aspect of interchangeability) in the student population. This is also suggested by another policy that was adopted at almost the same time; this was not only an attempt at egalitarianism of a sort, but, I think more importantly, it helped to underscore further the value of chevra and the submersion of the individual in the group. This was the policy, retained to the present day, that it is an entire class that is promoted to a higher grade at the completion of each year, not the individual student. It is only under the most extraordinary circumstances that a teacher can receive permission to hold a child back in the grade that he has just completed.

Perhaps the most important way in which the values of chevra are transmitted and reinforced in the classroom is by teachers' imposition of group responsibility for the actions of an individual and, correlatively, the consequences of each child's actions for the group. This is done by means of group punishment, and will be described below, in chapter 8.

In the following chapter we will see some of the consequences resulting from this characteristic of defining individuals in terms of their group memberships. As I will attempt to show, this provides a cognitive and social-structural set of conditions which maximize predispositions to regard and treat members of certain groups in demeaning ways. But before turning to that, I want to elaborate slightly on the idea that this "sociocentrism" of Israeli society is one of its building blocks and is not to be regarded only as a psychological feature. That is, if one wishes to regard this as an aspect of "national character," he must first see it as one of the "givens" of Israeli social structure before he seeks to trance its intrusion into people's perceptions.

One of the curiosities of social science theory is that writers rarely mention vested group interests when discussing the nature of groups and associations. But in reality, there is no such thing as a group -- whether it is a family, a community, a religious or political faction, a labor union, or a nation -- which does not have its own vested interests. These interests are almost always inconsistent, if not in conflict, with those of other groups; this is almost by definition, because it generally happens that when a group or faction has no opposition to its interests, these concerns tend to disappear. A vested interest is, in many respects, an argument; it is difficult to maintain an argument when there is no one to argue with. Of course, one of the goals of a nation's state is to reduce the number of vested interests -- or arguments -- within the nation as much as possible, so that the only interests with which people will feel identified are those of the nation as a whole vis-à-vis other nations.

Furthermore, and it is important to make this explicit, however banal it may seem, one of the basic ingredients in vested interests-arguments is the conviction of the people who hold them or feel affected by them that they have an almost inalienable right to act in order to secure these interests. Thus, it follows from the foregoing, as soon as the members of a group or faction relinquish their right to act to secure a particular interest or set of interests, they have automatically yielded their point of view; in so doing, they deny the groups' legitimacy. (Not unrelated to this is that, still seeking domestic legitimacy, Israel's rulers seem to feel the need to maintain the international argument with which the polity is expected to identify. This is one of the reasons that Israel's rulers, together with those of their neighboring states, contribute to the maintenance of a state of war by, among other things, setting impossible conditions for peaceful settlements.)

Thus, when it is said that a nation is a society which is made up of many groups -- and that the study of a nation is the investigation of the relations among those groups -- it is meant that the society is characterized by particular (incompatible) points of view, and that the different groups and factions within the society maintain their respective rights in securing those vested interests; by similar token, one aspect of the study of a national social system is to learn the various means by which these different interests are secured. It is an aspect of Israel's inchoacy as a centralized political system that there continue to be a plethora of groups -- with different degrees of autonomy -- and, therefore, of vested interests. In other words, there are many groups within the society whose members consider that they have the right to secure their own interests by whatever means they choose (including a considerable amount of violence, today largely in the name of religion); often this means that they claim the right to make up their own rules as they go along, regardless of whether these are in conflict with centralized laws. Sometimes, as just noted, this is vigilantism or lawlessness as we know it in the United States, especially in the histories of the Midwest, West, and Deep South. But most groups in Israel today eschew such means and usually confine themselves to peaceful or passive disregard of bureaucratically established rules of action.

This is an integral aspect of the Israeli cognitive map and, as we will see, it has many consequences, especially in connection with its implications for decentralization (see below).

Some examples will illustrate this. One of the most blatant in this respect is the General Federation of Labor (*Histadrut*) and its component groups. This supposedly centralized federation of labor unions and industrial enterprises is based on a large measure of autonomy vis-à-vis the state. But it howls in anguish when it gets a dose of its own syrup. For instance, Histadrut officials were recently outraged when they learned that the managers of a few of their industrial enterprises had sold their plants, lock, stock, and barrel to private purchasers, while group autonomy is one of its basic principles.

Its bus monopoly (the Egged cooperative) usually runs its buses in complete violation of police regulations with impunity; when questioned about this, high police officials answer that "Egged makes its own rules" and say that they are powerless to act against them. Recently, however, reflecting overall changes in the society, their drivers have begun to be arrested for excessive speeding.

Even the government behaves in similar fashion. When the Jerusalem municipality decided to build a new highway through the Valley of the Cross, vehement protests were raised. At the same time that everyone was led to believe that the debate was still in progress, the Prime Minister and the Mayor approved the beginning of construction; it had already begun while the debate was supposedly in progress.

In late 1967, a group of religious men decided to establish a community in Hebron, which is in occupied West Bank territory. They had been waging a running battle with the area's Military Governor since April 1968, and it came to a head in August 1968. In violation of an order from the Military Governor, they erected a kiosk in the Hebron market, ostensibly to sell uncooked kosher meat. The military authorities ordered them to take it down; they refused, at which point the Governor ordered some soldiers to demolish it. As a condition for being permitted to remain in Hebron, the Military Governor asked them to promise that they would not do this again, but they refused. They were summarily expelled from Hebron. This led the religious parties to demand a parliamentary debate on the issue, although no one denied that the Military Governor's rule had been violated, or even that he had the right to issue the edict. As one newspaper editorial put it (*Hayom*, August 11, 1968), "The deportation orders issued by the Minister of Defense [actually, the Military Governor, acting on authority of Ministry of Defense] to three Jewish settlers in Hebron for having set up a kiosk close to the Cave of Machpelah in order to sell kosher food to religious visitors is a most bewildering step. Its only purpose is to obstruct Jewish settlement in the City of the Patriarchs . . . . It is the legitimate and undeniable right of every Jew to settle down anywhere in the Land of Israel and the government must safeguard his security by means of the competent authorities." On the same day, *Davar* (the official newspaper of the Histadrut) had this to say: "There may well be, in fact there are, various attitudes in

Israel toward Jewish settlement in the Israel-held areas which are under military authority. However, adherents of all schools of thought will certainly agree that Jewish settlement in these areas is a matter of prime political importance which must not be left to individual initiative. . . . With all due respect to the pioneering spirit of the [Histadrut-subsidiary] soft drink industry [which actually sponsored the kiosk, uncooked kosher meat hardly being a concern of visitors] . . . the competence to encourage or deter such settlement and its conditions . . . must remain solely within the hands of the government."

It was the Histadrut which called a strike of its teacher-members in opposition to the impending passage of the 1968 school reform program and promised that, if enacted, its teachers would continue to strike and refuse to cooperate with the Ministry of Education. It revoked this threat after the bill was passed, but it was acting according to the "Israeli style": the spirit of group autonomy.

In its emphasis on groups in the school curricula, the Israeli educational system both reflects and reinforces this style or cognitive map. An aspect of the pervasiveness of this point of view -- of focussing on groups rather than on social processes -- is to be seen in Israeli social science writings. For example, almost no Israeli sociologists or political scientists deal with sociopolitical relations between Israeli Jews and Arabs, that is, with the total society. Most often, they define Israel as a Jewish society and thus focus on institutions in the Jewish sector or caste. When Israeli social scientists deal with the institutions in the Arab sector of the society, they tend to view these in complete isolation from the Jewish sector, thereby presenting Arab life in a vacuum, which is a distortion. The maintenance of autonomous and quasi-autonomous school systems -- secular, state-supported religious, autonomous religious (of Agudat Israel), and Arab -- is a continued reflection and reinforcement of a long-standing Israeli pattern according to which people identify themselves with localized interests. The religious factions, which are most extreme in this regard, accentuate this point of view in their curricula by the greater number of hours in the curriculum that are devoted to "sacred" subjects.

The "Israeli style" referred to above is difficult for Westerners to grasp or empathize with. Without going into detail about this, since it is really a separate and large problem, it can best be described briefly in contrast with the "style" with which we are familiar in the United States. In the political processes of the latter, we are accustomed to a procedure whereby "majority rules." This is present in Israel -- to some extent, at any rate -- but with an important qualification. According to the "American style," the notion of majority rule also implies "minority acceptance" of the majority's decisions; we even have a vocabulary of pejoratives to refer to minorities that do not accept majority decisions, at least in the voting process. In Israel, on the other hand, it is acceptable for a minority to split off from a kibbutz when it does not like the majority decisions taken or for a party in the cabinet to resign when the majority of the cabinet has taken a decision. This is not "poor sportsmanship" or "lack of democratic spirit" as we would call it in the United States. It is, instead, the "Israeli style."

VII

Pejorative Pygmalians

One of the accepted tenets of contemporary social science and educational theory is that the children of disenfranchised groups are unable to perform as well in school as the children of advantaged groups because the former come from culturally "deprived" or "disadvantaged" backgrounds. One of the major findings of this research is that considerable doubt can be cast on this point of view. Instead, the data collected in this investigation leads to a somewhat different conclusion: As children are perceived by their teachers, so they will be treated, and so will they behave and perform. In this section of the report, I will consider data which -- more than being an illustration of a self-fulfilling prophecy -- illustrate some of the ways in which disenfranchisement is carried out on a daily basis. That is, if we eschew such antiseptic terms as discrimination, disenfranchisement, segregation, cultural disadvantage or deprivation, and the like, and focus instead on who-does-what-and-to-whom, we may be able to get a clearer picture of "how discrimination works."

My original insight into this aspect of the data came somewhat serendipitously. In looking for a standardized bit of "small talk" with teachers and principals, I asked them, early in my contacts with them, "What are your basic problems in this class (or school)?" I soon noticed that there were certain uniformities which cut across the varieties of answers that I received. I received two basic types of answers to this question. Some teachers answered in terms that placed their pupils in groups: they are "Orientals," they come from lower class families, they are culturally deprived, they are "animals in a zoo," they are psychotic, and so forth. These teachers constantly screamed at their children, treated them brutally, and kept their levels of achievement as low as possible. Other teachers answered in terms of individuals: there are children with psychological problems, there are those who come from broken homes, and some simply have not the capacity to do the required work. These teachers rarely raised their voices at their pupils, treated them with courtesy and respect, and maintained the highest classroom and curricula standards.

I am going to give extensive concrete examples of both groups from my protocols; these verbatim reports speak for themselves, with much greater effectiveness and clarity than my own generalizations could. Let us begin with the first group; this example comes from Grade 4 of a lower-status urban secular coed school. This school shares a fence with the upper-status urban secular coed school in my sample, but little else, educationally, physically, or socially. When I first met the principal of this school, he volunteered very early in our conversation that this is a "problem" school. The nature of the "problem" he explained to me, was that about 90% of the children in the school are "Oriental." When I wondered why this would be a problem, he explained that there is much gambling for money in the school with dice and cards; children even play football (soccer) for money. He told me that he is constantly confiscating cards and dice for this reason. (During the nine days I spent in that school, six in Grade 4, and 3 in Grade 7, I saw no evidence of card playing or dice throwing; though the pupils in the school are avid basketball players, I do not think they could have been playing for money because the teams were constantly changing in members.) I asked why this was so, and he explained that many of the children come from broken homes and from homes in which there is much gambling. He said that he sometimes calls in parents for these and other problems and finds the interviews ending with the parents asking him to help them with their problems. Also, he said, the children's problems stem to a great extent from the fact that they come from overcrowded homes.

All the problems of the school, he observed, are due to segregation of children along the lines of ethnic division and residence; translated into American terms, he spoke about de facto segregation. The pupils in this school have no examples of children from well-to-do homes "to pull them up." Instead, the teachers in this school have to come down to the lowest levels; this holds everyone back. He told me that he has been battling for years to have at least 25% of the students of this school come from the upper-status district, but without success. He feels that Israel "still has the choice as to whether it is going to be a segregated society, but not much longer." In answer to my question, whether ethnic integration would make a difference, he told me that he had heard that there were some successfully integrated schools in other cities, but that he did not know their names or any of the staff in those schools. (He continued looking at his watch saying that he had an appointment with someone from the Ministry of Education; he had told me when we made the appointment for 12:30 that he would be free for the remainder of the day. He has the highest frequency of absenteeism of all the principals in my sample.)

The teacher of Grade 4 in this school lives three blocks away from the school, but in the district served by its neighboring high-status school, to which she sends her own children. She was very clear about the problems she has with this class: the pupils come from poor immigrant homes in which parents are illiterate and in which there are neither books nor newspapers. How does she behave toward her pupils? During the social hour on the Friday of the week that I visited her class she conducted a contest among the children, consisting of a series of questions based on their study of the Prophets; every time a child gave a correct answer, he or she was given a point in which was recorded on the blackboard. The prize was a book. She called on the children who raised hands, and I watched with fascination as she called on her favorites, almost always the European children. Needless to say -- the banality of it is almost too much to record -- the prize was won by a plump light skinned blond girl.

In the following series of excerpts from my protocols, the victim-protagonist -- Joseph -- is one of the darkest-skinned boys in the class; this, as will be seen from other schools, is not unimportant.

(Monday) 11:06 - Bell rings to mark end of hour. Arithmetic lesson continues, teacher writing more problems from textbook on board, and then resumes checking notebooks of pupils.

11:09 - There is a sound of a Mickey Mouse-like animal in the class. Teacher accuses one boy of doing it, but he denies it. She says, "Then who did it?" He and his neighbor point across the room and say, "Joseph did it." (He did not.) She scolds Joseph, who also denies doing it. She says angrily to him, "Why are you lying? A boy who lies is never believed." She continues checking notebooks.

(Tuesday) 10:22 - A balloon explodes in the class. Teacher turns around from the blackboard on which she is writing and asks, "Joseph, did you do it?" He says that he did not, and he and a girl point at a girl behind him that did it. Teacher says, "Joseph, if you did it, I would have punished you, since I would have known that it was done on purpose. Since she did it, I know it was an accident." I watch the other kids in the room, and no one seems surprised at this.

(Friday) 9:13 - Teacher tells class to copy questions that she has written on the blackboard and then answer them. Kids work while teacher takes attendance in her roll book.

9:17 - Joseph asks teacher if he can take a vacant seat in front of the classroom. HE IS NEARSIGHTED; he cannot see from his regular seat which is quite distant from the blackboard. After he moves, teacher asks him if he can see now, and he nods. (Joseph does not have glasses.)

Grade 4 in a low-status suburban coed secular school was taught by a slightly obese, tall, blond lady of about 25 with a loud strident voice which completely dominated the scene. When I asked her what her problems were in this class, she answered simply, "Did you ever see such a market place [Hebrew: shuk, always a pejorative]. The following is an excerpt from my protocols from my first day in this class.

8:55 - Bell rings, kids back in room from lesson in singing in which all three sections of Grade 4 were combined in another room.

8:58 - It is freezing. Kerosene stove on lowest possible flame. Kids are literally and physically shivering. Boy wants to put coat on, teacher won't let him, saying she has no coat on, and anyway he has two sweaters on (they're cotton). Kids' breaths clearly visible in cold. There are 27 kids in class today, lots in sneakers, cotton sweaters, cotton slacks.

9:00 - Teacher tells class that she gave them an essay to write about a month ago and they still haven't gone over it. "Let's do it now." Topic was, "The Class during the rainy days." Every time a pupil talks out, teacher shouts, "Quiet." (YAC comment: Don't use words when we use words, you may learn to speak.)

9:05 - Calls on pupil to read essay. Child has written, "It was so cold in class, I couldn't learn." Teacher keeps interrupting to tell class what one is supposed to wear on rainy and cold days (even when they can't afford the clothes?). Kids keep calling out trying to participate (and keep warm?) and she keeps saying, "I won't listen to a choir."

9:10 - Teacher reads another pupil's essay, correcting style and grammar as she reads. Her voice is loud and strident. She is doing most of the talking. (Since the beginning of the hour, two boys have been standing near the door. They had been put there at 8:00 for something they did which I did not catch. One of them is almost literally in tatters, dirty face and hands, hair uncombed, torn cotton socks, trousers too short for him, sneakers.)

9:18 - Teacher sends latter boy to seat, leaving the other. They had been wandering aimlessly up and down the room. Teacher is correcting pupils' local customary styles, lower-class vernacular.

9:23 - Principal's secretary comes in to check roll.

9:24 - Teacher continues reading another child's essay while roll is being taken.

9:25 - Secretary leaves. Teacher returns girl's notebook and says they will now turn to today's topic, how to outline an essay.

9:26 - Teacher screams at boy who has spoken out. Is trying to teach them idea of outlining and planning an essay.

9:28 - Stops what she is saying about this to yell at the class. Resumes and continues.

9:33 - Teacher bangs on her desk and screams for quiet. She is still talking about the need for orderliness in writing essays. (Teacher is wearing an oversized pair of drugstore mod sunglasses.) Calls on kids to answer her questions, doesn't try to correct them, just tells them that what they say is wrong when they give examples that she asks for in organizing essays.

9:40 - Abruptly stops discussion, gives homework assignment, to write essay: "I was among those who captured . . . ." Realizes there is time left, tells them to start writing it here in class.

9:41 - While kids start writing, she comes over to me and tells me that she doesn't think they understand what she says or wants. (I wasn't terribly clear about it either.)

9:43 - Tells class not to use a particular form of speech (lower-class vernacular, untranslatable into English). Just tells them it's wrong, without explanation.

9:45 - Keeps screaming at kids, "Shut up." Bell rings for recess. Teacher tells them to finish essays at home and to dress for gym.

10:05 - Boys and girls separated for gym, boys remain in room, girls go to another room.

10:10 - Teacher -- a young man -- comes in to conduct gym hour. He checks roll, asking who has sneakers. None of the pupils have gym suits. Bawls out 7 boys who don't have sneakers, tells them they know they are supposed to buy them (instead of food?).

10:14 - He starts hour, calisthenics conducted in the front of the room. Running, jumping in place, tumbling, etc.

10:32 - He sends boy out of room without coat for talking. It is now about 1°-2° C. The room opens onto an open courtyard.

10:50 - Bell ending hour.

The state-supported religious school serving the same area as the foregoing secular school was one of the schools from which I and my Israeli assistant were ejected from one grade (4) and denied permission to enter a second (7). These were always religious schools. It was also one of the few schools for which I could not get any demographic data for the pupils. Since such data are regarded as confidential in Israel, and are not allowed to be made available to non-school officials, I cannot disclose the specific impediments to my acquiring them in this school, since this would also reveal how I got them in other schools. Suffice it that this was in the range of my other difficulties there. In fact, when I asked the prinicpal for a copy of the school's schedule, or for permission to copy it myself, he refused.

When I arrived at the school one Sunday morning, the principal took me into the Teachers' Room and introduced me to the teacher of Grade 4. She immediately launched into a torrent of words about the problems that she has in this class, that "it is like a zoo." This generality was followed by particulars: there are fathers who are alcoholic (as I learned later, one father in this group is alcoholic), mothers who are prostitutes (which I could not confirm), parents who neglect their children and speak Arabic at home, and there are neither newspapers nor books in the homes. As she defined them, so she behaved toward them. Her rather soft face turned to granite-looking appearance when she entered the class. Her quiet voice -- which was so low that I had trouble hearing her in the din of the Teachers' Room -- became like a shrill trumpet in a hollow tiled room after she turned to her role of teacher. There were times when I found her screams painful to my ears in the classroom.

Nothing but a tape recording can really do justice to this teacher of 13 years' experience, or any of the others in this school, who could be heard clearly through the walls and doors, or who could be seen using physical force against students during recess periods. (The tape recording I have is from Tuesday morning. I was planning to spend a full week in this class, and I took my recordings on Thursdays when I was on that schedule. But an uncanny hunch that something was going to happen led me to bring my tape recorder on Tuesday and record the first 1 1/2 hours; that was the day on which I was extruded.) The following excerpt is from Monday.

8:00 - Bell rings.

8:02 - Teacher shows up and kids in the hall -- wrestling, skipping rope, playing with cards (something like our old bubble-gum cards, only these have pictures of warplanes) -- become much quieter. They line up outside the room. Teacher waits until they are all quiet, unlocks the door.

8:04 - Class seated. Teacher asks who has pencils, all but one hold them up. Teacher puts boy without pencil in front of room, asks him whether he will have a pencil tomorrow. He says he will, she asks him, "Do you promise?" He promises and she takes one pencil from a boy who has two and gives it to the pencil-less boy to use for the rest of the day.

8:08 - Prayer session starts. Unison singing.

8:12 - Different teacher walks into room without knocking, motions to the class not to rise; most of them did not notice him, and those who did made no move to rise. He talks to teacher and leaves.

8:14 - Boy and girl come in late. She doesn't let them sit down, but makes them wait until she writes notes to their parents that they were late.

8:15 - Late boy goes to his seat, tries to shove back his table to make room for himself, gets into a fist fight with the boy behind him. Teacher stops prayer until boy is seated. Prayer resumes. Usual routine and ritual. Teacher walks around the room making sure the kids are pointing with their fingers in the prayer books and have prayer books open to right place (some of them are pointing, but on the wrong page). Physically twists around kids who are not sitting properly.

8:23 - Teacher calls out to two kids who are not pointing in texts with fingers. (Before prayer started, she scolded the entire class because some kids were scheduled to meet with her yesterday for special group tutorials, and they never did.) [There follow some comments to myself asking, in effect, why they should meet with such a person outside class.]

8:30 - Teacher sees one boy playing with a compass and not praying, takes away his compass *and* his pencil box and puts it on her desk. Comes back to help him find the place in the prayer book. Sees his neighbor -- who *is* praying -- holding a pencil, takes it away from him and slams it down on his table in front of him.

8:34 - During a silent standing prayer, teacher writes on the blackboard, "Take out book of laws, open to page 18, *sit properly*."

8:35 - Prayer over. Kids seated. One boy doesn't have a book, teacher screams at him, "Don't you have an assignment book?" [Book containing schedules.] Turns out his neighbor doesn't have one either. She puts them both in a corner of the class, then two others who don't have books, then another girl.

8:38 - Exasperated, teacher yells at class, "I'm going to write down all their [sic] names, and if this happens again, they [sic] will have to bring all their books every day, and their briefcases will be so heavy they will remember to arrange their briefcases every night."

8:40 - Teacher starts lesson. Reviews old lesson in laws: on gifts to poor, etc.

8:43 - As she talks and asks questions, teacher walks around the room, closing notebooks (sometimes angrily and brusquely), spinning kids around who are not facing forward.

8:45 - Stops lesson to have all kids sit with folded arms, sitting straight and forward. Resumes.

8:47 - Calls on boy to read, she hears whisper in the class, stops the boy's reading, resumes.

8:48 - Yells at boy for turning around. Students continue taking turns reading aloud from text on gifts to the poor. Kids here try to read as fast as possible, noticed it yesterday, too.

8:50 - Bell rings, lesson continues. Teacher's voice unpleasantly loud.

8:53 - Teacher screaming for kids to pay attention.

8:54 - Tries the trick of talking in a whisper, and class starts quieting down.

8:55 - Her voice goes back to trumpeting level.

8:56 - Calls on girl to read from text.

8:56:30 - While girl reads, she is yelling at kids for all sorts of minor infractions. She doesn't talk to the class, she yells at them. When she talks about the lesson, she sounds like a soap-box orator.

8:57 - Stops talking about lesson, ejaculates, "Pay attention" so sharply that *I* jump. The kids seem immune to it. [In my protocal for Tuesday, I note at one point, "They don't seem to notice or mind her screaming, they've tuned out.]

8:58 - She stops lesson, shouts at a couple of kids, calls on girl to read, her trumpeting ejaculations come in the middle of kids' sentences (and her own), almost as part of them.

9:00 - Class quite noisy, some calling out answers, others horsing around, her voice dominates the noise. (It is really impossible to take notes on this properly.)

9:01 - Teacher tells them to take out notebooks, puts homework questions on blackboard.

9:03 - Then she goes down the middle row screaming at each kid in the row in turn for not writing, for not sitting properly, for talking. Then goes back to the blackboard. Questions are: "What is 'forgotten gleanings'; what are the rules about forgotten gleanings; about which gifts to the poor have we learned; which gifts to the poor are customary in vineyards, crops (produce), arbors."

9:05 - Starts going around the room checking notebooks, keeps blasting the air every few seconds with horrendours ejaculating screams. Stops at a boy across the aisle from me, scolds him (quitely) for not doing any work at home.

9:12 - All this -- alternation of relative quite in room blasted by a scream -- continues. She shouts at kids who have finished copying assignment to check over what they have written "because I don't want to see a single mistake."

9:13 - Calls out to take out Prophets books and notebooks. "Quick," expostulated three times in rapid succession.

9:15 - She screams, screams, screams. (These kids would have to turn off just to stay sane.) She realizes that lots of kids don't have notebooks, goes from one to the other, standing over the kid and shouting, "Why don't you have a notebook? How can you learn without a notebook?" She could be heard a block away, like the teachers I hear from the other rooms. The kids never answer, they just stare straight ahead. (They develop life patterns early here. It's heartbreaking to listen to this.)

9:19 - Turns to lesson in Joshua 5. Class noisy. About a dozen kids participating in the lesson noisily, rest are doing their own things. She interjects sssshhh in between every few words as she and the kids try to outshout each other. She writes on blackboard: "What are the conditions underlying Joshua's success? a) abiding by all the commandments in the Bible; not deviating from it right or left, do not let the book of the Bible leave your lips, and follow it day and night."

9:26 - Bedlam [I probably meant pandemonium, but perhaps I was right the first time], as she tells pupils to copy this from the board.

9:28 - Starts to explain the materials on the board. Then stops, tells them to fold arms, calling out about 7 names of kids whose arms are not folded.

9:29 - Starts talking in whisper, then with rifle-shot voice calls out boy's name, goes back to whisper.

9:30 - Calls on girl to read from text.

9:32 - Girl finishes reading, teacher screams question at her. Girl doesn't get the question (neither did I), teacher screams question at her again, then immediately asks a different girl for the answer.. First girl (who had just finished reading selection) loses interest completely, turns around to talk to the girl behind her.

9:33 - Teacher calls on a boy to read the answer to her last question from the text -- ah, I get it, she has refused to accept answers in kids' own words -- and he reads as loud and fast as he can.

9:35 - Teacher asks another question, goes from kid to kid asking and repeating the question, no one seems to have heard it or to know the answer. Class very noisy with teacher and pupils screaming. Quite a symphony.

9:37:30 - Class momentarily quiet, then returns to bedlam. (Finally have a chance to record the questions: they are on where the different tribes of Israel lived during the time of Joshua after they returned to the Promised Land.)

9:41 - School handyman comes in, noisily moves kerosene heater from the corner, and is fiddling with it -- repairing it, filling it, etc., as far as I can see from the opposite corner. [This was a cold and rainy day.]

9:43 - Everyone waiting for him, he leaves.

9:43:30 - Teacher has class do sitting physical exercises. The place is really wild, though I suspect that most of the noise is hers. Even I can't tell. She tells the class that they can't learn unless they do their homework. She continues with the explanation of Joshua and his followers crossing the Jordan.

9:45 - Tells kids to take out their snacks. Comes over to tell me that they are retarded, or at least most of them are. She says that she has to keep reviewing and reviewing for the benefit of at least the few who might make some progress. This is within hearing of kids.

9:47 - Lines up boys to go out to wash hands, then the girls.

9:50 - They are all back and say prayer over food. She stands over class like a warden making sure they don't utter a sound while they eat. Bell rings. She is going around the room checking fingernails. Same dirty ones as yesterday. Yells at them for this.

9:53 - Yelling at kids who talk to each other and not sitting properly. Screams, "If you have finished eating, go outside."

9:55 - Kids go out.

10:00 - Bell ends recess.

The following day, at 9:45 (just before the recess bell), the principal's secretary came into the class and walked over to where I was seated and told me that the principal wanted to see me. I went down to see him and he told me that the teacher of Grade 4 had complained to him twice that my presence in the class was disturbing to her. He told me that he knew that I neither said a word in the class nor interfered in the activities of the class. Nevertheless, she felt that I was a disturbing influence. I pressed him to tell me how I disturbed the class, and he told me that the teacher was disturbed by the pupils turning around to look at me, "and things like that." Naively, I thought she was ashamed at having an outsider witness her behavior and screams.

I left his office -- after he told me that, if I insisted, he was obligated to allow me to continue my observations -- and sought out the teacher. She said that she found it more difficult to control the class while I was there; after saying that I could not understand that, the bell rang ending the recess, and we agreed to continue the conversation during the next recess. During the next hour, her screaming was somewhat worse than usual, and I decided then not to return; but the payoff came when we were able to resume our discussion. In her words, "I use physical force when they disobey, and then they behave for a week." She felt that she could not do that in front of a stranger. I told her that I agreed not to come back.

The legal staff of the Ministry of Education considers a teacher's use of force under and and all circumstances to constitute assault and battery, even if a teacher physically restrains a child who is attacking another.

I was not denied permission outright to observe Grade 7. The principal informed me when I contacted him a few weeks later about this part of my schedule that I could not be permitted to spend more than one day in any of the sections of Grade 7 (there are three). I had explained to him, when we originally discussed my reasons for research procedure, that I wanted to compare individual groups in large blocks of time; hence, as he knew, it would not be particularly useful for me to spend only one day in a class. But he was adamant, and I decided not to press the matter further.

It was in my protocols for a low-status girls' urban religious school that I wrote in large blocked letters one day, "You cannot do this to people," knowing well that this can be -- and is -- done to people. This was the school in which a Grade 7 teacher falsely accused a student of refusing to leave a classroom, described at the end of the previous section.

The regular teacher of Grade 4 was a very pregnant woman in her late 20's, rather pretty and softspoken, who told me that she is slightly overwhelmed by the socio-economic backgrounds of the children in her class. One day, she told me about a girl in her class "who is absent 90% of the time." She was on the verge of being declared a truant by the school and the teacher went to visit the girl's home. She told me that she came into a house of unspeakable filth -- quite possibly true -- and the mother, who looked "on the verge of death," was trying to care for six childern. The teacher asked the mother where the girl was, and was told that she was that she was at a "club" next door. Going there, the teacher found the girl on her knees scrubbing the floor. The girl was paid IL. 1 a day for this work. (The Israeli pound is currently worth $0.28 and about 85¢ in purchasing power.) Her employer -- probably the "madam" of the "club" -- the teacher said, was a "well dressed woman who has a very well dressed daughter who goes to school every day." She told the woman that she would be reported to the police if she did this again. On the way back to the girl's house, the teacher asked her why she did not come to school; the girl replied that she did not want to learn. As the teacher told it to me, "I told her that if she did not come to school, the police would put her in prison; I did not say that they would put her parents in prison because she probably would not have cared about that. And then I told her that it was not safe not to go to school, because things are different now; there are Arabs all around who kidnap children."

On another occasion, telling me of her compassion for these children, she mentioned that she feels very guilty when she yells at them or when she makes them stand in the corner, which she does often. During the week that I was in this class, about one-fourth of their classes were taught to them by the lady (also about 25) who was going to become their regular teacher after the regular teacher left to have her baby girl about a month later. This teacher -- who is Israeli born -- told me that all the girls in the class are "psychotic." I asked her why she said this. "Because they are Oriental," she said, as though it were the most obvious thing in the world.

Whereas the teacher of the class from which I was ejected felt constrained by my presence with respect to the use of physical punishment, there were no such inhibitions here. For example, "8:35 (Tuesday) - One of the girls (Mical) off on the side of the room, sitting and chewing gum. Teacher sees her, tells her to spit out the gum. [I have never been able to understand what is wrong with chewing gum in a class.] Mical refuses. Teacher goes over to her, drags her along the ground to the wastebasket, tells her to put the gum in the basket. Michal slumps to the ground. Teacher pulls her up, Michal slumps again. Teacher tells another girl to get the principal . . . . Michal keeps the gum, and principal never comes."

My observations here took place during the last week of November, when the torrential rains and cold weather had already started. Only four of the children in this class ever came to school wearing overshoes; most of them wore cottons, torn socks, and sneakers or open summer shoes which were often torn and frayed. These do not look like particularly well nourished children and many of them ate large blocks of bread rather than sandwiches during the snack break. Nevertheless, it was not unusual for the teachers here to send girls into the yard without raincoats or jackets, while rain was falling, as punishment for infractions.

Sometimes, they were left there for an entire hour.

This is sometimes mixed with equally bad verbal brutality. (I hope that I can be forgiven the use of value-laden terms while doing anthropology.) On Monday, at 9:44 the regular teacher announced to the class that beginning with the next hour they will have a new teacher for Prophets and Bible (The one who would take over after the regular teacher left, but she did not tell them that part of it). The girls wanted to know the new teacher's name, but she would not tell them, saying, "She'll introduce herself." Nor would she give them a reason for having a new teacher. At 10:15, after recess, the regular teacher came into the class and said that her replacement would not come this hour, but will come the following hour. The girls asked why she did not show up; they were told, "What difference does it make whether she comes this hour or the next hour?" She then told the class that the new teacher had said that she hoped that it would be pleasant for her in this class and she told the girls to make sure to behave.

11:13 - Bell ending recess.

11:15 - Replacement teacher comes into the room, says, "1,2." She does not introduce herself. Tells girls to take out Prophets text. Insists on quiet, tells one girl who does not have a book that she will punish her if she does not bring her book tomorrow. Another girl says something, and teacher tells her that she doesn't need her help. Her voice is shrill. "1,2," again insisting on quiet. She says that she does not want to see books again without paper covers. "Why do they call this book Joshua?" she asks the class.

11:17 - New girl from another city (who had joined class for the first time this morning) comes in. Class is silent. Teacher wants to know where the new girl has been, other girls answer for her saying she was detained by the school nurse.

11:19 - Teacher explains why the book is called after Joshua and why Joshua was such an important person: he brought the Hebrew people to Israel, "and now we are in Israel."

11:20 - Class attentive and silent as teacher speaks.

11:22 - "Was it so easy to bring the Israelites to Israel?" teacher asks class.

11:22:30 - Girl who did not have book whispers to her neighbor. Teacher stops talking, asks girl, "Do you want to be somewhere else? Your first sin [sic] was no book, your second sin is to talk. Sin begets sin, and I want you to stop."

11:23:30 - Goes back to lesson.

11:24 - Another girl talks to a neighbor, teacher threatens to throw her out of the class. Asks a question, calls on one girl, another answers, teacher scolds her. Scolding lasts longer than question and answer combined.

11:26 - Teacher asks, "Where was Joshua's first war? Jericho? How did Israelites capture Jericho?" One girl starts to answer, teacher stops her saying she does not want the entire story, just the essence of the answer.

11:27 - Girl starts to answer again, teacher interrupts her and she tells the story of blowing down the walls. Says that this shows that Battle of Jericho was not a regular war, but a miracle.

11:28 - Threatens to "throw out" [uses word that refers to an object, rather than a person] another girl for talking.

11:29 - Teacher speaking: "How did Israelis cross the Jordan? What do you have in your mouth? It was a miracle. You see, the Israelis had two big miracles. Now the Israelis have [sic] to conquer the rest of 'the Land.'"

11:33 - Stops her lecture, has girls do physical exercise in their seats after some whispering starts among some girls.

11:35 - Yells at a girl who wants to add something to what teacher had last said. She asks another question, several girls start to call our answer, says to one of them, "shut up." Tells all the girls to put their hands flat on their desks. "Now raise your hands properly."

11:36 - Teacher notices a girl who had turned her head to the rear of the room for a minute. She walks over to the girl, bodily lifts her out of her seat and drags her along the floor and puts her in a corner in the front of the room. Yells (not tells) at them to open their notebooks, "1,2,3" [sic] in shrill yell, "whoever speaks after '3' will be punished. Open your notebooks and write two questions that I will ask, and answer them. Anyone who talks will be sent to the principal." One girl says something. "Don't tell me what to do. What is your name?" Other girls give her the girl's name.

11:40 - Starts to write questions on the blackboard. Class becomes noisy, teacher turns around, verging on a tantrum, screams for quiet, shrilly. Girls want to know whether they have to write with diacritic vowels (on which regular teacher has been insisting). She screams at them, "Don't ask me."

11:43 - Class is noisy, she arbitarily picks out one girl who is talking and sends her out to the school yard.

11:45 - Teacher erases second question she had put on board, saying it was wrong. Kids call out, saying that they had already written it. She doesn't apologize, but says, "Whoever wrote it, wrote it." Questions on board are: "(1) How was Jericho captured? (2) What did Ahan do? (3) Why was he punished?"

11:47 - "Close your notebooks," even though not all of them have finished copying the questions.

11:47:30 - She has them do stretching exercises while sitting in their seats.

11:48 - Asks question that I did not catch.

11:49 - Grabs arm of girl in front row (for no reason that I could see) and girl cries out in pain.

11:49:30 - Grabs hold of girl who bent over to pick up book that had fallen. Gets answer to question asked at 11:48.

11:51 - Noise level rising, and class is on verge of getting out of control. Keeps asking the same question: "Of whom are Israelis (in battle of Jericho) afraid? I can't keep up with this. She gets into a physical fight with a girl who has bent over to get something out of her briefcase. She is still screaming out the same question. She makes believe she is writing down names of girls who are talking, though she doesn't know their names. She says -- in a voice that sounds two octaves higher than her previous and original shrill -- that she will write down the names of girls who are sitting quietly and they will write down the names of the bad girls.

11:55 - Noise level has been reduced to a loud hum. Only about 12 girls listening to her as she speaks. Now she is paying no attention to girls who are talking and fighting with each other or banging on their desks.

11:57 - She tells them to take out notebooks. Pandemonium. They want to know which notebooks to take out. She says, "Any ones you want -- music, art, Prophets." She continues saying that she is continuing writing the names of good and bad girls, even though everyone can see that she is neither writing nor knows the names.

12:00 - She puts a girl in a corner for turning around to look at a sharp noise she had heard. Tells the class to draw a diagram of the battle of Jericho. One girl wants to know if they should draw it now. "Eat," answers the teacher. Class is verging again on being out of control. One girl is erasing something in her notebook, noisily brushes off erasures. Teacher comes over to her, grabs her arm and face, tells her to stop, the teacher's fingernails remain dug into the girl's face for about 10 seconds.

12:03 - Bell, over, and out.

This selection from my protocols illustrates several things. Most importantly, I think this shows that the pupils in this class started out this hour quietly, hoping to learn something, but ended up in a state of pandemonium. The sequences of this hour reveal that their behavior was a response to the teacher's provocations, not vice versa.

In this connection, I cannot resist quoting from Israeli Society (1967), by S. N. Eisenstadt, who seems intent on demonstrating that the separatism of lower-status groups in Israeli is due to their self-segregation. "Perhaps the most far-reaching way in which the pioneering idealogy manifested itself was in the absorption of immigrants (p.46). . . . The immigrants' social and cultural heritage was, to a large extent neutralized, and important positions were not monopolized by any one type of immigrant group. . . . The continuous expansion of the social and economic system minimized the cleavages and tensions attendant on this process. Therefore, 'ethnic' belongings did but rarely become a focus of separatist identity within the Yishuv (p. 47). . . . The main reasons for the relative mal-integration of the oriental Jews in the Yishuv are rooted in their specific motivations for migration on the one hand and in their cultural educational background on the other. . . . The oriental Jews' basic participation in the Yishuv, together with their strong adherence to old patterns of life, accounts for their special position in the Yishuv's social structure, where they formed a separate social group. The fact that their educational and vocational levels were usually below the relatively modern standards of the Yishuv forced them mainly into the lower economic sectors, and the impact on them of modern conditions can be compared, in some ways, to the contact between a modern, advanced economy and a 'backward' people (peasants, etc.). Their old structure was continuously undermined, but nevertheless this did not result in their complete integration (p. 51). . . . Basic equality and universal civil rights granted to the immigrants were fully legitimized within the social structure, and the initial relative segregation had no basis in either law *or the ideology of the state*, which emphasized the complete equality of all citizens, and their dedication to the task of the ingathering of the exiles" (p. 67, emphases added).

Note the adroitness of this apologia, which is from the pen of Israel's leading sociologist: the principal actors are the immigrants themselves; no responsibility is placed on the dominant sectors of the population. Note the associations of words: "modernism" with the Yishuv (the Jewish settlement or community), "backward" with the immigrants (referred to as "orientals") from Asia and North Africa. This is clearly within the same tradition which characterizes much contemporary sociology and anthropology in the United States, which emphasizes the "traditional African background" of Negroes, or the slum life of Puerto Rico or Mexico, in "explaining" the disenfranchisement of non-Anglo Saxons in American society. The last teacher described differs from this only quantitatively, when she automatically defines these children as "psychotic." On another occasion, she told me that these children were "mentally disturbed" by the time they got to school because they came from poor, overcrowded homes.

"Such is the nature of our ethnic problem, which is seriously aggravated by the fact that the 'differences of level' are a result not only of different social and educational experience but also of structuralized cultural patterns of long standing" (Carl Frankenstein, "The Problem of Ethnic Differences in the Absorption of Immigrants," in *Between Past and Future*, p. 15) This is only slightly more sophisticated apologetics; who can imagine that the responsibility is his when he is told on good authority that "our ethnic problem" is due to "structuralized cultural patterns of long standing?" Even a microscopic or fluroscopic examination of such teachers would not uncover a "structuralized cultural pattern of long standing."

In this connection, and before going on to describe the contrasting behavior of other teachers, I want to elaborate a little on the point that I began to make at the beginning of this section. These data require us to ask anew, what is educational (or any other) "discrimination" or disenfranchisement? Is it the preponderance of children of one ethnic or color group, socioeconomic stratum, and the like, in a particular classroom or school; is it the association of a school with a particular neighborhood; is it the absence of up-to-date visual aids or gleaming tiles in the lavatories; is it the fact that children walk to school instead of being "bused"; is it, in other words, a result of the "cultural backgrounds" of the children and, especially, their parents?

I do not deny that these factors play a role in what is generally (and antiseptically) referred to as "discrimination" and the poorer school performance of children in disenfranchised groups. But these data -- and those collected in the United States investigation -- reveal and point to something far more important; I suggest it in the form of a hypothesis: Social science, especially those of its disciplines that have been concerned with education, have helped to perpetuate systematized educational disenfranchisement by focusing almost exclusively on the stars and disregarding what goes on daily and hourly among people; social science research has served to assuage the guilt of enfranchised groups by telling them to look to -- and thus place responsibility on -- the impersonalities of "structure," "cultural background (or poverty or deprivation)," "neighborhoods," "population balance," and the like, without suggesting that there are people (teachers, principals, and others) who are responsible for what goes on in a classroom. Curriculum planning, judicial and legislative reform, school relocation, modern equipment, and the like, are important; but they will make not a whit of a difference as long as teachers and principals -- the representatives of established authority -- degrade children and implant in their minds negative associations with schooling and academic work.

What makes people (such as teachers) behave this way? I did not go into this question systematically in my research because I did not have the time or other resources; it is an aspect of social organization and education that cries out for intensive investigation. But my brief acquaintance with these teachers and the general phenomenon of inequality in Israel along caste and class lines suggest several hypotheses. The first is that such behavior is an aspect of racism, which has long and deep roots in Israeli society. By racism I mean the idea that individuals in a society are regarded as less than human and are to be relegated to servile or other inferior statuses by virtue of their membership in certain ascriptive -- racial, ethnic, religious -- groups.

Middle Eastern social organization has always been based on the separateness of groups -- there have always been Muslim settlements, Christian settlements, Jewish settlements, and separate quarters for each of these groups within walled and open cities -- but it is questionable whether relations between them have been characterized by racism, in the sense that I have just noted. If they were, it was minimal. Whether it existed or not before 1870 -- the year in which the social landscape of the area underwent its first fundamental change in several centuries -- it was introduced by the European Jews to an important degree in the early decades of the 20th century, when they began their colonization of the area in earnest. There is much in Jewish tradition and religious law that subserved it: the notion of the "chosen people," the idea that Jews existed in order to be persecuted by others, and sacred martyrdom. In Jewish religious law, for example, there are certain things that can only be done by non-Jews, and they are almost always forbidden things: manual actions that defile the sabbath, ritual ownership of unclean foods that are forbidden to Jews (as on Passover), and the like. To a large extent, these ideas -- like distinctive "Jewish values" in general -- were originally adjustments to minority status in Europe and Asia since the beginning of the Christian era; their direct reversal when the Jews became politically and economically dominant, and later a majority, were almost inevitable (at least in retrospect). Having brought many of these inter-group ideas and attitudes with them when they began to settle the area, the Jews fit into the social ambience of what was to become Israel very well. In establishing their political and economic dominance in the area, the Eastern European Jews -- popularly known as the "pioneers" -- very quickly emphasized their separateness from the indigenous Jewish population who it must also be added, wanted nothing to do with the "upstart" Europeans, and from non-Europeans generally. The informal forerunner of the Histadrut (in 1913) was almost exclusively European, as was the Histadrut itself when it was established in 1920; the same was true of the Jewish Agency, which was founded in 1929. Paralleling these developments were similar divisions in the educational sphere: there were not only separate schools for Eastern Europeans and others but also separate languages of instruction and separate curricula. (I will present the original documentations of this in translation in a separate publication.) Later, especially during the 1930s and 1940s, when political centralization in the Jewish sector was paralleled by increasing educational centralization, Jewish schools adopted the policy noted earlier, by which teachers' classroom rolls always noted the ethnic origin of each child alongside his name. This custom was dropped after 1948 in the name of greater egalitarianism. In reality, however, it was unnecessary because residential-ethnic segregation was a more effective substitute.

Function recapitulates structure (and vice versa); the formal separateness of groups in both Middle Eastern and European Jewish tradition provided the climate in which the consciousness and attitudes of group separateness could grow and fester. Each reinforced the other, and continues to do so.

Israel, of course, is in no way unique in this respect; in fact, it is hardly different from any other society, especially during the early stages of nationhood in which the overriding concern of the ruling groups is to establish identification with the state at any cost. Divide et impera, as noted, has long been known to nations' governors as the cheapest, quickest, and among the most effective techniques in this regard. This brings me to the second source of the behavior of teachers described above: "scientifically" respectable notions of "cultural deprivation" and its cousins. It is known that perception influences behavior. One of the consequences of such ideas as "cultural deprivation" is to instil perceptions of difference. When teachers are taught that certain groups are disadvantaged, deprived, primitive, or what have you, the notion is automatically implanted in the teachers' minds that these people are different, inferior, of a lower ranking, incapable of the same things, and requiring different treatment than others. These are academically spawned ideologies which reinforce, perpetuate, and justify separateness or particularistic values and criteria. If Israel had not imported these concepts from the United States -- which developed them at a point at which disenfranchised groups began to demand the sociopolitical equality of ritual rhetoric -- it would have had to invent them.

At the risk of implying that I am in favor of censorship, one of the conclusions of this research is that we must find ways of banishing from our educational philosophies such varied and myriad ways of saying to prospective teachers, "Look, these people are different from you and me, they have to be treated differently, you cannot expect the same from them as can be expected from 'us' and from 'our' children, there are 'we' and 'they,' their capacities are different from ours, do not treat all people as equals, be on the lookout for criteria of difference and separateness -- and act accordingly." As I sat in classrooms like those described above, I often found myself fantasying about brave-new-world and 1984-type mass post-hypnotic suggestions for prospective teachers which would be based on other kinds of premises: all people can be -- and are to be -- treated similarly, all are capable of the same performance, and all are to be treated with the dignity which will lead them to believe that they are capable of the highest levels of intellectual activity. But these were daydreams, reinforced by my having seen children from "culturally deprived backgrounds" doing very well in arithmetic lessons in Grade 4 while they were being taught set-theory (which I could not grasp).

Third, such behavior appears to be motivated on the personal level of individual teachers by fear. Specifically, the fear is of upward mobility on the part of lower-status groups who subjectively threaten a shaky sense of security -- or who reinforce a deep sense of social insecurity -- of teachers. This is admittedly conjectural, and I have no direct evidence for it. But it was an impression that continued to recur to me as I watched these teachers and spoke to them. When I described this behavior to individual Israelis, their immediate and spontaneous reactions were often almost uniformly, "These teachers are scared."

The occupation of teaching in Israel is rapidly becoming an exclusive province of what we would call, in the United States, the lower middle class. This is especially true in connection with elementary school teachers. Generally, those who become secondary school teachers in Israel -- aside from coming from solid middle-class backgrounds -- tend to be the lowest scorers on the university matriculation examinations. Each succeeding year during the last two decades has seen an increasing number -- and an even larger proportion -- of the children, especially daughters, of immigrants from North Africa and Asia entering training for elementary-school teacher training. The latter people have almost no political representation in the Israeli government or in the teachers' unions; their ethnic representation in the Ministry of Education and

Culture is limited to a "tokenism" of two people who are largely without decision-making authority. They are economically insecure and they are among the first people to suffer from the frequently recurring spurts of Israeli economic inflation. As in many societies, in which the general rule is that a woman must marry a man of at least equal status, and preferably one of higher social position, many teachers -- the majority of whom are women -- on their ways upward face a tenuous marital situation; this is especially severe in Israel where an unmarried girl older than 22 is referred to as a "spinster."

Almost by definition, there is very little room at the top in a pyramidally organized society. In Israel, the sides of the pyramid are not smooth; instead, they are steeply stepped and there is geometrically less and less room at each succeeding level. Observers with limited experience in Israel are often struck by what they refer to as a frequently characteristic trait of "envy" among Israelis. More realistically, I would say that Israelis frequently manifest what George Foster has called an "image of limited good," the feeling that desirable things are in very limited supply and that one person's success in gaining a share of them means that everyone else has proportionately less. There is an important basis in reality for this in Israel -- as in most other societies in which the image of limited good is found -- because there is very little to go around. The cost of living is very high, inflation continually eats away at reserves, and the rate of taxation is one of the highest in the world (but still insufficient to curb inflation). Maintaining the appearances of social status is very important, reinforced by the fact that prestigious position does bring privilege and ease: I have never so much enjoyed being "herr Professor" as I did during my two years in Israel. In fact, the consciousness of status and deference to people who hold it seems to be increasing. I was very struck by the discrepancy between the traditional "image" of Israeli egalitarianism and informality and the reality of behavior. Many people to whom I spoke about this said that it is something about which many people are concerned because formality between people of different social positions is increasing. For example, I was unsuccessful in trying to get any of my Israeli research assistants -- two of whom were older than I -- to address me by my first name; even in kibbutzim, people were often reluctant to address me by my first name until they felt that they knew me well enough to warrant such familiarity and informality.

Whether on the increase or not, the fact nevertheless remains that status differences are marked and that people are very conscious of them. Such differences thus become psychologically very important, especially in a society which is riddled with explicit and implicit group differences: between Jews and non-Jews (especially Arabs), between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, between religious and non-religious factions, among political parties, between the military and civilian spheres, between kibbutzim and moshavim, between the rural and the urban sectors, between Development Towns and other kinds of settlements, and between the government and polity. When status positions tend to become crowded -- or are threatened with crowding -- people tend to fear that what they have gained will become debased and that gains by others will mean losses by them. The mobility aspirations of lower-status Asians and North Africans are thus understandably threatening to many elementary school teachers, whether or not they are themselves from these backgrounds. For a variety of reasons, largely economic, the strivings for mobility -- especially educational -- appear to have increased in strength and volume since the 1967 war, though it is still too early to tell whether and to what degree these strivings will be sustained. Unfortunately, we do not have the data which would tell us whether the severely damaging behavior described above has also been increasing over previous periods.

But lest anyone with a bent for mass group psychotheraphy programs imagine that such irrational fears can easily be overcome, it must also be pointed out that there is a very important measure of realistically based fear among elementary school teachers in Israel. During the last several years, the Ministry of Education and Culture has been raising the minimal qualifications of elementary school teachers; by 1971, every elementary school teacher will have to have an equivalent of a B.A. degree. The ministry has been able to do this because the number of people in the country meeting these minimal qualifications has recently equalled the demand for them. For those who must return to school to meet these requirements, the threat has materialized; it is much worse for women with families. It is for the socially and psychologically most vulnerable that such concepts as "cultural deprivation" and "cultural disadvantage" are godsends, having the respectability of academic sanction for perceiving group differences, and thus inevitably acting on them.

But there is a "double bind" in these factors. It will have been noticed that most of the teachers behaving demeaningly to children from disenfranchised groups are women. (While a few men also do so, this is primarily characteristic of women teachers; I do not think that this is only a result of the preponderance of females in Israeli schools.) Nevertheless, it also appears that the best teachers are also women. More accurately, what I think should be said is that children's relationships to the learning situation were characterized by more eagerness, warmth, and general positiveness when they were taught by women. I became aware of this in a rather unusual way. I began to notice after several months of observation that, despite the repetitiveness of materials and the unpleasantness of many Grades 4 I found Grades 7 to be much more boring for me; this was even more true of Grades 11. The higher the grade I was observing, the more I felt a lack of continuity from hour to hour and the more I experienced feeling like the proverbial man who tightens bolts on an assembly line without any sense of relatedness to a whole. My assistants in observations in the Jewish and Arab schools -- an Israeli Jewish young lady and an Israeli Arab man, respectively, both in their early 20s and university students -- reported similar experiences to me.

Aside from the ages of pupils, there are two things that characterize the upper grades vis-à-vis Grade 4: the higher one goes in the grade-structure the greater are the number of special-subject teachers and male teachers. While it is difficult to factor out the relative influence of one of these characteristics over the other on pupils without careful electronic analyses of the data -- for which there has not yet been time -- it is my impression (and that of my assistants) that teachers' sex is the more important factor of the two. By and large, female special-subject teachers seem to have had a much warmer relationship with their pupils than their male counterparts. I do not think that we have to go much further in understanding this than the conventional folk wisdom which asserts that women have a much more empathic and patient attitude toward children than males. (As many experienced teachers know, one has to be something of a mother as well as a "ham" to be a good teacher.) It is perhaps because of this very involvement with children -- psychologically speaking -- that women teachers are either terrible or excellent, to a much greater degree than male teachers.

While the growing professionalization of teaching will probably lead to a greater dominance of schools by men -- for a variety of reasons that are too complex to go into here -- the data gathered at least in Israel suggests that this dominance should not lead to the exclusion of women from the classrooms. Instead, greater cognizance should be taken in training programs of sex differences, especially in relation to children. Furthermore, since teaching is -- at least for the present -- an important means of upward mobility, much better information is needed about sex differences in respect to status differences and psychological vulnerabilities (or subjective feelings of threat) with regard to marginal status positions and perceptions of the mobility of lower-status groups.

Now let us turn to the second group of teachers who illustrate the proposition that as children are defined, so they will be treated. This group of teachers defined the problems in their classes in terms of individuals, not groups.

Let us begin again with Grade 4 of the upper-status coed urban secular school. When I asked the teacher of this class what her basic problems in the class were, she said, "Yes, there are problems. There are a few children of divorced parents who have problems. Some children have personal psychological problems that the school does not know the details of, and so we sometimes call in a psychologist. Then there are the children of diplomats, who have quite a job adjusting during their first few months back in Israel. [Israel seems to have the world's highest per capita corps of former diplomats. Diplomatic posts are very often sinecures for former high ranking army officers for whom there are no other posts at the moment, for politically dangerous former army officers, or for people who may prove to be embarassing to the government for a variety of reasons.] And problems like the boy whose table you share, we've had many problems with him all along." In answer to my query about the latter, she said, "He used to disrupt the class quite a bit and demand lots of attention." I asked why this was so; she replied, "Probably because he is an only child." My own impression was that the level and pace of instruction left him thoroughly bored.

This teacher has not always been like this. She admitted to me that when she had taught at other schools before coming to this one, she was much stricter, much more of a disciplinarian, and much harsher with her students. These were lower-status schools. Her attitude to the class was underscored by her request that I say a few words to the class during the "Social Hour" on the Friday of the week that I spent there. When she approached me about this a few days before, she said to me, "I don't want the children to go away with the impression that you were just a body present in the classroom."

It should not be assumed, however, that she is different in her attitudes with respect to teaching in general. The following excerpts from my protocols will illustrate this.

(Tuesday) 8:35 - (A review of homework) Some pupils give the wrong answer to one of the questions they were supposed to answer. Several of the boys say that this was the answer given in their science textbook. Mrs. Y tells them, "Don't argue. If you want to argue, do so outside after class" (apparently meaning, among themselves during recess). Later the same day, during the arithmetic lesson, the teacher says at one point, "Try to do the problem quickly, don't guess quickly, solve it quickly." On Thursday, also during the arithmetic lesson, she puts several problems in simple division on the board. 11:29 - She says, "Make sure to examine your answers, so that it really gets into your heads, arms, legs, who knows where else?" 11:30 - She starts calling for answers and asks whether anyone got wrong answers. One girl raises her hand and teacher says, "How can you get 135 when it can only be 130?" 11:32 - Teacher starts working out these divisions by long steps. She asks whether anyone does not understand. One boy raises his hand and teacher says, "How can you not understand?" She calls him to the board and has him work out one of the problems. The sarcasm drips.

Now let us see how this teacher maintains discipline in her class. When children carry on whispered conversations during class, she either quietly says, "Children," or equally quietly calls their names. Even when provoked, she is the epitome of restraint. The following is an excerpt from my protocol of Monday: 11:00. Recess over. Kids start for their classrooms. 11:02. Several fistfights in the front of the classroom. 11:05. Teacher comes in for lesson in Prophets. There is a chair on her desk. She asks who put it there, boy raises his hand, she tells him to put the chair and himself (unseated) in the corner. She starts the lesson. 11:06. Tells boy in the corner to return to his seat. They are reviewing yesterday's lesson. 11:08. She stops talking, class is noisy, she is trying to get them to quiet down. She comments to the class, "Something irregular must have happened during the last recess to cause this restlessness." She resumes the lesson. The class seems attentive from what I can see, except for the boy next to me who is reading a novel but who "checks in" every few minutes. The lesson is about places, tribes, and people, Israelites crossing into the "Promised Land." The boy in front of me is eating a sandwich. Teacher notices him but doesn't say anything to him. (I would say class' restlessness stems from gymnastics teacher's yelling at them and constantly demanding quiet from the class and from the four boys on the sidelines who were excused for physical reasons.) A few minutes later she says to a boy, "I know you have many important things to say to your friend, I've no doubt about it, but please tell him later."

Almost every discussion of educational problems in Israel -- with educationists, psychologists, sociologists, government officials, and parents -- quickly reduces itself to the different capacities of ethnic and socioeconomic groups. As mentioned, the level of arithmetic in many of the disenfranchised groups is no lower, and sometimes higher, than in Grade 4 of this school. Similarly, I think the data that I have collected demonstrate that there is no significant difference in the capacities of different ethnic and socioeconomic groups, either intellectually or with respect to the maintenance of expected classroom decorum. Instead, children respond to the conditions of specific situations with which they are presented or in which they find themselves. Consider, for example, this excerpt from my classroom protocols (Wednesday):

8:00 - Bell rings, music teacher (a man, whose name I did not get) comes in. Class is very noisy, he simply stands in front of the room waiting for quiet.

8:03 - He notices me, and asks who I am. I tell him.

8:05 - 2 boys and 1 girl have alto recorders with them. Teacher says that last week 16 kids said they would bring their recorders. No comments from class. He asks those who have recorders with them to tootle a bit on them. He tells girl to open top piece of her recorder a fraction of an inch to correct tone. He explains consequences of this action for pitch of recorder.

8:14 - He takes out his accordion. The three pupils play a tune on their recorders. He tries to get them to play in rounds.

8:18 - This doesn't work, and he tells them to forget about it.

8:20 - He is trying to get class to be quiet, and plays a few chords on his accordion.

8:22 - He starts playing a song, the class is noisy, he stops. He keeps asking for quiet without raising his voice. The kids do not seem to be paying much attention to him.

8:24 - He plays through a song about Galilee very quickly and quietly. Song has only three notes.

8:27 - Class still noisy. He tries to get pupils to accompany him in song and on the three recorders.

8:30 - Finally, he is reasonably (not entirely) successful in getting kids to sing, but cuts out the recorder accompaniment. Pupils completely disregard him when he asks them collectively or individually to stop talking, turning around, etc.

8:32 - He suggests that they sing a Hanukka song, and he plays along on his accordion.

8:33 - He stops playing the accordion, asks the class to stop singing, they continue singing. They finish the song, start singing it again, in very raggedy fashion.

8:35 - He puts his accordion back in its case. The class is very noisy, almost every kid talking at once, he just stands there waiting for quiet.

8:36 - Class finally quiets down. He beats out a rhythm with his knuckles on the desk, asks who knows the name of the song. By the time he has finished, the class is restless and noisy again.

8:37 - He sends a boy out of the room for horsing around. Class suddenly quiets down.

8:38 - Two pupils tell him what they think the song is, and the class suddenly becomes noisy again.

8:39 - Class becomes quiet as suddenly as it became noisy, he doesn't say whether answers were correct or not. He beats out another tune on the desk, 1 pupil tells him what the song is, class becomes noisy again, with almost everyone in private conversations.

8:40 - Continuation of alternation of answers, noise, answers, noise . . . .

8:44 - Teacher sits down at desk, waits for quiet.

8:45 - He resumes rapping out rhythms, barely audibly. This keeps up.

8:50 - No letup in noise. The class suddenly starts a song on their own without him, and he just stands there until they finish singing.

8:51 - He sits down. These kids are behaving just the way Moroccans are stereotypically supposed to behave.

8:52 - Wordlessly, he leaves the room. Returns to tell me (in English) how uncomfortable he was with me in class, taking notes. Complains to me how music instruction is treated as a stepchild in schools. Walks away looking awfully sad.

In this grade, there were no other hours during which so much time was spent in trying to maintain decorum. In fact, there were few approaching it. The point that I want to make is an obvious one but it nevertheless has to be made explicit, especially in the context of Israel, because teachers never speak of disciplinary problems in connection with the children of Israel's elite, but only in connection with the children of lower status immigrants. As far as the children are concerned, this music teacher is unimportant: They see him only once a week, he does not give them any grades, and he has no contact with their parents. They are well behaved with their regular teacher, because, in addition to being quietly firm with them, she is the equivalent of what we (in the United

States) call a "home room teacher" -- she fills out the report cards that they receive three times a year, she is in contact with their parents, and it is her approval that they seek. In other words, Israeli children -- probably like all others in other societies -- cannot be characterized as behaving this way or that, but only in the context of specific situations, expectations, and reciprocal behavior on the part of teachers.

Naturally, children do not turn their moods on and off like water coming out of a faucet. They had become rowdy, by any standards, during this music lesson. It is not surpising that it had a spillover effect on the next hour, but let us see how their regular teacher handled it and how the children responded.

9:00 - Recess over, kids start back to classes when bell sounds in yard.

9:02 - Bedlam, absolute bedlam, in the classroom.

9:03 - Teacher comes in to begin grammar lesson. She begins to try to quiet them down.

9:05 - She sends a boy out of the room, and class quiets down.

9:06 - Calls on pupils to read homework answers. Problem was to construct sentences with assigned verbs.

9:17 - All verbs finally covered, exercise over. Class becomes a little restless. Some kids who had not been called on start calling out sentences they had written. Teacher raises her voice slightly at a girl, saying, "Some children like to hear a teacher raise her voice. I don't like to raise my voice." Says O.K., she will call on a few of the pupils who didn't have a chance to read their answers. Most of the class is participating and following the answers. A few kids start calling out answers without being called on.

9:19 - Again scolds kids quietly for talking out of turn.

9:20 - Everyone has had a chance to read answers. Teacher starts a new problem, conjugation of verbs, and asks for oral answers before they start writing . . . .

This lesson ended at 9:42, and my protocol for the remainder of the hour does not contain a single reference to discipline or the maintenance of decorum in the classroom. I am certain that if I had a tape-recording of the music and grammar lessons of this class and played it to an Israeli audience that did not know its source (and erased all references to the alto recorders, because that would reveal the student's socioeconomic status), they would insist that these were two different classrooms; I am sure that many would also claim that the first was a classroom made up of children of immigrants, while the second was not.

Now let us turn to Grade 4 of an urban upper-status boys' religious school whose teacher told me that he had "no particular problems" with this class. The teacher is a young man in his late 20s, who himself comes from an upper-status family. Without being able to quantify such an assertion, it was my impression that the relations between him and his students were among the warmest that I observed. His students seemed to love him, and I often got the impression that he reciprocated the sentiment. When he was able to get their attention, they would listen to him raptly and seemed to absorb what he taught them as so many sponges; he has the essential ingredient of a good teacher: he is a magnificent ham. The following section from my protocols from this class focuses on two themes. The first is his inconsistency; this is an important feature of Israeli classrooms and I will deal with it separately below. The second, which is to the point here, is that he was very gentle in situations in which other teachers -- those who define their pupils and their problems in group and pejorative terms -- would be screaming or using corporal punishment.

8:55 - Teacher enters classroom, all the pupils are standing at their desks. He says, "2,3." This is an abbreviation of "1,2,3," and at "3" everyone sits. He rummages around in his brief case, pupils sit silently.

8:57 - Class sings a song, led by teacher. (I suspect this is for my benefit.)

8:59 - Teacher calls for lesson (Mishnah). Then turns to several odds and ends, returns homework from previous day, and discusses problems separately with two different boys on either side of his desk, turning from one to the other ping-pong style. Again calls for lesson. Class becomes noisy and restless. He waits.

9:03 - Lesson starts with teacher asking boys for definitions of words from Mishnah text, such as differences between "ask" and "request." Then turns to word "distribution," as in connection with water for agricultural purposes. Most of his questions deal with subtleties of related words.

9:09 - Teacher notices one boy without a book in front of him. Ridicules him with sarcasm, class is silent.

9:10 - Lesson resumes. More on definitions of words.

9:12 - Teacher turns to write on blackboard, and repeatedly turns to class to try to get them to pay attention to what he is writing. He is not very successful, finally ridicules them, calling them infants who cannot pay attention. Pupils do not pay much attention to him, and boys in the rear of the class (those whom I can see most clearly) are drawing, talking, daydreaming. On the board, he has drawn a facsimile of a notebook page, with lines and margins.

9:14 - He tells class to take out notebooks. Shows the class precisely how he wants them to draw additional marginal lines on the left side of the page. Actually, his instructions are not very clear, and boys are looking at each other and each other's books for clarification.

9:17 - Teacher goes over to one boy to see if he has drawn his line properly. He talks to the boy, but class cannot learn from conversation whether the boy has done it properly or not.

9:18 - On the way back to the blackboard, he notices two other boys' notebooks, tells them that they have done it improperly, but does not tell them why it is wrong or wait to see if they do it properly.

9:19 - Checks the notebooks of two other boys, but he does not say anything about what they have done.

9:20 - The class is very restless, many private conversations are going on. Teacher calls for class' attention.

9:21 - Still does not have class' attention, and he is having difficulty in getting it. Finally tells the class that he wants everyone to sit with folded arms. Only six boys do so. [Thus far, out of 26 minutes, 9 have been spent involving the boys in actual learning. This appears to be about average; it is lower than in the previously described school, but higher than other schools.]

9:23 - Teacher now turns to write assignment of "page" that he has drawn on the board. He writes individual words on the board, similar to those discussed from 9:03-9:12, and asks questions of the class about each as he writes it. A few children call out answers. These are the only ones who seem to understand what he wants. They ask each other (and one of them even asked me!) what he wants, but they do not ask the teacher. At one point, 7 kids from different parts of the room called out answer to one question. No reaction from teacher.

9:26 - He tells class to put down their pencils. He waits for them to do so.

9:27 - Teacher gives the class a different short assignment to write: summary of the text they have been studying in Mishnah. They start writing.

9:29 - He interrupts what they are doing and tells them that he also wants them to give definitions and associations to the words that he has listed on the board. Almost all the pupils seem to be working on the assignment.

9:33 - Class' noise and restlessness has built up again. Teacher tells the class that he wants everyone to sit with folded arms. 8 boys do. About 12 of the pupils seem to be paying absolutely no attention to anything that is going on.

9:35 - After simply standing there for 2 minutes, teacher asks, "Who wants to read aloud?" Only about 8 hands are raised. Teacher looks around class.

9:36 - Calls on several boys, each of whom reads one sentence from text.

9:37 - One boy asks a question about the meaning of one of the sentences (this is a boy who was born in England, and who speaks English with a crisp upper-U English accent; his Hebrew is also excellent). The noise level of the class suddenly rises to a pitch. I cannot tell whether the teacher has answered the question.

9:38 - Teacher finally gets the class to quiet down. Then he whispers, "let's work."

9:38.5 - Teacher starts to give another -- and different -- written exercise, and as he does so the din in the class builds up again as the boys wonder what the assignment is. His instructions are not at all clear. (It is the assignment, it turns out, that he had given at 9:27.) He goes around the room to see whether the boys are doing the assignment properly, but a lot of the kids are puzzled about what they have to do. Some are doing the assignment from 9:21. He only checks on half the room, disregarding the other half.

9:43 - Announces that those who have completed the exercise can leave for outdoor recess. Boys start straggling out in twos and threes.

9:45 - Bell rings for recess, which lasts until 9:55.

The teacher of Grade 7 in this school admitted to having problems: some boys were more highly motivated than others, some were brighter than others, some were able to get more help at home than others with their work, and so forth. By the time pupils reach Grade 7, as noted, they are not only taught by their regular teacher (our equivalent of a "home-room teacher") but also by special subject teachers, as in mathematics, English, science, and -- depending on the school -- one or two other subjects as well. My protocols of the class when it was conducted by their regular teacher shows almost no interruptions for disciplinary reasons, while the protocols for the geography and science lessons, which are taught by different teachers, reveal a considerable number. But this does not mean that all special subject teachers are preoccupied with discipline; neither the principal nor the English teacher (a woman) interrupted their lessons for discipline, which is not to say that there were no infractions of the rules against private conversations during their classes.

My observation period in this school's Grade 7 coincided with one of the worst cold waves that Israel had known in many years. The cold was compounded by a steady dampness which soaked just about everything. My journal for my second day at this Grade 7 contains the following note: "Today was probably my worst day here [in Israel]. It was so bitterly cold that every one of my muscles felt absolutely tight all the way up and by the time classes ended I felt as though my feet were on the verge of frostbite. I do not think I would have been able to take any more."

Like most other schools, this one is built out of a combination of stone and mortar; its floors are of stone. Unlike some others, it is not heated. Where there is no central heating, each classroom is provided with a kerosene stove which is lit in the morning. However, many Israelis believe that "heat is unhealthy" and, to remain within regulations, teachers almost invariably keep the stove's flame at the lowest possible level. Furthermore, these stoves are kept in a front corner, near which the teacher can stand, but a considerable distance even from the closest students. On the day just referred to from my journal, several pupils sat in class in coats and gloves.

Now, aside from the fact that such a milieu is not particularly conducive to learning, it has an important physiological effect: it produced the involuntary reflex of moving the body to maintain an adequate heat level. Hence, among schoolchildren, it results in a considerable amount of fidgeting, turning, standing up, and the like. In this class, with the exception of the science and geography teachers, this did not produce any adverse reaction. As a matter of fact, when I commented to the teacher about the cold he said, "Yes, but the children are lucky, they can keep moving around. You have to sit perfectly still all these hours." In line with his perception of his pupils, he is able to accept and tolerate this, in contrast to teachers in other schools.

However, teachers' perceptions of their pupils -- and their corresponding treatment of them -- is not illustrated only by the maintenance of discipline. These perceptions also have their consequences in the intellectual level imposed on the pupils. The data gathered in this study lead to the conclusion -- as noted -- that as pupils are perceived and treated, so they will behave. But this behavior is not only physical and decorous; it is also intellectual.

In a suburban coed secular school, in which approximately 22% of the children are offspring of immigrants from Asian and North African countries, all classes beginning with Grade 4 -- though not all sections of them -- have a special arithmetic teacher, a rather remarkable woman about whom I will have more to say when discussing sources of change in Israeli education. While not particularly "liberal" in her attitudes to such immigrants and their offspring outside the school -- she is also quite jingoistic in her political attitudes -- she defined her classroom problems solely in terms of IQs of her pupils. In contrast to her extracurricular attitudes and behavior, she becomes quite "color blind" as soon as she enters a classroom. The following is an excerpt from my protocols for an arithmetic lesson that she taught in Grade 4 during the week that I was there; by contrast, there are many Grades 4 in which children were still learning to count by using matchsticks, always in classes in which children were perceived as groups and pejoratively by their teachers.

11:21 - She writes on board: 9x9 = 9x10-9x1. (She underlines digits to the right of the multiplication signs.) The pupils see this, and then she leads them into a discussion of 19x10-19x1 = 171; 58x9 = 58x10-58x1.

11:25 - She asks class for general principle governing 9x. Then gives the class 67x9, and most of them figure it out in their heads in about 35 seconds. As soon as they do, she compares for them: 67x9 = 670-67 = 603 and 60x9+7x9 = 603.

11:29 - Again asks class for rule of 9x.

11:30 - Gives class 98x9 to do in their heads. About 6 kids get it in about 10 seconds. Calls the longer multiplication way of solving the problem, "grandmother's way." [The full significance of this should be clear.]

11:32 - Tells class to take out notebooks but only to write answers, not for working out problems.

11:33 - 79x9.

11:34 - 69x9.

11:35 - 45x9.

11:35:30 - 99x9.

11:36 - "Pencils Down." Teacher reads the answers to them. Then she asks the kids to explain aloud how she derived the answers. (This is all sustained and uninterrupted.) She asks the class to do 99x9 the "easy way" and "grandmother's way," as well as by other procedures that different pupils used. Gives several more problems, like 89x9, and tells them to write answers in books.

11:42 - 69x9. I see a few kids doing this by the long method ("Grandmother's").

11:42:30 - 29x9.

11:43 - 79x9.

11:43:30 - Calls for attention.

11:44 - Repeats these questions at half-minute intervals.

11:46 - Asks class how many got answers which all ended in 1. Calls on a girl to read her answers. About half the class seems to have gotten all of them.

11:47 - Writes these above problems on blackboard and demonstrates the rule again.

11:50 - Puts homework assignment on board: 53x9; 49x9; 51x9; 63x9; 91x9; 39x9.

11:53 - Pupils finish copying assignment. They pack brief cases and she sits and jokes with them.

11:55 - Games. 3/4x100:15-4/5.

11:57 - 1/8x96-1/6:2.

11:59 - 1/5x100-1/4-1/5.

12:00 - Bell rings, she gets up, they ask for another problem, she smiles and says, "Goodbye."

There is no need to comment about this lesson, except to make two points briefly. First, this is an excellent index of what children at this age are capable of doing and thinking. Second, and not unrelated, it demonstrates the capacities of children -- regardless of their socio-economic background -- for sustained and uninterrupted concentration. My protocols for this hour, like many others in this grade, do not show a single interruption for disciplinary reasons. The reasons for this, I think, are clear.

To what extent is "good teaching" -- by any definition -- a function of selection of teachers? This question may seem gratuitous, but it is not. Naturally, good teaching depends on good teachers, but there is an even more fundamental question; actually, the question can be subdivided into two problems. First, can a good teacher perform with equal adequacy in any school? I think the answer to this is no; as we will see in the section below on sources of change in Israeli education, the latter teacher is not only in full rebellion against Israeli patterns of education but, more important in this connection, she is able to carry out this rebellion in her teaching because her principal protects her and approves fully of what this teacher is doing. The extent of this rebelliousness will start to become evident from a description below of her science class in Grade 7. Second, and following directly from this, the presence or absence of good teachers in an Israeli school depends in very large measure on the principal who may or may not exploit the potentials inhering in the autonomy which continues to be enjoyed by individual schools. The recruitment of teachers to individual schools in Israel is a very complicated phenomenon or, to be more accurate, is an aspect of the educational system that is difficult to learn about. The principal of this school was evasive (to put it mildly) about how he has managed to recruit so many good teachers. From what I have been able to piece together, his protekzia with school inspectors plays an important role in this.

Ideally, the system is supposed to work as follows. When a teacher has received a teaching license after graduating from a teacher's college or from the university, he or she is required to spend two to four years in a Development Town or rural area before being eligible for an urban position, which most want. (To be eligible for a job in Tel Aviv, the "apprenticeship period" is four years; Jerusalem requires two years, at a minimum.) The reason for this rule is simple and rational. Most beginning teachers want urban jobs, especially unmarried girls. Without this rule, there would be a terrible shortage of teachers outside the large cities. (One of the consequences of this is a high turnover of teachers in the non-urban schools.) Teachers who apply for jobs in urban schools are supposed to be assigned as vacancies become available, and they are placed by local inspectors, not by the school's principal. When a job becomes available in the school under discussion, the principal asks his inspector to fill it with the best teacher he knows, not necessarily from the pool of teachers in non-urban schools who are applying for urban jobs. More often than not, he will recommend a teacher already at work in a school in this city whom he has observed; he will suggest to the teacher to apply for transfer to this school. The principal "uses the system" assiduously. Unfortunately, I cannot go into any detail about the life-history and career of this principal; he is unique among Israeli principals. Even the barest facts about him would disclose his identity to many people in the country, and I am following a rigid policy of not revealing the identities of any of the people with whom I have had contact.

Nevertheless, decentralization and its correlative autonomy of individual schools -- to be discussed below -- has important consequences for the quality of education that children receive. (This not only accounts for very good teaching, but also for the horrid teaching that is concentrated in other schools; this must not be overlooked when evaluating the relative merits of centralization and decentralization.) But this must also be balanced with an awareness of the effects of individual teachers; neither variable can be considered alone. For example, an experiment was inadvertently carried out in this school in arithmetic instruction. The school is divided into three sections. For budgetary and administrative reasons, 1967-1968 was the first year that the arithmetic teacher being discussed could be freed from teaching one class and assigned to teaching arithmetic and science for most of the school. During 1966-1967, she was the general teacher of Grade 3 (those who were in Grade 4 during my observation period). Thus, one section of this grade had her instruction in arithmetic for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years at the time of my observations, that is, those who had her as a teacher for an entire year in Grade 3 as well as the half year in Grade 4 at the time of my visit. This groups was Grade 4^2 during this period. Also for administrative reasons, it was not possible for her to be assigned to arithmetic classes in Grade 4^3.

During one of my breaks in my class-observation schedules, prior to my two 3-day visits in this school, I attended the arithmetic classes of its Grades 4^2 and 4^3. (Since these were outside my predetermined sample, I did not use my regular timetable recording.) This is the arithmetic taught in 4^2, who, at the time of my visit, were being taught this subject by this remarkable teacher for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.

She began the hour with a problem in adding a series of numbers: "How many candles are lit in all during Hanukka?" (The custom during this holiday, which lasts 8 days, is to light one candle on the first night of the holiday, two on the second, three on the third, and so forth.) She shows the class how to use symbols, such as

$\frac{(\square+\triangle)\,0}{2}$, where $\square$ = the first in a series, $\triangle$ = the last in the series,

and 0 = the total of the series. She then transposed these to $\frac{(a+z)n}{2}$.

In this connection, she said to the class, "These symbols are used all over the world, in Indonesia, Russia, even by Nasser." (Like other statements made by her, I never heard such a statement, directly or by implication, from any other teacher in all the schools that I have visited.) She then showed them how to construct $\frac{(B+A)C}{2}$ and gave them a series of problems to solve without writing, using the formula, such as, 10+20 . . . +50; 20+40 . . . +100. She then trapped them with 14+28+36+140, and some of the pupils immediately saw the trap. She then wrote out a series of such problems on the blackboard, with only the answers to be written in their notebooks:

1) 11, 22, 33, 44, 55, 66, 77
2) 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 . . . 25
3) 8, 16, 24, . . . 88
4) 4, 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19
5) 17, 34, 51, 68, . . . 187

She allowed them about three minutes in which to do these, and then called for answers. After these were completed, she gave them oral problems to be done without writing, such as $\frac{8}{8} \times 72 + 1 : 17$.

When the bell rang, there were loud sounds of disappointment. The class seemed enthralled through the lesson.

Now, let us look at an arithmetic lesson conducted on the same day by a different teacher in Grade 4^3; the special-subject teacher has never taught this group. The lesson began with an oral drill in multiplication and then a discussion between 10s, 100s, and 1000s. This was followed by a period of dictation of numbers in the 1000s. She then wrote out a series of numbers on the blackboard -- 5251, 5079, 5200, 5010, 5215, 5001 -- and told the pupils to write them in their notebooks in order of descending magnitude. She then repeated the same procedure with 100,000s. The lesson ended with a problem which she wrote out on the board: A man earns IL. 720 a month. He spends 1/8 of his earnings for (his children's) education, IL. 470 for household necessities, and IL. 85 for miscellany. How much is left over? She allowed them two minutes in which to work out the problem, at which point the bell rang.

This unusual "experiment in nature" helps to underscore the idea that what goes on in a classroom is not necessarily a function of a school per se, but rather of the instruction and treatment that children receive. Further -- and more dramatic -- examples of this will be provided below. But what is necessary to ask, at this point, is whether the predominating social stratum in a school affects teachers' perceptions of their pupils and their resulting behavior toward them. It would be very tempting to argue along these lines, partly because it fits so well with current social science dogma. It is true that there are "better" teachers in urban schools in which there is a preponderance of upper-status pupils. I think, however, that it would be more realistic to say that teachers tend to behave more humanely and more respectfully toward their pupils in these schools; "socially better" schools tend to elicit the "better side" of teachers' natures.

But this is not entirely true, as the rest of the data indicate and to which I now turn. And it is these data which demonstrate the unavoidable need to study an educational system on a national basis, rather than in selected communities, as has been the custom until now.

Earlier in this chapter, I described the behavior of a teacher of Grade 4 in a lower-status suburban coed secular school; this teacher described her class as a "market place" -- and the pupils responded in kind. More than 50% of the parents of the pupils in this school are immigrants from Asian and North African countries and almost 75% of them are manual workers. But Grade 7 in this school is a very different affair from Grade 4 and, from what I could gather from my impressions of other classes, quite different from the rest of the school. Their teacher is a tall pretty young lady who is also about 25, unmarried, and quite softspoken; she is a third generation Israeli. When I first met her and asked her my leading diagnostic question about the problems in her class, she told me that there were many problems due to the heterogeneity of the class. I did not have the demographic data for the class at this time, and expected, when I asked her what she meant by heterogeneity, a discourse on the ethnic composition of the group. But she surprised me by saying that the boys in the class were much brighter and further along than the girls. When I asked why this was so, she said that she herself could not understand the difference. Although I kept pressing her on the question, she did not resort to the ethnic factor. As an illustration, she pointed out to me that she teaches the most advanced track in mathematics, and the group is made up almost entirely of boys.

Her class is a model of decorum; she never raises her voice and there is no basic difference between my protocols for this Grade 7 and those in the urban upper-status coed secular school, described above. Can she be described as "exceptional," or can we say that her behavior is predictable from her perception of her pupils? To illustrate that the latter seems to be the case, let us turn to a Development Town coed secular school in which approximately 98% of the children's parents are immigrants from Asian and North African countries, and all of whom are manual workers.

The teacher of this school told me that her main problems centered around two children in the class with very low IQs, but that she had no disciplinary problems. She is Israeli born, and has lived in this Development Town with her husband, who is also a teacher, for five years. (It will be recalled that most teachers in Development Towns tend to live outside the towns. It was a sampling accident that she as well as the Grade 7 teacher in this school lived in the town.) The following is an excerpt from my protocols for this class.

8:02 - Bell and lineup of entire school outside. Principal leads school in a minute of calisthenics. [I have seen this practice in other Development Towns, as well as in some old towns, but never in cities. Interestingly, when the principal of this school was absent because of illness, this was dispensed with.] Five kids in front row read lines of a selection about Jerusalem, its symbolic quality for Jews everywhere, and the Wall. [This was 11 months after the 1967 war.]

8:10 - Children in classroom.

8:12 - Teacher takes attendance.

8:15 - Lesson in composition, homework notebooks out. Teacher calls on kids to read one sentence each.

8:20 - Notebooks closed. Discussion of their outing last week, places they went to (in central part of the country, requiring them to sleep away from home three nights) and all the things they saw at each place. Teacher's voice shrill at the beginning of the first sentence each time she begins a new topic, then it drops.

8:34 - Discussion ends. Teacher tells them to write composition on "My favorite place on the outing." Asks them to write 3-4 sentences.

8:34.5 - Asks first for oral "essay" on one of the factories they visited. Boy gives a 1-sentence report, she calls on another boy.

8:37 - Teacher says that they are too brief. Says, "Let's put one up on the board." Starts by putting title on the board. Kids give sentences and she writes them on the board. She provides an organizational outline for them.

8:43 - Teacher finishes writing essay on board, 7 sentences. Calls on a boy to read it. Then calls on another boy to read it.

8:44.5 - Tells kids to copy this from the board and to use it as a model for a composition, which they will do at home. Seven kids line up at wastebasket to sharpen pencils. Class working very quietly, she does not say anything if anyone happens to talk.

8:58 - For the first time, asks for no talking. It is still taking 3 kids all this time to copy seven sentences.

9:00 - Arithmetic lesson. Sends boy to board to do: $17\overline{)68\quad}$, has him do it aloud from the board.

9:02 - Sends girl to board to do $18\overline{)54\quad}$.

9:03.5 - Stops to scold kids for talking. This is homework review.

9:04 - Review over. Books closed. Teacher turns now to more complicated division. Puts problem on board: A group of 26 pupils went on an outing. The outing cost IL182. How much did the outing cost each pupil?

9:05 - Calls on 3 kids to read the problem aloud.

9:06 - Discusses with class how to work out the problem.

9:08 - Sends boy to board to do the problem.

9:10 - Another boy goes to board to check out the answer. Both get it right.

9:11 - Calls on several kids to give the answer in sentence form. Teacher now changes the problem to 1L196, has boy go to board to work it out. He does.

9:20 - Sends boy to board to do $14\overline{)126}$.

9:21 - Sends girl to board to do $18\overline{)144}$.

9:24 - Notebooks out. Teacher writes rules for division on board.

9:30 - Problem on board: $14\overline{)126}$ and works it out *for* them to illustrate rules on board.

9:31 - Kids writing, she puts homework assignment on board: to *copy* and solve problems in textbook.

9:33 - Kids who have finished copying go out to wash their hands for snack-time. Milk distribution.

9:37 - Forbids talking during snack time.

9:40 - Bell, kids out for recess.

In view of the decorum and level of instruction in this class -- arithmetic and science are at the same level as in the urban upper-status secular Grade 4, and the children here were as decorous with their music teacher as they were with their regular teacher, by contrast to the behavior of the former pupils -- it must be asked, is there a process of selectivity by which the least bigoted teachers are recruited to Development Towns? I do not think that the teacher just described, for example, is any less bigoted than the teachers whom I have described earlier. I do not think that it is accidental that this teacher's two "IQ" problems were the darkest skinned girls in the class, though there were boys who were darker skinned than the girls. I observed similar correlations in the other classes that I observed in this Development Town.

For example, on the Tuesday morning that I was in this Grade 4, a girl was disturbing two pupils in front of her, poking them, pulling their hair, and the like. In characteristic fashion, the teacher simply and quietly moved the girl to the rear of the room, where there was an empty seat, with no one in front of her. She is one of the two "IQ problems"; she is not only dark skinned but also somewhat obese (dark skinned obese girls seem to have a very bad time of it, possibly because they deviate so much from the Israeli ideal of slim blondes). She also wears gold button-earrings, which dramatically emphasize her ethnic origin. Until this point, the teacher treated her as she treated all the other children in the class. But shortly before the 10 a.m. recess, the teacher noticed that the girl was fingering two coins. Instead of telling the girl to put them away -- which her behavior toward other children would lead one to expect -- the teacher took the coins away from her and loudly scolded her, saying that coins are not to be played with in school. After she took the coins away, the teacher made the girl stand and angrily asked her why she was playing with them. Like the persecuted children in other schools described above, the girl stood in her place, staring straight ahead, not answering. This made the teacher even angrier, and she began to shout at the girl. At first, she had told the girl that she would get the coins back at recess, but when the girl did not answer, she told her that she would not get the coins back until school ended at 1 p.m.

Usually, an investigator is able to draw his conclusions only from what he observes. Thus, for example, when one observes very "poor performance" in a classroom, especially among children of a disenfranchised ethnic group, it is not possible to know which factors are at work in causing this quality of performance. Similarly, it is often difficult to know -- as I have noted several times previously -- the extent to which the observer himself is a factor affecting his data. But occasionally, accidents occur in the method of data collection which can result in data that are highly illuminating.

An Israeli friend of mine, a psychologist, has recently been conducting a study of leisure activities among Israeli schoolchildren; she is a very softspoken and considerate person. Her sample ranged over the gamut of socioeconomic and ethnic groups and one of the groups in her sample was the above class; her study was conducted a year after my own observations. Importantly, her data were gathered by questionnaire, not by direct observation. In discussing her experiences -- and initially not knowing that I had observed this particular class -- she told me that she had never seen as uncomprehending a group as these children. They did not understand such simple instructions as, "Now take out your pencils," and could not follow her guides in filling out the questionnaires. After listening to her account for a while, I told her that I had observed this group but I saw absolutely no similarity between what I had observed and what she had experienced. The only conclusion to which I could come was that she was the victim of these children's "defensive stupidity," the mechanism that is often observed in disenfranchised groups when people have to deal with upper-status strangers. It takes a considerable amount of psychological security to fill out a questionnaire or do an experimental test without transferring feelings from classroom examinations, and it is not surprising that these lower-status children -- who are very unfamiliar with strangers, especially very well-dressed people, such as this lady psychologist -- will adopt a variety of defenses to camouflage their fear of failure in front of someone whom they have no reason to trust. Another psychologist -- a non-Israeli man -- who was conducting a series of experimental tests among Israeli university students told me that he realized that many months of his work had been made worthless by his sudden (and late) discovery that Israeli university students cheat on experimental tests as much as they do on regular examinations.

Because of my clothes, accent, and other aspects of my appearance, it was clear to most people that I am not an Israeli. My research assistant, who conducted part of the classroom observations during the second year of the research in Israel, is an Israeli and she was always recognized as one. Very soon after she began her classroom observations, it became clear to me that the children in the schools were reacting to her differently from the way they did to me. Specifically, they tended to keep their distance from me during recess periods, and I found it very difficult to engage them in conversation. They were very attracted to her, on the other hand (she is also extremely pretty), and tried to engage her in conversation during recess breaks.

One of the schools in which she conducted classroom observations was a state-supported religious school which served several moshavim; the children were almost exclusively the offspring of immigrants from Asian countries, such as Yemen, Iraq, and the like. According to most Israeli educationists and social scientists, children from these ethnic groups have the greatest difficulty in grasping materials that are easy for European children. The principal of this school, who also holds a minor part-time position in the Ministry of Education, is an outspokenly bigoted man, especially with respect to members of the disenfranchised ethnic groups, and is very dislikedby his teachers. Morale among the teachers in his school is extremely low, and most teachers there have only one goal: to secure transfer to a different school.

I had myself observed such groups of children and I was thus not surprised when my assistant's protocols for Grade 7 in this school contained this observation at one point: "These kids say the strangest things throughout the hour that have nothing to do with the subject." Later (on the same day) she noted, as she did on other occasions in this school, "One boy reads his answer [to a homework question] and I cannot understand a single word; he has a very strange accent." Monosyllabic and single-word answers to questions are frequent in this class, as in many others, like the Development Town Grade 4 described above, in which "essays" consisted of one sentence.

Up to this point, these children conform to the stereotypes about them, and they present concrete evidence of their "cultural deprivation" or "disadvantage." But the stereotype is shakenwhen, as on the second day of my assistant's observations in Grade 7, these children crowded around her during the major morning recess period and engaged in long and excited conversation with her about an army car that was broken into and stripped down to its frame over the weekend in the moshav. This was toward the end of October 1968, and gradually the conversation shifted to other topics; one of the most interesting -- initiated by the children -- was the candidacy of George Wallace for presidency of the United States. These pupils did not know that the young lady to whom they were talking was employed by an American. (I cannot help remembering my visit, many years ago, to an isolated northern Okinawan village in late 1953 which was considered to be so removed from the world that linguists used its inhabitants as informants to record "pure" and "uncontaminated" Okinawan Japanese; the village was so "isolated" that entrance to it was only by foot. Within the first few minutes that I entered the village (1) I saw a relatively recent copy of the Saturday Evening Post lying in the street and (2) a man approached me and asked for my opinion of the "witch-hunts" by Senator Joseph McCarthy.)

What was the damage done to these children during their first six or seven years of schooling? What kind of adjustment (or, as some would have it, adaptation) had these children been forced to make that, in the formal context of a classroom, they spoke irrelevantly, in almost unintelligible accents, in monosyllables, or in truncated phrases? The point that I want to make is not so much about the shaky ground on which many social science and educationist formulations stand, but rather that it is impossible or unrealistic to take a population of children or anyone else, palpate them for their responses, or examine them in any other way, at a suspended moment in time and then conclude that they are this, that, or the other. Individuals as well as societies have histories, and it is necessary to probe those histories -- assuming, of course, that we do not wish histories to repeat themselves.

As suggested by the study of Israeli children's leisure activities, referred to above, it is possible to ask about many of our educationist formulations: What do we really know? Can we say that we know anything about children -- or any other human beings for that matter -- who, for one reason or another, have been frightened of the world, of teachers, examiners, strangers, representatives of lightskinned and well-dressed (or uniformed) middle class authority, and the like, when we have examined them for a few minutes in artificial and threatening situations? It is irrelevant whether the tests and probes and evaluations are culture-bound or slanted in favor of the middle classes. Such questions as to the validity of these tests are unanswerable -- hence, perhaps, their attractiveness. Most formulations about culturally deprived children are based on fragments of children's lives. But if human behavior is adaptive or adjustive, it must be asked: To what are these children adjusting or adapting? I hypothesize that much of their observed responses are adjustments to their deprivation of access to culture by their teachers and other representatives of established power structures, in addition to their home milieus.

Nor do I consider that the present research is more conclusive than other research, which I am criticizing here. Spending six (to say nothing of three) days in a classroom -- which, as I have indicated, introduces its own elements of artificiality -- is only a fraction less invalid than testing children for half an hour out of their lives. Hence, what I suggest on the basis of my own tentative findings, is a more extensive investigation: Using the method that I have developed in this research for sampling a national culture -- or any other method, for that matter -- I propose that we take about 75 to 100 groups of children in different sections of the United States, and one or two other countries in which such problems exist, and follow them longitudinally for about 10 years, beginning with nursery school, in order to learn what factors influence the intellectual and social behavior of children. Such a study would be without intervention on the part of the investigating team; it would use as its framework the concept of "an experiment in nature." Needless to say, there is room for many kinds of elaborations in such a study, such as intensive record-keeping on individual children and their families, studies of individual teachers, and the like. My purpose here, however, is not to write a research proposal, but to propose that such a proposal be written -- and supported. It will tell us a great deal more about children as human beings in particular sociocultural contexts than several hundred studies of their lever-pressing responses.

What the data gathered in this research also suggest is that social science and educationist hypotheses about children in different socioeconomic and ethnic groups have been laboring under a self-fulfilling false prophecy. The prophecy is that these people come from such "primitive" backgrounds -- that they are so fundamentally different from all the rest of "us" -- that it will be difficult to "raise" them to the level enjoyed by the dominant groups of the population without special intervention or treatment. What the data gathered in Israel also demonstrate -- conclusively, I believe -- is that the special projects in the schools of Development Towns (extended schoolday, special assistance for children, and the like) are educationally irrelevant -- as shown by the failure of the very same projects in similar populations in urban areas and old towns. It is the social boundaries maintained by the Development Towns that appear to have a much greater effect on the schoolchildren than special educationist projects. Aside from the fact that these statements often have racist overtones -- noticeable, for example, is the frequent associations of cultural status and the subjects' skin color, and the like -- the biological presuppositions in this are made even clearer when they are applied -- as in Israel -- to immigrants' *children*, suggesting that this cultural "deprivation" is somehow inherited. Instead of focusing on specific *conditions* -- such as economic and political disenfranchisement -- which may perpetuate different cognitive or customary orientations, the emphasis in almost all social science writings about these people is on the "culture" that they have *brought* with them. If the assumption were not that this status of culture is inherited, why is it also applied to the immigrants' *children*? The Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture is now preparing a special and separate textbook in science education for Iraqi children, or, more accurately, the children of Iraqi immigrants. People in the ministry, when questioned about this, say that these children are "incapable of learning science in the same way as European children." This project was commissioned by the ministry in early 1968; coincidentally, this was also the time that Iraqi parents, more noticeably than other immigrant groups, began clamoring for better elementary-school instruction for their children; and Iraqi secondary school graduates -- that is, the few that there are -- began demanding access to post-secondary education. This science-textbook project is still (Summer, 1969) secret, and so the demands by Iraqis could not have been motivated by awareness of it. I suggest -- *j'accuse* -- that this systematized separateness in instruction is in the service of perpetuating ethnic separateness and disenfranchisement. The commission of separate textbooks for different ethnic groups as an official policy of the ministry and the behavior of teachers are of a single piece.

The false prophecy is fulfilled by the custom of social scientists (among others) of examining, evaluating, quantifying, and condescendingly writing about the "cultural deprivation" of disenfranchised groups while studiously ignoring the behavior toward these people by the dominant groups of the society (or the societies). For example,

S. N. Eisenstadt's The Absorption of Immigrants deals almost exclusively with "Oriental" immigrants; not only does it eschew analysis of the processes by which European immigrants were absorbed into Israeli society -- which would then lay bare the mechanisms that were unavailable to the former -- but it also disregards the attitudes and behavior of the Europeans toward the "Orientals" which helped to make their integration (acculturation) into the society so difficult. The same is true of Immigrants on the Threshold, by Judith Shuval. The implications of these studies, and others like them, are not lost on the general populace: the responsibility for successful or unsuccessful acculturation rests with the lower-status groups themselves.

An example of this influence by social scientists on others is to be found in a recently completed study by a group of cardiologists in Israel -- working under a grant by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare -- of medical reasons for absenteeism in a sample of Jerusalem schools, with special reference to etiologies of rheumatic fever. In many respects, this was a highly imaginative investigation, and the investigators were thorough enough to collect data -- largely through home visits by specially trained nurses -- on frequencies of absenteeism for non-medical reasons. Understandably using the guidelines provided by social scientists in Israel and the United States, these investigators analyzed their data in two separate but parallel sets: entire schools and ethnic-group memberships. What they found was that different schools show different frequencies of absenteeism for non-medical reasons and that "Oriental" children are more frequently absent for non-medical reasons than European children. These investigators were gracious enough to make their raw data available to me for a re-analysis; while the findings are still being creaked out of an ancient and overworked computer, the first set of print-outs (for only four out of forty schools) show a very enlightening pattern: While it is true that there is a higher rate of absenteeism for non-medical reasons among "Oriental" pupils, this rate drops as the frequency for non-medical absenteeism drops for the entire school. In other words, the determinants of behavior vis-à-vis school -- whatever these determinants are -- are not exclusively "cultural" or ethnic; my suspicion is that they are to be sought in the school milieu itself, in the treatment of children by their teachers and principals. In other words, I am hypothesizing that the classroom (or the school as a whole) has at least as great an impact on pupils as their "cultural backgrounds."

In conclusion, the foregoing is not a call for a vendetta against teachers, social scientists, educationists, or anyone else. These are people who work for a livelihood as agents of the state, and they are as much products of their social systems as they are perpetuators of them. Often, they do not know what they do, even as they devote themselves to rationality. We do not expect physicians, computer technicians, airline hostesses, judges, or others, to devote themselves to a self-consciousness about the underlying assumptions and cognitive orientations of the subsystems for which they work. That is not their task. In place of vendettas or breast-beating, what is needed instead is more empirically grounded research into the sources of power for

6

which various agents work, inquiry into what the "social system" really is, how its overall policies of privilege and disenfranchisement are formulated, transmitted, and carried out. For example, in Israel's 1965 parliamentary election, an Iraqi party -- ethnic political parties have a very long history in Israel -- polled more than 10,000 votes out of approximately 1,400,000. Nevertheless, because of Israel's rather unusual system of proportional representation, this party did not qualify for any parliamentary seats. Naturally, decisions about the minimum number of votes necessary for parliamentary representation are made in anticipation of the votes that different parties can be expected to poll, and these predictions are usually quite accurate. But what is necessary to know is who made that decision prior to the 1965 elections, why it was made, what brokerage bargains were made, and so forth. Only then will we begin to understand the ramifying processes which leads a teacher -- more accurately, large groups of teachers -- to define her pupils as "mentally disturbed because they come from such poor homes," and then proceed to treat them accordingly. Only then will we begin to understand the processes by which social scientists produce the kind of research that they do. That is, only then will we begin to understand what an "Establishment" really is.

After this chapter (and most of the remainder of this report) was sent to the typist, I received the results of a computer analysis of school absenteeism to which I had referred above. These data, as noted, were originally gathered in the course of a study of the etiologies and frequencies of rheumatic heart disorder; the investigation was in no way concerned with education per se, but records were kept according to school as a means of keeping track of pupils. My interest in these data was the result of my suspicion that the school atmosphere may have at least as much of an impact on children's school behavior as, let us say, their ethnic background or their traditional "culture." To an extent that I did not anticipate, this suspicion is borne out by the data.

The following table presents the mean daily frequency of absence for non-medical reasons in 40 selected schools in Jerusalem. Children's ethnic groups are determined by their fathers' countries of origin.

This table reveals several things of considerable importance. First, contrary to general conceptions about absenteeism for non-medical reasons among "Oriental" pupils in Israel, the mean frequency for these pupils is higher than for the other ethnic groups represented in their schools _in only 13 of the 40 schools_. (Two of these schools are exclusively "Oriental"; hence, this should really read that the rate is higher in 13 of 38 schools.) That children of Asian and North African descent are less regular than others in their school-related behavior is the first myth belied by these data.

Second, of the 12 schools in which there are children of American-Canadian descent, _their rate of absenteeism for non-medical reasons is the highest in 11_. This is important because it is another illustration, albeit obliquely, of the dominance of the school's atmosphere over "cultural background." With almost no exceptions, American-Canadian children in Israeli schools come from the most highly advantaged families. Generally, almost all of their parents have some college or university education, and all whom I have met place the highest valuation on education and regular attendance in school. We have already noted the importance of _chevra_ in Israeli life in general and in schools in particular. Children from American and Canadian backgrounds, however, tend to be brought up with a high valuation on individualism. In view of such a conflict over so basic an orientation, the latter children could be expected to find school to be somewhat stressful in Israel. More important, Americans and Canadians are often represented in Israeli ideology as the paragons of the values to which "Orientals" should aspire, especially in connection with habit and regularity, of which school attendance is one example. That children of Asian and North African descent are wanting in respect to the values represented by Western children is the second myth belied by these data.

Third, there is a marked tendency for the rate of non-medical absenteeism to rise for children of Asian-African descent as the rate

Frequency of Absenteeism for Non-Medical Reasons among Pupils in 40 Selected Jerusalem Schools, According to Place of Birth of Father

School	Percentage of Pupils whose Fathers Born in Asia or N. Africa in School	Frequencies of Absence for Non-Medical Reasons			
		America-Canada	Europe	Asia-North Africa	Israel
1	9	.83	.14	.19	.14
2	9	.20	.25	.29	.21
3	9	1.00	.77	.35	.72
4	13	1.00	.30	.45	.21
5	16	-	.30	.27	.30
6	16	.33	.29	.27	.20
7	18	1.25	.28	.27	.22
8	18	.80	.41	.57	.37
9	28	.75	.07	.23	.33
10	28	-	.33	.31	.29
11	28	.76	.50	.60	.65
12	32	1.00	.26	.21	.27
13	35	5.00	.70	.71	.50
14	44	-	.31	.48	.38
15	46	-	.38	.47	.23
16	53	1.00	.81	.74	.48
17	61	-	.27	.38	.35
18	61	-	.26	.45	.27
19	64	-	.42	.64	.74
20	64	-	1.07	.70	.75
21	70	-	.52	.91	.54
22	71	-	.29	.16	.30
23	71	-	1.00	.72	.77
24	74	-	.15	.44	.26
25	78	-	.81	.82	.80
26	79	-	.50	.61	.44
27	80	-	-	1.15	1.60
28	82	-	.87	.92	2.28
29	82	-	-	1.44	.50
30	83	-	3.00	1.42	.84
31	89	-	.70	.98	.33
32	91	-	2.50	1.38	.50
33	92	-	1.50	1.58	.62
34	94	-	2.81	1.59	.00
35	95	-	1.00	.62	-
36	95	-	-	1.20	.57
37	96	-	.00	.92	1.00
38	97	-	2.00	1.10	.00
39	100	-	-	1.48	-
40	100	-	-	1.84	-

rises for the entire school; when the overall rate drops for the entire school, it tends to drop for the "Oriental" children as well. Thus, when we evaluate these data alongside the general contention among sociologists and educationists that "culturally disadvantaged" children tend to perform less desirably in school than others, we are forced to consider the alternative hypothesis, that it is conditions within individual schools that affect children's behavior. Once again, the myth of "cultural disadvantage" seems to be belied by the data.

Fourth, aside from the American-Canadian group, the rate of absenteeism for non-medical reasons tends to increase for European-descended and Asian and North African-descended children as the proportion of the latter children relative to the total school population increases. This becomes especially noticeable when the Asian and North African group reaches a level of about 75% of the school population. In view of the propensity which has been observed of many Israeli teachers -- especially in urban areas, in one of which this study was carried out -- to define their pupils in terms of their group memberships and to treat Asian and North African children extremely negatively, it is not surprising to find that their rate of absenteeism for non-medical reasons increases as they predominate in respective schools. (It is difficult to evaluate the frequencies for the group of children whose fathers were born in Israel. One of the covert rules of Israeli social organization is, "Once an 'Oriental,' always an 'Oriental.'" That is, a child may be regarded as belonging to this group as long as his ancestry has its origins in an Asian or North African country, no matter how many generations previously. Teachers, like anyone else in the society, have "ways" of knowing these things; it is part of the Israeli cognitive apparatus.) Thus, I believe that the only conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that children -- like anyone else -- respond and behave according to specific and particular conditions which affect them immediately, rather than according to any "culture" or background; furthermore, when the concept of "culture" is used as a qualifying adjective -- as in "cultural deprivation," and the like -- it seems to become a pejorative which distorts perception. The anthropological myth of culture has outlived its usefulness and appears to have no socially redeeming qualities or virtues.

VIII

Decentralization, Demons, and Democracy

One of the major themes in much contemporary rhetoric from every direction of the political-ideological map is that control over life is rapidly passing to centralized nexuses of control, that is, to the central state, and that this implies a loss of "freedom" or "democracy." The conclusion that invariably accompanies such assertions is that control "must be returned to the local community" in the service of such ideals.

There are many levels of analysis which rended such slogans ludicrous. First, since it appears to be an inherent characteristic of people in positions of power to acquire more and more power, and to resist yielding the power that they have already acquired, such rhetoric implies that people who speak in the name of the state -- who control its agencies -- put themselves out of business. Less colloquially, the assumption in this is that such people should work against their own interests. Second, it is often difficult to find "the community" which is referred to in such ideological appeals. It is the vast and almost uninterrupted stretch that extends from north of Boston to mid-Virginia (and others like it in the Midwest and on the West Coast) or the area with Tel Aviv at its hub which includes almost half of Israel's 2½ million people? Such dense concentrations of population -- which are logical and inevitable outgrowths of urbanization, which is in turn an outgrowth of centralized states -- are increasing in size and number annually; they are an aspect of man's adaptation. Third, very few proponents of the current rhetoric oppose centralized control over pollution, centrally financed research leading to more effective contraceptives and antibiotics or organ transplants, centralized subsidies for schools, or centrally controlled air traffic as an ever increasing number of them travel by air to voice their views outside their own communities. What seems most curious about this anti-statist rhetoric -- and this leads me to the substance of this section -- is that it increases in volume and intensity as the state becomes stronger at the expense of the local community and at the same time that the individual enjoys a measure of liberty that increases almost daily and which had never before been known in human history. This is especially true in contemporary United States.

A major conclusion of this research is that inequality in a nation in respect to educational quality and opportunity is directly correlated with the degree to which autonomy is enjoyed by local groups, whether they are socially or territorially based, as in Israel and the United States respectively. Before turning to the data on which this generalization is based, it should be noted that there is a very fundamental logical basis to this. A centralized state is -- almost by definition -- committed to standards of uniformity throughout the nation which it governs, or what are technically known as universalistic criteria of recruitment and reward. Localized groups, on the other hand, are embodiments of -- and almost invariably committed to -- what are known as particularistic criteria, that is, standards of recruitment and allocation of privilege and reward that are consonant with local and specialized interests. For example, a religious group or faction that enjoys autonomy will, by definition, recruit and allocate rewards to its own members only. A petty state like Mississippi or Louisiana -- or a section of a northern American city -- will allocate privilege and opportunity only to those people who are members of locally enfranchised groups or factions. Whatever the reasons -- and those of the social sciences have not advanced much beyond the conventional wisdom that relies on explanations about "human nature" -- the members of a lineage, a _kibbutz_, a Puritan American community, or any other small settlement who are able to maintain separateness vis-à-vis the rest of the world, will tend to be suspicious of outsiders and care only for their own confreres. Furthermore, as I noted in my paper on "Social Boundary Systems," when such groups are able to maintain firm boundaries vis-à-vis others, one of their characteristics is that there is an eschewal of the tolerance of sustained outspoken dissent.

What must be borne in mind -- and this is indispensable to an understanding of all educational systems, including those in the United States and Israel -- is that the existence of a central state is not an all-or-nothing proposition. Most state systems, as observed earlier, denote a process of change: an antagonistic relationship between state agencies and local centers. This antagonism centers primarily around competitions for power and authority, that is, for autonomy in decision-making and implementation. Thus, implicit in the concept of the state in respect to most national societies is a process of attrition and resistance, and of usurpation and retention of power and authority. An inevitable aspect of such relationships between state agencies and local centers of control is -- in addition to the fact that all the people involved are parts of a single system -- the attempt by the state to impose universalistic standards on the society as a whole and the attempt by local centers and factions to retain their special vested-interest or particularistic standards. Whatever the outcome, it is almost always protracted and gradual.

The reason for this is that this "process" is not as impersonal as such generalizations suggest. The "process" is actually made up of hundreds upon hundreds of encounters between representatives of the many interest groups of the society: those speaking in the name of the state, local groups (territorial and social), factions, and so forth. These participants to give-and-take negotiations, advisory sessions, draftings of legislation, allocations of funds and resources, and the like, are not absolutely antagonistic to each other. Were this so, the parties would be wholly unable to talk to each other; this actually occurs in Israel where the most extreme religious group of the society (_N'turei Karta_,"keepers of the gates") do not "recognize"the state of Israel -- since they consider it a secular violation of God's will, which is that the state will only arise on the arrival of the Messiah -- and refuse to have anything to do with it. But normally, members of localized interests are committed to the state's existence, and those who speak in the name of the state are themselves products of the local groups with which they negotiate and bargain. Were this otherwise, either the state's representatives would not need to engage in give-and-take with their local counterparts or there would be such a complete standoff that representatives of localized interests would not "recognize" the state's legitimate interests to the extent that they were willing to negotiate with those speaking in its name.

Where do these "processes" -- the give-and-take negotiations, and the like -- occur? Often they take place over coffee and whisky or in similar situations; more formally -- at least officially -- they happen in committees. Many times, as I sat in these committee rooms as an observer, I rued that there is no "theory of committees" comparable to Weber's theory of bureaucracy. But that lacuna is understandable, since most social scientists capable of developing such a theory are academicians; since committees are the bane of academicians' existence, the latter can hardly be blamed for their reluctance to think about them unless it is unavoidable. It is in such encounters -- in determining curricular requirements and options, allocating funds, establishing requirements for teacher qualifications, setting administrative procedures, and the like -- that those speaking in the name of the state gain acquiescence from local representatives or disregard their claims and interests. It is in these encounters that one can gauge the influence of different groups in the society. When, for example, a committee appointed by the Minister of Education and Culture to set new standards of qualification for elementary and secondary school teachers is made up of people who speak in his name, in the name of the teachers' union, and in the name of some of the religious factions, but completely excludes anyone of Asian or North African descent, one gets a very good picture which groups' vested interests in the society are -- and have to be -- taken into account in the formulation of state policy. It is to the presence of representatives of such localized vested interests in policy forming groups or committees that I refer when I speak of the continued influence in a society by local groups or boundary systems. It is their continued presence in the councils of policy formation -- whether or not their demands are heeded -- that underlies (or means) the maintenance of particularistic standards in the society.

In the previous chapter, we saw a concrete example of the practice of systematized inequality on a daily personal level. To reiterate, I hypothesize that such behavior cannot be reduced to individual psychological or personality factors; instead, it has to be understood as concrete individualized expressions of the continued and formal recognition of separateness and inequality among the groups in the society. Naturally, the two -- personality and society -- are in feedback, but the data gathered in this research also leave no room to doubt that it is possible to break into the circle: existing social forms maximize and minimize individual predispositions. The continued inequality among ethnic groups as an aspect of social organization will elicit and maximize the cruelty and inhibition of scholastic aptitude about which we have read, under specific conditions. In particular, as suggested above, such behavior will be elicited from individuals in heterogeneous settlements in which some of the groups have almost no access to the means of political and economic control and in which special vested-interest groups (like religious factions) are able to maintain insularity with respect to state standards.

I would like to carry this line of analysis somewhat further in this chapter by an examination of other aspects of educational inequality throughout the society as a whole. In particular, the data have led to the conclusion that in those parts of the society in which people are most open to the influences of that state, largely because of the direct material dependence on it, school and classroom practices most closely conform to the state's standards and requirements. This leads to the situation in Israel in which, for example, elite secular urban schools and those in Development Towns most closely meet ministerial requirements. This, more than anything else in this research, has been the principal demonstration of the idea that social-class variables are inadequate predictors of school and classroom activities.

To remove this from the level of mechanistic theory, it may help to explain how such processes work by citing a small, but significant, incident in a committee of the Ministry of Education and Culture in which the subject under discussion was improvement of English instruction (which is in a rather deplorable state) in elementary and secondary schools. Present at the meeting were regional inspectors (equivalent to our district superintendents), several highly ranking members of the ministry, as well as those personnel most directly responsible for English-teaching policy. At one point, mid-way through the meeting, one of the regional inspectors, an orthodox religious man who holds his post by virtue of the fact that it has always been held by a member of the leading religious party in Israel (Mafdal), interjected, "Why do we have to teach English at all, when all the knowledge that is needed can be found in the vast sea of the Talmud?" The man was entirely serious, though the statement was later to become a butt of banter among other members of the committee in private. It does not require much imagination to anticipate that this man -- who rules over the schooling of tens of thousands of children -- would not go out of his way to implement the decisions of this committee. Later, when I asked another member of the committee -- himself an orthodox religious man, but whom I knew to oppose such fundamentalism -- why no one challenged this statement, he said, "I was so appalled to hear this in 1969 that I was too shocked to answer; anyway, it would do no good to argue with him. I assume that everyone else there felt the same way."

This raises another issue in which the correlations are clear but which I cannot explain. The more autonomous a group is within the society -- the firmer its boundaries vis-à-vis others -- the greater is its emphasis of traditionalism and its orientation to the past. I suggest that it is the continued presence of autonomous and boundary-maintaining groups in Israeli society -- and I think the same is true of Israel's neighboring countries, as well as others -- that is largely responsible for the overall orientation to the past in thought and education. Regardless of the sector of Israeli society about which one is speaking, the legitimation of the present by reference to the past is ubiquitous. In its most extreme form, this is found among the ultra-religious factions in their constant reference to traditional law. This is only slightly different from Israeli national and international policy which draws constantly on the Old Testament, whether in justification of policies of apartheid, the international status of Jerusalem, settlement of territory captured in the war of 1967 -- or the very existence of the Israeli state itself. It is found also in kibbutzim, in which policy debates about adjustments to conditions in the late 1960s contain repeated references to ideological slogans formulated in the 1920s and 1930s. I once happened to mention to a sociologist who is a prominent kibbutznik that, in an increasing number of kibbutzim, children are not required to work in the fields in agricultural work until the age of about 11 or 12. "But this is a deviation," he expostulated. In terms of an era when several kibbutzim shared one rickety tractor and every pair of hands was necessary to produce enough food to keep the group alive, it is a serious heresy. In terms of the late 1960s, when every kibbutz owns several of latest model tractors, and a large proportion of its produce is distributed from trailer-trucks with prominent Israeli trade names painted on their sides in major European countries, it is an adaptation which is completely consonant with the rest of human social evolution.

The orientation to the past -- its use as a legitimation of the present -- is an aspect of the same mode of thought of which religious social legitimation is also a part. It is not only an integral element of "new nationhood" but of societies in which local groups continue to retain autonomy. (Its abandonment as an accompaniment of the loss of autonomy is localized groups is known by a variety of names: deviation, revisionism, heresy.) As observed early in this report, the correlations between these factors are clear and present, and we must use them as points of departure in our analyses even though we cannot explain them.

Finally, before turning to the data themselves, I want to raise a very important question which has not been the subject of adequate research but which needs intensive and systematic investigation: How are the imperatives of different sectors and settlements in a nation -- such as Development Towns in Israel -- conveyed to people? There is no formal or explicit directive in Israel (or in any other society with comparable settlements, for that matter) which says, in one way or another, "Teachers and principals in Development Towns must adhere to the standards of the state to a greater extent that their counterparts in other sectors of the population." Intimately related to this, if not more important from those pointsof view of those who see education primarily in terms of inputs, is the question as it pertains to pupils. There is no question but that children of Asian and North African descent in Development Towns are more highly motivated and scholastically more advanced than their counterparts in urban areas or old towns. (An unpublished study just completed for the Israel Defense Forces has found that high school students in Development Towns scored higher in almost every subject in Gadna, the secondary school pre-military courses, than pupils in the rest of the country.) How is the ambience of a Development Town -- especially its openness with respect to the influences of the state -- communicated to them? How do we account for the following: Two Grades 7 (both in my sample), one in a Development Town and one in a city, both of which are made up almost exclusively of immigrants from Asian and North African countries and their descendants. In their weaving sessions, the girls are taught by the same teacher. The designs used by the girls in the Development Town Grade 7 are original, unusual, and intricate; their colors are warm, alive, and bright, and they are used in imaginative combinations. The contrast in the urban Grade 7 is remarkable. The designs of the girls in the latter are stylized, simple, and uninteresting; their color range is limited, and the colors that they do use are flat and discontinuous. Their teacher told me one day that she has gotten extra keys for the girls in the Development Town Grade 7 to their weaving room in the school, so that they can come there in their free time and work on their looms. I asked her whether she did the same in the urban school, and she was somewhat surprised by the suggestion, saying that it would not be possible to do something like that since not all the pupils there live within walking distance of the school. One of the interesting implications of the similarity in schooling at both ends of the socioeconomic scale is that the children in both are receiving similar training. While this, of course, is by itself insufficient to produce an overall similarity among them in adulthood -- since the whiplash of other forms of disenfranchisement or unequal opportunity can leave greater marks of its own -- it is an important development nevertheless. As we consider this, however, something else will make itself apparent, and this can be regarded as another aspect of educational inequality: In many schools, especially urban schools in which particularistic influences make themselves felt, children are often trained for an orientation to unpredictability and uncertainty; in many, they do not know from one hour to the next -- and sometimes from one minute to the next -- what they are going to be studying or even what is going to happen to them.

Turning to the data themselves, let us take the adherence or lack of adherence to schedules. What is the importance of scheduling? One of the characteristics of every culture is the routine that people follow, that is, the course of their procedures. A schedule, however, has a somewhat different connotation that mere routine. Not only does it imply fixity but it also has an official or legal implication. The word originally referred to an explanatory or supplementary paper or slip of parchment accompanying or appended to a document; during the 16th and 17th centuries it also referred to a codicil to a will. The regularity of routine connoted in the modern usage of the term continues to echo its original politico-legal meaning. Weber made clear the importance of regularity of function and behavior as an integral aspect of the "Protestant ethic."

Schedules are an important aspect of the regularity and predictability that are central features of central state control over the polity. (It is for this reason, among others, that the scheduling of public transport is often regulated by centralized bureaucracies.) But people have to learn to respond to schedules; these procedures for the allocation of time and energy must become part of the cognitive systems of the citizens, as part of their automatic responses to modes of actions that are imposed from without. By bringing students within this aspect of early training, an important means is provided for training for political, or politically based, obedience. This is an aspect of what is often referred to as political socialization. (In Tokugawa-Japan, for example, annual awards were given to pupils for regularity and punctuality. Note the proverbial watch that was given to people for half centuries of "loyality" to firms.)

As our baseline, let us take the officially published curricular requirements of the Ministry of Education and Culture for Grades 4 and 7. For ease of reference, they are repeated here; let us begin with state secular schools.

Table 8-1

Grade 4 Schedule for State (Secular) Schools

Subject		Number of Hours per Week
Prophets and Legends		5
Hebrew		5
Homeland and nature		3
Arithmetic		4
Physical education		2
Crafts		2
Art)		2
Music)		
Social hour		1
	Total	24
Agriculture (where conditions permit)		2
	Total	26

Table 8-2

Grade 7 Schedule for State (Secular) Schools

Subject	Number of Hours per Week
Bible and Prophets	4
Oral Law	1
Language (Hebrew) and literature	3
Arithmetic and geometry	4
History[1]	3
Geography and homeland	2
Science	2
English	4
Calisthenics	2
Art	1
Music	1
Social hour[2]	1
	28
Agriculture[3] Crafts	4 - 3 - 2
	32-31-30

1. The third hour of history is to be devoted to the strengthening of Jewish consciousness. Half of the third hour in Grade 8 is to be devoted to national information (news).

2. It is desirable to have the social hour on the same day and at the same time in all the classes, so that it will be possible to have joint activities among all the classes or a general assembly of the entire group.

3. In a class in which crafts and agriculture are taught, 8 hours; in a class in which only agriculture is taught, 4 hours; in a class in which only crafts are given, 6 hours. Hours are to be adjusted according to local conditions.

Source: Schedule of Studies for State Elementary and State-Supported Religious Schools, Grade 7, Ministry of Education and Culture (Israel), 2nd edition, Jerusalem, 1967, p. 4 [in Hebrew].

Note in original tables, for State-supported Religious Schools: "Distribution of Hours to be Published." (Author's note: It was not published by the Summer of 1969, and is not likely to be in view of the reorganization under the reform program passed in 1968.)

Now let us look at three schools in the sample which most closely conform to these requirements. They are, respectively, an urban elite coed secular school; a suburban lower/upper secular coed school; and a Development Town coed secular school. I begin with the urban elite school, and a demographic profile of its Grade 4^{1} and 7^{1}. (There are two sections of Grade 4, and three of Grade 7, in this school. While the data for unobserved sections in most schools of the sample have been gathered, they are still being processed and analyzed; hence, it is not possible to discuss here the criteria according to which children are separated into different sections of the same grade in different schools.)

Demographic Profile of Grade 4 and 7 in
Urban Upper-Status Secular Coed School

Grade 4^{1}

N = 43

Pupils' country of birth:

Israel	41
Europe and U.S.	2

Pupils' years of immigration:

1955-1960	1
No data	1

Number of children in household:

Cases	No. of children
4	1
25	2
10	3
3	4
1	5

Pupils' placement in birth order of siblings:

Child's place	No. of children in family	1	2	3	4	5
I		2	14	2	1	
II		1	11	4	2	
III				4		1

No data=3

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school students	13
Primary school students	30
Under school age	17
In army	1
No data or no siblings	2

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	39
Asia and North Africa	5
Europe	35
U. S.	1
No data	6

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	26
1948-1954	12
1955-1960	1
1961 and after	0
No data	8

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	15
11-20	13
21-30	9
31+	0
No data	10

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 1 (Israeli-Tunisian)

Parents' educational achievements:

University	44
Secondary	26
Vocational	3
Primary	3
Teacher's college	7
No data	3

Parents' Occupations:

Professional	34
Administrative (Includes cabinet officials)	20
Army officers	1
Transportation	-
Trade	1
Services	1
Crafts	1
Teachers	15
Housewives	10
No data	4

Grade 7[1]

N = 31

Pupils' country of birth:

Israel	26
Europe and U. S.	3
No data	2

Pupils' years of immigration:

1956	1
1965	1
1967	1

Number of children in household:

Cases	No. of children
0	1
14	2
14	3
2	4
1	No data

Pupils' placement in birth order of siblings:

Child's place	No. of children in family 1	2	3	4
I	-	9	6	1
II	-	5	5	0
III	-	0	3	1

No data=1

Siblings' occupations:

University students	3
Secondary school students	12
Primary school students	23
Under school age	7
In army	1
Employed	0
No data	3

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	18
Asia and North Africa	3
Europe	26
No data	15

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	23
1948-1954	8
1955-1960	-
1961 and after	2
No data	11

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	5
11-20	11
21-30	10
31-40	2
41-50	3
No data	13

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 3 (Israeli-born marrying Iranian, Turkish, and Egyptian-born)

Parents' educational achievements:

University	24
Secondary	20
Teachers college	1
Primary school	5
No data	9

Parents' Occupations:

Professional	24
Administrative (Includes cabinet officials)	9
Army officer	1
Manufacturers	1
Transportation	-
Trade	1
Services	-
Crafts	1
Teachers	4
Housewives	13
No data	8

The following is the schedule of Grade 4 of this school; each period is 50 minutes in length, with the exceptions to be noted below:

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prophets	Homeland	Science	Music	Hebrew	Prophets
2	Legends	Gymnastics	Hebrew	Grammar	Composition	Crafts
3	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Writing	Homeland	Art	Agriculture
4	Gymnastics	Prophets	Arithmetic	Prophets	Arithmetic	Teacher's hour
5		Agriculture				

The school day at this upper-status coed secular school begins at 8 a.m.; the fourth scheduled hour ends at noon. At the end of the second hour -- this is universal in Israel (except in the schools of Autonomous Education, where it is an hour later) -- at 9:40 or 9:50, depending on the principal's or teacher's policy or whim, children have a snack at their seats. This is an English custom, introduced during the early 1930s and continued. Generally, a child brings a sandwich and a piece of fruit or two, but there are important variations. Aside from individual preferences -- a few children may bring only fruit or a piece of cake in addition to a sandwich and a fruit -- the most notable differences are among schools representing different socioeconomic strata. In this school, sandwiches are well filled, usually with cheese. (Meat presents problems in connection with dietary laws; it also spoils rapidly in Israeli heat and humidity.) In the poorer schools to be discussed below, sandwiches are often noticeably empty of fillings or are sometimes absent entirely. After the snack period, the children have a 10 minute recess period; in dry weather, this is always out-of-doors.

One of the characteristics of this as an upper-status school is the fact that there is a 10 minute recess period between the scheduled classroom hours. This is one of the first noticeable differences between schools catering to children of different socioeconomic strata; in upper-status schools, almost all classroom periods are broken up by out-of-door recess periods; in lower-status schools, there are recess periods only at 10 a.m. and at lunch time (which, in some schools, is at noon, while in others it is at 1 p.m.). The reasons for this will be discussed below.

Another difference between this and other schools is the brevity of the school day; only on Monday does Grade 4 remain in school as late as 1 p.m. Nor does this school have a lunchroom or cafeteria; as will be seen, most other schools do. As one school official explained to me, "Our children do not need a lunchroom: their mothers give them lunch when they go home." I think I detected a slight emphasis on the word "mothers" when she said this, but this may have been my interpretation. What she did mean was that these are not the children of mothers who do menial work; they can manage to be home when their children return from school. Almost invariably, if their mothers do work, they are either professionals who can arrange their schedules so that they can be home when the children return from school or they can make other arrangements for their children's lunches (such as having maids who will serve them). In either case, these children are from sufficiently high status which assures that their parents participate in the siesta pattern -- which is the ideal in Israel, but which is actually available primarily to upper-status people -- and that they will be home by 1:20 p.m.

Another characteristic of this school is the adherence to posted schedules. This may not seem unusual to an American audience, but it is somewhat unusual for Israel, where teachers' adherence to schedules -- especially in lower-status schools -- can sometimes be capricious. During the week that I spent in this Grade 4, there was only one departure from schedule. On the Friday of that week, during the third period, there was an assembly of the first four grades for a repeat performance of the presentations that had been given during the Bible-distribution rite described above. It was in place of the hour scheduled for Agriculture. It is when this school is looked at in an Israeli context that the question must be asked: why this adherence to scheduling? The answer is clear. These are the children of the upper strata of Israeli society, and a significant proportion of its students are from the families of Israel's ruling classes. For example, the children of cabinet officials, former ambassadors, Directors General of Cabinet-level offices, industrialists, and the like, attend it. Automobiles with blue-and-white license plates -- indicating that they are government cars -- or automobiles with military license plates with high ranking fathers driving them, are commonplace outside the school a few minutes before 8 a.m. every morning -- and they clog the street on rainy days -- as they disgorge children. (By contrast, I have been in schools in towns in various parts of the country where the children have stood around looking at my car, the only one on the street, in ways that suggested that a parked car near the school was an unusual sight for them.) These are parents who work according to schedules and professional standards. They expect their children to be home for scheduled meals -- a distinctly upper-status pattern in Israel -- and they keep careful watch on their children's playmates and activities. This is the kind of school that these children's parents want, and that is what they receive. And since these parents also expect that their children will occupy the same, or higher, positions as their fathers and mothers, the children receive training in adherence to schedules, an important discipline for the successors to Israel's contemporary rulers, managers, scientists, and planners. As they live, so they will learn.

Now let us look at the actual materials taught in Grade 4 in this school and compare the distribution of the 25 hours that they spend in school with the published requirements of the Ministry of Education for a secular elementary school:

Required by Ministry of Education	Hours Taught	Subject
4	4	Arithmetic
5	5	Prophets and Legends
5	5	Hebrew
3	3	Homeland and Science
2	2	Agriculture
2	2	Gymnastics
2	2	Art and Music
2	1	Crafts
1	1	Teacher's hour

It will be noted that there is a discrepancy between Ministry requirements and school performance in respect to teaching "Crafts." Similarly, and as a result of this, the Ministry requires children to be in school in Grade 4 for 26 hours a week, whereas the total in here is 25. It will also be noted by comparing this listing with the school's schedule that in the latter Hebrew is subdivided into Hebrew, Composition, Grammar, and Writing. Similarly, the school has distinguished between Prophets and Legends and between Homeland and Science in its schedule, as well as in curricular content.

An important aspect of the quality of Israeli classrooms is the inconsistency of teachers in their treatment of children. This is a matter of degree, rather than an absolute difference. (It is also an important aspect of daily life in most other Israeli institutions.) In this Grade 4, there tended to be less inconsistency than in other schools because disciplinary problems were fewer; that is, the teacher had fewer opportunities to behave inconsistently. As an example of her inconsistency, let us take an item from my protocols: 8:51 - Lesson over, teacher says that the first row of children have to remain indoors for recess "because of one boy" -- who was talking out of turn at the end of the lesson and did not set his books out properly on his desk for the next lesson. After sending out the other three rows for recess, one row at a time, she scolds the children in the first row. 8:53 - She sent out the children in the first row for recess.

This is not an infrequent punishment of a group for the actions of one individual but, also importantly, the punishment is never completed; that is, I have never seen a teacher actually keep an entire row of children in from outdoor recess after saying that this will be done. Not only is this an example of -- or training for -- the inconsistency which so often characterizes many Israeli classrooms, but it presents the teacher with a logical conflict which most find difficult to resolve. The rule in Jewish (but not Arab) elementary schools is that when it is not raining outside, all children must be outside for recess: individual preferences in how to relax between hours are of no consequence. Since most of the class is outside, and given the values which dominate the school, it would be a logical contradiction to have 12 or 14 children remain indoors while the remaining 35 or so are outside.

As noted, inconsistency in a teacher's behavior is much less pronounced in this Grade 4 than in most other classrooms that I have visited. In this particular case, this may have been due to my presence, as suggested by the teacher's disregard of children eating during a lesson, an action that is generally regarded by other teachers as intolerable. I was told by a few children in the class that they wished I would remain longer than a week because they were receiving much less homework during the week of my visit than during any other week of the school year. But while I am convinced that my presence may have had a quantitative effect on teachers (and perhaps even students), it could not have had a qualitative consequence. I am certain that teachers' behavior in my presence was entirely within range of expected and accepted behavior. Thus, for example (from another day): 10:27 - Class restless and slightly noisy. Teacher keeps threatening to kick out those who are talking; keeps threatening, but doesn't do it. My presence may have been a restraint on her, but inconsistency in this regard was in no way unusual for an Israeli teacher.

At no time during my visit to this class did I hear the teacher say to a child that she wanted to see a parent. But this is not to say that I did not see parents at the school; the context in which I did see them there is instructive. In this school, Grades 1, 2, and 3 have small lending libraries for the children in their respective classrooms. Grade 4's library is in an adjoining room. The choice of children's books in the latter collection is excellent, including such books as Mary Poppins translated into Hebrew. One morning I came into the class' library and saw four women there, three were around one table and the fourth was by herself at another, covering library books, mending and marking them. They were well dressed and matronly, and were it not for the language I could have easily imagined myself in Larchmont or Berkeley. Later, the teacher explained to me that parents do many things volunatrily in this school, and gave the four women that I had just seen as an example of the kind of voluntary work they do. It is largely in such contexts that parents and teachers meet and discuss their children.

I now turn to Grade 7^1 of this school. By the time I had turned to this class, I had reduced my observational periods from six to three days for each class. My observations in Grade 7 of this school were from Sunday through Tuesday. The following is the schedule of Grade 7^1.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Arithmetic	History	English	Arithmetic	Prophets	Arithmetic
2	Arabic	Hebrew	Science	Bible	Arabic	Science ($\frac{1}{2}$)
3	Science ($\frac{1}{2}$)	English	Grammar	Geometry	English	Bible
4	English	Gymnastics	Geography	Gymnastics	History	Music
5	Prophets	Art	Prophets	Hebrew	Science	Teacher's hour
6	Gymnastics		Hebrew	Crafts		
7	Geography		History	Crafts		

Thus, for three days a week, students in Grade 7 remain in school until 3 p.m., and their total number of school hours for the week is 36, compared to 25 in Grade 4. (Children in Grade 5 spend 32 scheduled hours a week in school; those in Grade 6 spend 34 hours a week in school; for Grade 8, the schedule is 36 hours, as it is in Grade 7. Children in the first 3 grades spend 24 hours a week in school.) The following is the distribution of these hours in Grade 7 and published Ministry of Education requirements.

Required by Ministry of Education	Hours taught	Subject
4	4	Prophets and Bible
1	1	Oral law
3	3	Language and literature (Hebrew)
4	4	Mathematics and geometry
3	3	History
2	2	Geography and homeland
2	3	Science
4	3	English
-	2	Arabic
2	3	Gymnastics
1	1	Art
1	1	Music
1	1	Teacher's hour
2, 3, or 4	4	Agriculture and crafts
30-32	36	

It is an aspect of the relative autonomy enjoyed by schools that the pupils in this Grade 7 receive additional time in connection with "science" (even though it is of the "look-but-don't-touch" variety), gymnastics (this school placing very strong emphasis on interscholastic competition, as evidenced by the number of prizes it has won and which are prominently displayed in the principal's office), and language instruction. The latter is illuminating. One of the reasons that this school devotes slightly less time to English in Grade 7 is because most of the children hear English spoken regularly at home, in line with their parents' high status. (Since the war of 1967, use of English as the spoken language at home has increased.) In many of these families, parents engage English tutors for their children. Another reason for this is that part of this time is devoted to Arabic, and this is especially illuminating.

Language instruction is generally one of the clearest examples of class-stratification in education. Since the days of Sumerian schooling, which was confined to the highest social strata in preparation for elite status, one of the most important ingredients in the education of people who are being prepared for elite or boundary roles has been the teaching of foreign languages. It is self-evident that knowledge of the languages of other nations within an international network is an integral part of performing boundary roles; also in this connection, it is interesting to observe the high prestige enjoyed by linguistic studies in modern states which have a strong international involvement. With the introduction of compulsory mass education and the teaching of foreign languages to the polity as a whole, it is understandable that attempts will be made to find a way of re-establishing the gap between strata in this regard. Thus, for example, we have observed the introduction of foreign language instruction in American elementary schools in recent years. But this has not been uniform throughout the realm; it has largely been confined to the schools attended by the children of elite parents. While this innovation is also an attempt to foster a sense of exclusiveness among the latter, it is also an important aspect of training for elite (boundary) roles.

Relations with Arabs are among Israel's most important boundary relations. This is true of relations with nations that consider themselves Arab as well as with Israeli Arabs themselves. Since the latter constitute a legally defined and regulated caste, they are regarded as an entity separate from the controlling Jewish majority. As a matter of fact, Israelis generally tend to think of Arab citizens of the state as foreigners or aliens. Hence, relations with them are understandably defined as coming within the province of boundary institutions. (When an Israeli Jew refers to Israelis in the first-person plural, as "we" or "us," he always means Jews, and it can never be assumed that he may be referring to non-Jewish Israelis.) Those people who are entrusted with the responsibility of dealing with Arabs, or at least establishing policy with regard to them, are among the society's elite in the technical sense of the term. In being taught Arabic, the goal of their education is made abundantly clear. The importance of this will become even clearer in connection with pupils who speak Arabic at home -- but are not taught it in school.

Now let us turn to the suburban secular school. It is perched on a knoll; about 50 yards below it is the eastern edge of a mixed community -- known after the quasi-private investment firm that built it -- made up of two distinct populations. The higher status group is largely made up of "young marrieds on their way up," bureaucrats, lawyers, doctors, university lecturers (the equivalent of American assistant professors), and young businessmen; they are almost exclusively of European extraction, and many (if not most) are Israeli born. South of them are immigrants from North Africa and Asia, somewhat more successful than most of their compatriots; aside from their slightly larger families than are found in non-religious European groups, they would roughly correspond to what we call in the United States "lower middle class." More than being mobile, they are aspiring, and they often are drawn into politics in the hope of advancing their careers. They are shopkeepers, clerks, petty bureaucrats, skilled workers, and the like. There is very little social interaction between the two segments; the Europeans were there first.

Adjacent to this neighborhood is another community which is well bounded, physically and socially. It is popularly known as an Anglo-Saxon community, and it lives up to its name. In order to buy or rent a home there, at least one of the conjugal pair must speak English fluently. Israelis deny that this is segregation; it is, they say, merely a desire of people with "similar cultural backgrounds" to live together. People in that community are very insistent on cultural homogeneity. For example, an Israeli-born university faculty member sent his American-born wife and their infant child out of the country when, in early June 1967, the American government asked all American citizens to leave Israel. Since the war, he and his wife have been shunned by their neighbors as well as by his university colleagues.

In another home there, a Jewish man married a Roman Catholic lady. Toward the end of 1967, a large cross was cut into their front door. The people in this Anglo-Saxon community -- who also send their children to this school -- occasionally have acquaintances, and sometimes even friends, among their European group in the mixed neighborhood above. Their children play among each other, but never with the children of North African descent.

The following is a demographic profile of Grades 4^1 and 7^1 of the suburban school:

Grade 4^1

N = 26

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	23
Europe	1
Asia and North Africa	0
No data	2

Pupils' years of immigration:

After 1961	1

Number of children in the household:

Cases	Number of children
2	1
12	2
7	3
4	4
-	5
1	6

Child's place in sibling order:

Child's place	Number of children in household					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
I	1	5	3			
II		7	1	2		
III			3			1
IV				2		
V						
VI						

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school	13
Primary school	17
Under school age	11

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	17
Europe	12
United States	4
North Africa and Asia	8
No data	11

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	7
1948-1954	16
1955-1960	2
No data	6

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	1
11-20	10
21-30	13
31-40	0
41-50	1
No data	10

Number of inter-ethnic marriages:

2 (Israel-Iraq; Austria-Morocco)

Parents' educational achievements:

University	11
Secondary school	6
Teachers' college	3
Vocational	1
No data	31

Parents' occupations:

Professional	6
Administrative	13
Skilled workers	6
Unskilled workers	6
Teachers	3
Housewives	6
No data	12

Grade 7[1]

N = 29

Pupils' country of birth:

Israel	29

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
2	1
9	2
9	3
4	4
4	5
1	6

Children's place in sibling order:

Child's place	Number of children in household					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	5	1	1		
11		4	3	1		
111			5	2		
1V					2	1
V					1	1
V1						

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school	11
Vocational school	1
Primary school	22
In army	4
Under school age	12
No data	11

Parents' countries of birth:

Europe	16
North Africa and Asia	13
Israel	26
No data	3

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	15
1948-1954	15
No data	2

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	7
11-20	9
21-30	10
31-40	1
No data	5

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 6

Israel-Morocco	2
Israel-Iraq	2
France-Lebanon	1
Israel-Turkey	1

Parents' educational achievements:

University	4
Secondary school	16
Primary school	34
No data	4

Parents' occupations:

Professional	2
Administrative	11
Shopkeepers	2
Skilled workers	10
Unskilled workers	8
Teachers	1
Housewives	15
Deceased	2
No data	8

The following is the schedule of classes in Grade 4[1].

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Arithmetic	Hebrew	Prophets	Arithmetic	Prophets	Hebrew
2	Prophets	Prophets	Hebrew	Hebrew	Homeland	Homeland
3	Music	Gymnastics	Crafts	Agriculture	Crafts	Teacher's hour
4	Hebrew	Homeland	Arithmetic	Prophets	Gymnastics	Arithmetic
5	Art					

Thus, children in this suburban Grade 4 spend 25 scheduled hours a week in school; except for Sunday, they are in school daily from 8 A.M. until 12 noon. This is the same number of hours spent in school in the previously discussed school. The following is the distribution of these 25 hours.

Required by Ministry	Hours Taught	Subject
5	5	Prophets
5	5	Hebrew
4	4	Arithmetic
3	3	Homeland and Science
2	2	Crafts
2	2	Gymnastics
2	1	Agriculture
1	1	Art
1	1	Music
1	1	Teacher's hour

Thus, the suburban school, like the urban elite school, deviates slightly from Ministry of Education requirements. Both have 25 instead of the required 26 hours a week; in the latter, only 1 hour is devoted to crafts instead of the required 2, whereas the suburban school does the same thing with respect to agriculture. But both deviate much less from official requirements than do others. Aside from its slight and minor deviation from the prescribed curriculum (devoting 1 hour instead of 2 to agriculture), the suburban school maintains one other symbol of its autonomy. Elementary school classes are supposed to begin in Israel at 8 A.M.; it begins at 8:05.

The tenor of Grade 4^1 closely resembles that of the elite Grade 4^1, and is, if anything, even more relaxed. For example, there were two American children in the class of the suburban school, from "Anglo-Saxon," whose fathers were in Israel for academic sabbatical years, a boy and a girl. Except for arithmetic, they were permitted to remain in the class reading books in English which they freely exchanged with each other. Their teachers did not seem to be threatened or upset at this deviation from normative procedures, though the general teacher did tell me during one conversation that she could not understand how Jewish children could be uninterested in learning Hebrew and, especially, the Bible and Prophets.

The class does become restless, and children do violate rules of class decorum, such as calling out or speaking out of turn, but these are generally dealt with quietly; only once in my three days in this Grade 4^1 did the teacher raise her voice, and then only for a brief remonstrance of a few seconds. For example, at one point during a lesson, a girl on the other side of the room from me began to laugh uncontrollably, but quietly, at something. The teacher quietly warned the girl that she will put her out of the class if she did not stop laughing; a minute later, she quietly asked the girl to leave the room, which she did without objection. Sometimes, quiet sarcasm is resorted to, as when the teacher -- a pretty, tall, slim, auburn haired girl of about 23 -- noticed one girl whose book was closed talking to another. Smiling slightly, the teacher said, "Dorit's book is closed and her neighbor is telling her a story so she won't be bored"; without further comment, Dorit stopped talking and opened her book.

The following is the schedule of classes of this school's Grade 7[1].

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	English	Mathematics	Art	Crafts	Mathematics	Music
2	Hebrew	History	Mathematics	Crafts	Hebrew	Prophets
3	Mathematics	Prophets	Hebrew	History	Science	English
4	Agriculture	Gymnastics	English	Agriculture	Geography	History
5	Geography	Bible	Prophets	English	History	Teacher's hour
6	Prophets		Science		Gymnastics	
7			Crafts (for girls)			

Thus, there are 34 (33 for boys) scheduled classes for Grade 7. Classes continue until 2 P.M. three days a week, until 1 P.M. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and until 3 P.M. for girls on Tuesday; the latter reflects the fact that the principal teaches crafts for girls. The following is the distribution of these 34 hours and a comparison of them with published requirements of the Ministry of Education.

Required by Ministry	Hours taught	Subject
4	4	Prophets
1	1	Bible
4	4	Mathematics and geometry
3	4	History
4	4	English
3	3	Language and literature
2	2	Geography and homeland
2	2	Science
2	2	Gymnastics
1	1	Art
1	1	Music
2, 3, or 4	2-3	Crafts
	2	Agriculture
30-32	33, 34	

Thus, the discrepancies between requirements and performances are once more clearly in the direction of giving the pupils in this grade more than is required, especially in history, though also in crafts and agriculture. But even this does not tell the entire story of education in this school. In March 1968, the principal and their arithmetic and science teacher were able to bring a little dream to fruition and instituted a voluntary class in physics for Grade 7. This was taught by a graduate student at one of the universities, and his fee was paid for by the parents of those children who attended the class.

As I observed earlier, decentralization and its correlative autonomy of individual schools cuts two ways. It not only makes it possible for some schools to maintain a very poor level of education but, just as importantly, allows imaginative and dedicated principals and teachers to raise the level of education beyond the state's requirements. It is doubtful, of course, whether these alternatives are exclusive and -- at least logically -- it should be possible for educational personnel to maintain desirable minima while also allowing unusual teachers and principals to raise the levels of their pupils beyond these minima. But this largely depends on the awareness of the educational system's controllers of what is going on in their schools, and this is a not inconsiderable task.

Thus, it is neither the autonomy enjoyed by a school nor the unusual scientific attitude of the arithmetic and science teacher in this suburban school alone which make it possible for her to say to her class in science, "Don't believe me," when introducing them to the process of experimentation. Such a statement -- and its implied attitude -- is in direct contravention to current Israeli educational values and goals. Instead, as suggested earlier, existing social-structural forms maximize and minimize individual predispositions. The following is another illustration of this teacher's exploitation of the potentials in this situation of autonomy:

10:15 - Science teacher comes in for science lesson. Subject is process of digestion. Comes in carrying tray of materials and equipment. On her desk, she sets out pieces of bread and different solutions in flasks. Begins with discussion of the function of the mouth in relation to food and its digestion. Sets out two problems: (1) The conversion of food into solutions; (2) chemical changes in composition of food. Tells the class that the relevant question will be: So what have we proved? Then it will be necessary to ask, What haven't we proved. Shows them a piece of bread and asks, "How do we produce chemical change in it?" Silence. Then she asks, "If I want to show that there is a chemical change in the bread in the mouth, how can I show it?" She carefully leads a discussion of this, drawing them to the point that she wants them to understand. Then she asks the class slowly, "To what can bread be changed chemically?" On blackboard, she writes out chemical composition of bread. Then, under the second problem above she writes, "Purpose -- is a chemical change produced in food (carbohydrate) when it is in the mouth?" Dramatically waits a moment (she's a wonderful ham) and asks the class, "How many experiments must we perform to answer this?" Kids begin to see the point and call out "Two, one to see the composition of the bread before eating, one afterward." She introduces them to the concept of controls and the need for them.

[At this point she made the statement that I have never heard from any other teacher in Israel, directly or by implication; she was to repeat it several more times in the course of the hour:] "Don't believe me." [Not underlined in original.]

Then by careful questioning and suggestions, draws them into a realization of the need for three experiments: (1) Analysis of the bread, (2) analysis of saliva, and (3) analysis of chewed bread. She then proceeded to conduct the experiments, having children chew pieces of bread and place them in test tubes, other children pouring solutions into test tubes, still others heating tubes over a bunson burner, and so forth.

It was an impressive lesson, and there is no need to go into the rest of it in detail. The class seemed enthralled and, I think, I heard more questions asked by pupils during this hour than in most of the other classes that I have observed. Many were sophisticated questions, dealing with the question of how one knows which particular variables enter into the analysis of chewed food. Before answering each question, she exclaimed, "Wonderful." At the end of the hour, she gave a homework assignment, to write a description of the experiment according to the outline written on the board.

Just before the bell rang, a fascinating exchange took place between her and her students which -- though it is not needed -- revealed her values with respect to traditionalism. One boy suddenly realized that they should not have conducted the experiment because "today is a fast day." (It was a minor religious fast day, but I could not tell whether the boy was serious or mocking.) The teacher retorted, "Since the establishment of the state of Israel, there are no more fasts." The boy asked her, "According to whom?" "According to me," was the sharp reply which seemed to be perfectly timed to the bell that rang a second later.

Thus far, it would appear that such behavior -- conformity to standards as well as the exploitation of potentials inhering in the autonomous situation -- is a function of the socioeconomic level of schools' clients. That this is not necessarily the case can be seen from the next school that I want to discuss: a Development Town secular coed school.

The following is a demographic profile of Grades 4 and 7 of this school:

Grade 4

N = 23

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	19
Morocco	1
Iran	1
No data	2

Pupils' years of immigration:

After 1961	2
No data	2

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
0	1
0	2
1	3
4	4
2	5
1	6
2	7
6	8
4	9
1	10
1	11
1	No data

Pupils' place in birth order (N = 20)

Child's Place	Number of children in family 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
I				2			1	1			
II			1		1						
III							1	1			
IV					1	1					
V								2	1		
VI								1	2		
VII								1			1
VIII											1
IX										1	

Parents' countries of birth:

Rumania	1
North Africa and Asia	43
No data	2

Parents' years of immigration:

1948-1954	35
1955-1960	4
After 1961	2
No data	2

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

11-20	5
21-30	10
31-40	2
41-50	1
No data	28

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 1 (Rumania-Iran)

Parents' education:

Primary school	11
No education	19
No data	16

Parents' occupations:

Unskilled work	23
Electrician	1
Housewives	17
No data	5

Household population density:

Number of people	Number of rooms 1	1½	2	2½	3
5			1		
6	2				4
7					1
8					1
9	1		1		
10	1				2
11					
12					2

No data = 30

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	4
Arabic	4
Persian	2
Hebrew and Arabic	1
French and Hebrew	1
Hebrew and Yiddish	1
Hebrew and Persian	1
No data	5

Grade 7

N = 26

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	14
Rumania	4
Morocco	6
Iran	1
No data	1

Pupils' dates of immigration:

1948-1954	1
1955-1960	1
After 1961	9

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
2	1
0	2
5	3
1	4
4	5
2	6
1	7
4	8
3	9
4	No data

Pupils' place in sibling order:

Child's place	Number of children in family 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I	2		1	1		1			
II			3		2	1			
III			1		1				1
IV					1		1	2	
V									1
VI								1	
VII									1
VIII								1	

No data = 4

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school	25
Primary school	42
Under school age	6
In army	11
Employed	9

Parents' countries of birth:

Rumania	10
Asia and North Africa	39
No data	3

Parents' years of immigration:

1948-1954	30
1955-1960	2
After 1961	17
No data	3

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 0

Parents' education:

Elementary school	7
No education	16
No data	29

Parents' occupations:

Unskilled work	15
Clerks	1
Housewives	14
Deceased	1
No data	21

Household population density:

Number of people	Number of rooms 1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$
3				1		
4					1	
5					1	
6						
7		1	3			
8					1	
9				1	1	1

No data = 15

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	1
Rumanian	1
Arabic	3
Persian	2
Hebrew and Persian	2
Hebrew and Arabic	4
French and Spanish	1
No data	12

The following is the schedule of classes of this school's Grade 4:

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Composition	Hebrew	Hebrew	Hebrew	Hebrew	Arithmetic
2	Arithmetic	Music	Arithmetic	Science	Arithmetic	Hebrew
3	Prophets	Arithmetic	Homeland	Arithmetic	Homeland	Prophets
4	Hebrew	Science	Prophets	Prophets	Prophets	Teacher's hr.
5	Agriculture/ Crafts	Homework	Gymnastics	Library hr.	Art	
6	Agriculture/ Crafts	Homework				

During the three days that I visited there -- Sunday - Tuesday -- there was perfect conformity to the posted schedule. The elite and suburban schools (above) were the only other schools in my sample in which this happened. Also, on each of these three days, the teacher raised her voice only twice to gain quiet in the classroom.

The following table compares the distribution of the week's hours in this Development Town Grade 4 with ministry requirements:

Required by Ministry	Hours taught	Subject
5	5	Prophets
5	7	Hebrew
4	6	Arithmetic
3	4	Homeland and nature (science)
2	1	Crafts
2	1	Gymnastics
2	1	Agriculture
1	1	Art
1	1	Music
1	1	Teacher's (social) hour
-	2	Homework
-	1	Library hour
26	31	

The discrepancies in the foregoing are not as great as may appear from the simple listing of numbers of hours. It is only in connection with crafts, gymnastics, and agriculture that this Grade 4 does not meet minimal requirements. From the point of view of what schools are supposed to accomplish, however, namely, the development of intellectual capacities, the discrepancies in connection with Hebrew, arithmetic, and homeland and nature exceed these requirements. Furthermore, since the Ministry of Education and Culture requires an "extended school day" for children in Development Towns, especially to provide them with help in homework (since they can rarely get it at home), this is reflected in the homework and library hours; the latter is designed to develop extracurricular reading habits.

Now let us look at Grade 7; the following is its officially posted schedule of classes.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prophets	Grammar	English	Crafts	History	History
2	History	Science	English	Crafts	Prophets	Science
3	English	Gym/Crafts	Hebrew	Crafts	English	Music
4	Geometry	Gym/Crafts	Prophets	Art	Arithmetic	Prophets
5	Geography	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Nutrition	Geography	Teacher's hour
6	Hebrew	Music	Bible	Nutrition		
7	Agriculture		Gymnastics	Nutrition		
8	Agriculture					

My visit to this Grade 7 was also on Sunday - Tuesday because an illness of mine interfered with the Wednesday - Friday schedule that I had planned on. The above schedule was followed, with a few exceptions. The history and grammar lessons of Sunday and Monday were switched. When I asked the teacher about this, he explained to me that he had returned from a month's reserve duty the day before and had not yet had an opportunity to prepare a history lesson. My observations coincided with a terrible heat wave (during which temperatures rose to over 100^{o}); hence, the hours for agriculture were canceled and, since it was too hot to follow a regular classroom routine -- only classrooms in Eilat are air conditioned -- the sixth hour on Sunday was devoted to homework, after which classes were dismissed.

On Thursdays, although this is not listed on the official schedule, the teacher of this class conducts a lesson in "citizenship" for Grade 7 on his own initiative. I had told the principal, when introducing my research, as I told all others, that my intent was to learn how people become Israelis. I recall that in explaining this, I had used the term "identity" which, in Israel, also refers, although obliquely, to citizenship. I think he decided that the latter was my major interest, and he felt that I was lucky in this regard because the teacher of this class is also especially interested in citizenship. As a result, he asked the teacher to move the lesson in citizenship from Thursday to Tuesday so that I could witness it. This was done in lieu of the scheduled hour in Prophets (for which I was silently grateful, having heard the same material covered in many other classes). As discussed earlier, political indoctrination is a frequent concern of this very good teacher.

The following is a comparison of the distribution of hours in Grade 7 with those required by ministry regulations:

Required by Ministry	Hours taught	Subject
4	4	Prophets
1	1	Bible
4	4	Mathematics and Geometry
3	3	History
4	4	English
3	3	Language and literature
2	2	Geography and homeland
2	2	Science
2	2	Gymnastics
1	1	Art
1	2	Music
2, 3, or 4	4	Crafts
	2	Agriculture
-	3	Nutrition
1	1	Teacher's hour
30-32	38	

The additional hours in this grade are also accounted for by the fact that an "extended schoolday" is required in Development Towns, even in the higher grades. Since, at least until recently, almost all the pupils from this elementary school elect a vocational program in secondary school, greater emphasis is placed on these subjects than is required by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

I now want to turn to those schools in the Israeli sample in which inconsistency and unpredictability appeared to be the rule. Let us first consider an urban upper-status religious boys' school. The following is a demographic profile of Grades 4 and 7 in this school.

Grade 4[1]

N=33

Pupils' Country of birth:

Israel	31
England	1
No data	1

Pupils' years of immigration:

1963	1
No data	1

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
0	1
4	2
15	3
5	4
6	5
2	6
0	7
1	8

Pupils' placement in birth order of siblings:

Child's place	Number of children in family							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I		4	8	2	2			
II					1			
III			7	1				
IV				2	1			
V					1	1		
VI						1		
VII								
VIII								1

No data = 1

Sibling's occupation -- No data

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	30
Asia and North Africa	12
Europe	24

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	15
1948-1954	18
1955-1960	0
1961 and after	2

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	7
11-20	17
21-30	6
31-40	4
41-50	1
No data	1

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 4

(Israeli-Iraqi 2; Argentina-Tunisia, Russia-Iran)

Parents' educational achievements:

University	9
Secondary school	20
Primary school	27
Yeshiva	1
Teachers' college	6
No data	3

Parents' occupations:

Professional	2
Administrative (including one cabinet official)	14
Transportation	1
Trade	2
Services	0
Crafts	12
Teachers	6
Construction	0
Housewives	25
No data	4

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	23
Hebrew and English	2
Hebrew and Arabic	1
No data	7

Grade 7[1]

N=33

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	31
France	1
No data	1

Pupils' years of immigration:

After 1961	1
No data	1

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
0	1
12	2
9	3
5	4
1	5
3	6
1	7
1	8
0	9
1	10

Children's placement in birth order of siblings:

Child's place	Number of children in household 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I		9	5							
II		3	2	2						
III			2	1		1	1			
IV				2	1	1				
V										
VI					1			1		
VII										
VIII										1

Siblings' occupations:

University students	13	
Secondary yeshiva students	7	
Primary school students	8	(only those in this school listed)
Under school age	4	
In army	3	
Employed	9	
No data	18	

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	25
Europe	25
North Africa and Asia	14
No data	2

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	29
1948-1954	10
1955-1960	0
After 1961	2

Parents' ages at immigration:

1-10	6
11-20	16
21-30	17
31-40	1
No data	1

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 2 (Israel-Morocco and Iraq)

Parents' educational achievements:

University	8
Secondary school	19
Yeshiva	7
Primary school	22
Vocational	1
Teachers' college	2
No education	5
No data	2

Parents' occupations:

Professional	6
Administrative	15
Trade	3
Transport	3
Construction	2
Crafts	3
Services	2
Teachers	1
Housewives	25
No data	6

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	29
Hebrew and Hungarian	1
No data	3

The principal of this school was very suspicious of what he called my "mission," and was distinctly unhappy -- more so than anyone else -- about a non-Israeli observing his school. Fond of quoting Piaget and other psychologists of the behavioral persuasion (he never mentioned Freud or others of that ilk during our many conversations), he was admittedly skeptical of my repeated statement that I only wanted to learn how people become Israelis. At one point during our first meeting, he wanted to know whether I was like a Frenchman who came to examine Israeli education and concluded that Israel is a theocracy. I told him that I thought that such a statement was absurd, and he seemed to accept my assertion.

Nevertheless, he did express a considerable amount of defensiveness about religion in Israel, and emphasized that he considered himself quite liberal in religious matters. I asked what he meant by liberalism and he replied, matter of factly, that he neither throws rocks at people who drive cars on Saturday nor tells them not to drive. He simply tries to avoid having anything to do with such people on the sabbath. He gave me two examples of his behavior. He was walking along the street one Saturday and a driver of a car stopped and asked him for directions; the latter simply said, "Sabbath greetings," and continued walking. On another Saturday, he came home and saw a neighbor washing his car; from then on, he tried to find a way into his apartment house so that he would not have to pass car washers on Saturday. (He apparently has difficulty in extending his religious values beyond the sabbath. On another occasion -- during the Têt offensive of 1967 by the North Vietnamese -- he said to me, "What's the matter with you Americans that you cannot defeat a primitive people like the Vietnamese?" I replied, "I thought an Israeli would understand that better than anyone else. When people are fighting for their homeland, morale and dedication sometimes outweigh technology." His reply would have found favor with some of my own compatriots: "That's silly. You have atom bombs, why don't you use them? If you don't, those communist hordes will overwhelm you, and soon you will be fighting in your own streets." I smiled, pleased to be included among the "silly" people who oppose the use of nuclear weapons.)

When I asked him to tell me something about his school, he said in a very straightforward manner, "This is an elite elementary religious school for boys, run by the state." There are children of university professors, cabinet officials, administrators, and others of equally high status at the school. There are also the children of "parents from the Muslim countries" in the school; he did not use the usual Israeli pejorative, "Oriental," for these people. This school is defined by the Ministry of Education as a non-neighborhood school; that is, it does not draw its pupil population from any particular neighborhood. Students may apply for admission from any section of the city. Since the Ministry directive establishing the school does not specify any criteria for admission of students, the principal has established his own: Pupils must come from religious homes; it is not sufficient for a child's parents merely to say that they want him to have a religious education. If it should be brought to the principal's attention that a child has been seen violating the sabbath -- that it, outside of the school -- the principal has the right to demand that the parents transfer the boy to another school. In addition, and to demonstrate that he does not discriminate against lower class children (he said), he gives every child who applies for admission an oral quiz, dealing mostly with arithmetical problems. He stressed to me that his administered quiz was strictly according to criteria laid down by Piaget, but he did not entertain the hypothesis, at least aloud, that this may be a criterion of social-class status. But he did rue the fact, without prodding on my part, that the children themselves tend to be self-segregated along ethnic lines during recess periods and outside the school.

In concluding our initial conversation, I asked him whether this school differed in any other way from other schools. He said that the method of Biblical instruction was unusual here, but he was unable to elaborate. I mentioned that I was sure to see it for myself. What he did not mention, but which is one of the first and noticeable differences, is that students' artwork in this school, in the classrooms and in the corridors, is unsigned.

The following is the schedule of Grade 4[1] of this upper-status Elementary School:

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer (laws)
2	Prophets	Bible	Arithmetic	Bible	Mishnah	Language
3	Arithmetic	Language	Prophets	Arithmetic	Art	Homeland
4	Mishnah	Homeland	Mishnah	Language	Prophets	Bible
				Gymnastics	Arithmetic	

Thus, children in this Grade 4 spend 26 scheduled hours a week in school, contrasted with 25 in the same grade in the urban elite school. Twice a week, classes in this Grade 4 end at 1 P.M., at noon on the other four days. Before turning to classroom activities, let us look at the distribution of these 26 scheduled hours, and compare this distribution with published requirements of the Ministry of Education for Grade 4 of a state religious elementary school:

Required by Ministry of Education	Hours taught	Subject
4	6	Prayer and Laws
2	3	Mishnah
3	3	Bible
3	3	Prophets
3	3	Language
2	2	Homeland and Science (Science not taught)
3	4	Arithmetic
1	1	Gymnastics
1	1	Art
1	-	Music
1	-	Crafts
2	-	Agriculture
26	26	

This distribution of hours is instructive. Almost one-fourth of the school week is devoted to prayers; more than one-fourth of the week's schedule is devoted to the texts of traditional and fundamentalist religion (it is actually considerably more than this, as was seen). Approximately two-fifths of the schedule is devoted to subjects that have a non-traditional orientation.

In Grade 4^1 of this School decorum is minimal, and yet the students in that class are among the most enthusiastic and knowledgeable elementary school students I have seen in Israel. For the moment, I want only to describe the curricular laxity that appears to characterize the class; I will describe the decorum of pupils and teacher below.

The following is the actual schedule of lessons in Grade 4^1 during the week that I visited it.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer
2	Mishnah	Prophets	Prophets	Bible	Prophets	Language
3	Prophets	Arithmetic	Mishnah	Arithmetic	Art	Music
4	Arithmetic	Language	Arithmetic	Language	Arithmetic	
5				Gymnastics	Language	

A comparison of this actual schedule of studies with the posted schedule reveals that during my week of observation there was only one day -- Wednesday -- when the official schedule was followed. I spoke to the teacher about this and he said that this was normal; he said simply that he reserves the right to change the schedule of studies at will, and he does so according to whim. On Monday, Thursday, and Friday he dealt with subjects that were not included in the schedules of those days and, on Friday, had a music hour which is not listed in the posted schedule at all. Music is listed in the official schedule on file in the principal's office as the 5th hour on Thursday, but not on the schedule posted in the classroom. He did not hold the last scheduled hour on Friday so that he could go to another city to visit with his brother and the class was dismissed early. Except for Wednesday, each day saw at least a reversal of the scheduled lessons, if not the inclusion of unscheduled topics. The only predictable hour for five days of the week was the first of each day, for prayer. Science, which is mandatory for Grade 4 according to the Ministry of Education, is not taught at all. When I asked the teacher about this, he simply shrugged and said, "We don't teach it." In answer to my question as to why, he stated with equal matter of factness, "There isn't enough time."

This teacher's behavior toward his pupils is often unpredictable and inconsistent. This has already been illustrated by a representative hour described above (in Chapter 6), extending from 8:55 to 9:45. Also, it was not infrequent for fistfights to break out among pupils during a lesson. Most often, these would last for a few seconds and stop of their own accord. When he would notice them, the teacher would sometimes punish one of the culprits by having him stand in the corner or by sending him out of the room. Sometimes, he would punish boys for talking during the lesson in the same way. In either case, it was not possible -- or at least for me -- to predict from his behavior when such punishments would be automatically forthcoming. This is anything but training for universalistic values. Sometimes, when the din in the classroom had reached such a peak that he could not make himself heard, he would stand absolutely silently in front of the class, his arms folded, until the class quieted down. But, as often as not, his resumption of conversation would provoke noise in the classroom again. This is a recurrent feature of Israeli classrooms, as we have already seen in descriptions of other chaotic classes.

The following is the official and posted schedule of classes of Grade 7 in this school:

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
0	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer
1	Talmud	Language	Bible	Talmud	Geography	Arithmetic
2	History	Agriculture	English	Agriculture	Prophets	English
3	English	Agriculture	Language	Agriculture	Talmud	Talmud
4	Language	Arithmetic	Talmud	English	Science	
5	Gymnastics	Gymnastics	Geography	Prophets	History	
6	Arithmetic	Science	History	Crafts	Arithmetic	

The "0" hour above begins at 7:15 a.m. Thus, students in this Grade 7 spend 39 scheduled hours a week in school; on five days a week, they are in school from 7:15 a.m. until 2 p.m. It will be recalled that the students in the urban elite Grade 7 spend 36 hours a week in school, and are there from 8 a.m. until 3 p.m. thrice weekly. Ministry requirements for grade 7 in religious schools have been promised, but not published as yet. This, too, must be regarded as an aspect of religious schools' autonomy.

The following is the distribution of these 39 hours in this Grade 7:

Number of hours	Subject
6	Prayer
6	Talmud
4	History
4	English
4	Mathematics (including geometry)
3	Language
2	Science
2	Prophets
2	Geography
1	Bible
1	Crafts
2	Gymnastics
4	Agriculture

It is not possible for me to gauge the extent to which the official and posted schedule of Grade 7 was followed in daily practice, for two reasons. First, I had reduced my observational periods to three days for each class by the time I returned to this school for Grade 7. Second, the regular teacher of Grade 7^2 had been called into the army for a period of reserve duty, and both sections were combined for several lessons. In most schools in which a teacher is called for reserve duty, a substitute is requested from, and provided by, the District Inspector. In this school, on the other hand, the preference is to use available teachers.

Now let us turn to the urban lower-status secular coed school. In this, as will be seen, there are no formal -- or officially recognized -- boundary systems setting off the school, such as religion or Development Town. Instead, the relevant factor here is ethnicity and lower socioeconomic status. However, this must be qualified because, as we have seen in connection with a comparable group in a Development Town, such factors do not operate by themselves. Instead, what has to be borne in mind is the placement of these variables in the context of urbanism in which the city is internally divided along caste and ethnic, and thus socioeconomic, lines. More concretely, the people who send their children to this school are not directly dependent on the state, as are the people in Development Towns or those who work for the state and are thus dependent on it in their way.

The following is a demographic profile of Grades 4^1 and 7^1 of this School:

Grade 4^1

N = 30

Pupils' country of birth:

Israel	30

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
2	1
1	2
2	3
7	4
4	5
7	6
3	7
3	8
0	9
1	10

Children's place in birth order:

Child's Place	Number of children									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I		1		1	1	1				
II			1	3		2				
III			1		1	2	7			
IV				3	1	2				
V					1					
VI										
VII							1	2		
VIII										

Siblings' occupations: No data

Parents' countries of birth:

Europe	1
North Africa and Asia	33
Israel	22
No data	3

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	7
1948-1954	22
1955-1960	1
No data	8

Parents' ages at immigration:

1-10	2
11-20	11
21-30	7
31-40	3
No data	15

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: 6

(Israelis with Iranians, Syrians, Turks, Moroccans.)

Parents' educational achievements:

Secondary school	2
Vocational school	2
Primary school	28
No education	11
No data	17

Parents' occupations:

Administrative	1
Trade	7
Craftsmen	14
Transportation	4
Policemen	1
Soldier	1
Housewives	16
Unemployed	1
No data	12
Deceased	1

Household population density:

Number of People	Number of rooms in home				
	1	1½	2	2½	3
5	1		1	1	
6			6		1
7	1		2	1	
8	1		1		2
9		2	2		
10	1		2		
11					
12					1

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	8
Persian	1
Iraqi	4
Yugoslavian	1
Hebrew and Spanish	2
Hebrew and Turkish	1
Hebrew and Arabic	9
No data	4

Demographic Profile of Grade 7[1]

N = 32

Pupils' country of birth:

Israel	32

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
0	1
6	2
6	3
6	4
4	5
2	6
4	7
0	8
1	9
0	10
3	11

Children's place in birth order:

Child's place	Number of children in household											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
I		3	5	2	1							
II		3		2	1		1					
III			1	1								
IV				1	1	1						
V					1	1						
VI							1					
VII							2	1				
VIII											2	
IX												
X											1	

Siblings' occupations: No data

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	29
Europe	3
North Africa and Asia	30
No data	2

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	9
1948-1954	21
1955-1960	2
After 1961	1
No data	2

Parents' ages at immigration:

1-10	9
11-20	10
21-30	6
31-40	6
41-50	1
No data	3

Parents' educational achievements:

University	1
Secondary school	3
Vocational school	2
Elementary school	33
No education	17
No data	8

Parents' occupations:

Professional	1
Administrative	2
Trade	6
Transportation	7
Craftsmen	6
Services	1
Construction	7
Housewives	28
Unemployed	1
Deceased	1
No data	4

Household population density:

Number of People	Number of rooms in home					
	1	1½	2	2½	3	3½
4	2		5			
5	2		5			
6			3	1	1	1
7		1	2		1	
8						
9	1	2	2			
10	1					
11	1		1			
12						
13					1	

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	21
Arabic	1
Hebrew and Yiddish	1
Hebrew and French	1
Hebrew and Arabic	5
French, Yiddish, Rumanian	1

The following is the posted official schedule of classes for this school's Grade 4.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Hebrew	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Hebrew	Arithmetic	Prophets
2	Prophets	Gymnastics	Prophets	Homeland	Hebrew	Arithmetic
3	Science	Hebrew	Science	Gymnastics	Prophets	Hebrew
4	Art	Crafts	Geography	Legends	Music	Teacher's hour
5		Crafts			Homework	

Thus, there are 26 scheduled hours for the pupils in this Grade 4^1; twice a week they are scheduled to remain in school until 1 p.m., and one of the latter days is devoted to assisting the children with their homework. As can be seen below, the latter hour is not kept; such hours are often listed and are claimed to be kept, whereas in reality they are not in many schools.

The following is the actual schedule of classes that were followed during the week that I visited in this Grade 4^1.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prophets	Prophets	Homeland	Homeland	Prophets	Hebrew
2	Hebrew	Gymnastics	Homeland	Prophets	Prophets	Hebrew
3	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Gymnastics	Hebrew	Arithmetic
4	Art	Radio hour		Hebrew	Arithmetic	Teacher's hour

As even the casual comparison of the two schedules reveals, there is little resemblance between them. The only sessions that were held on schedule were the art (Sunday), gymnastics (Monday and Wednesday) and teacher's (Friday) hours. The final hour on Tuesday was cancelled because that was the day (November 28, 1967) on which the seker examination was conducted for the students in Grade 8. This was first announced to the students at 10:07 of the same day.

Now let us see how these hours are distributed among different subjects in the official and actual schedules, and how they compare with official Ministry of Education requirements for Grade 4.

Required by Ministry	Listed in school schedule	Hours taught	Subject
5	5	5	Prophets and Legends
5	5	5	Hebrew
3	3	3	Homeland and Science
4	4	4	Arithmetic
2	2	2	Gymnastics
2	2	0	Crafts
2	2	1	Art and Music
1	1	1	Teacher's hour
2	0	0	Agriculture
0	1	0	Geography
0	1	0	Homework hour
0	0	1	Radio hour
26	26	22	

Although Ministry of Education requirements stipulate "Prophets and Legends," only Prophets are listed in the official school schedule, and Legends are not even mentioned in the school listing of subjects taught. Agriculture is not listed even though the school has land set aside for this purpose. The "Radio Hour" is a session that coincides with a program on the Voice of Israel for school children. On the Monday that I was present for this, there was a program dealing with Mogen David Adom, the Israeli equivalent of the Red Cross. The lessons in Hebrew on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of this week dealt with the material presented in this program, rather than with textbook materials.

Now, it may seem relatively unimportant -- from the point of view of its effects on 10 year-old pupils -- that a teacher does not follow either the requirements of the Ministry of Education or the official school schedule for her grade. But it most certainly must have an effect -- and undoubtedly a deleterious one -- on students not to know from one hour to another what they are going to be studying, and to have their order of activities subject to the capricious whim of a teacher. For example, each subject is supposed to last 50 minutes, and this is an aspect of the routine to which pupils in Israel are supposed to orient themselves. Nevertheless, on three mornings of the week that I visited here -- Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday -- the first lesson was continued until the 10 a.m. snack break. Nor is there necessarily anything disadvantageous in this either, except that it is not part of the routine, and its occurrence is completely fortuitous.

This unpredictability is further underscored by the following type of event in the classroom. It is from Wednesday morning:

9:25 - Teacher tells class to take out books for language lesson (Hebrew), telling them to hurry because there is very little time left. [The lesson was supposed to have begun at 9:15.] The original schedule called for homeland.

9:25:30 - She changes her mind and tells class to take out Prophets text instead, which is not even scheduled for today.

Before going on to discuss some of the implications of this pattern, I want to note some of the other features of this class. The only scheduled recess for children in this school is for the 10 a.m. snack. The principal does not allow a recess period after each hour, maintaining that too much time is lost in allowing the children to go outside and then return after every hour. In Grade 4, as just illustrated, this also leads the teacher to leave little time for the second of these blocks of two hours. There is not one instance in my protocols for this week in which equal time was given to each of two consecutive hours. The principal of this school also demonstrates his autonomy by beginning classes at 8:15 in the morning, rather than 8:00.

These values of capriciousness and fortuitousness are also dominant themes in classroom teacher-student relationships, as illustrated by the incidents involving Joseph, the near-sighted darkest-skin boy.

My protocols show that this class' teacher was late to class every day and after every recess period; she is not unusual in this respect, but she was sometimes as much as 8 minutes late. The later she arrived, the noisier the children were when she came in and, therefore, the more she scolded them. Without counting the minutes in my protocols -- since these will also have to be compared with classes in other schools -- it is my impression that between one-fourth and half the time in the week that I was present here was devoted to maintaining discipline. This consists not only of her loudly yelling for quiet -- and there were times when she could barely make herself heard -- but also (Sunday, 9:33) saying to a child who has corrected something she said, "Don't correct me." On another occasion, she told some students that their answers were "stupidities." In answer to my question about her problems in this class, she told me simply, "I have lots of students whom nothing will help."

Is this teacher unusual in the context of this school? One morning during the snack break, I was with the teachers in their room and a girl of about eight walked into the room to tell her teacher something. Before she could finish, another teacher screamed at her shrilly, "How dare you come into the Teachers' Room?" Frightened, the girl scurried out. While I never saw a boy come into the Teachers' Room in the upper-status religious school, they did do so in many others, and they were listened to without remonstrance from anyone.

Boys and girls are not segregated in this school, but they are required to stand quietly at their places when the teacher comes into the room. After they are told to be seated, they are provided with instruction in their relations to figures of authority -- and privilege -- in their society.

Arithmetic during the week of my visit to this Grade 4^1 was devoted to simple multiplication. This was at the level of rote recitation of the 3x and 5x tables, as well as solving problems of the order of, for example, $54=6\times ?$ and $9\times6=(2\times9)+(2\times9)+(2\times9)$ and $9\times6=(10\times6)-6$. As will be seen, this is at a considerably higher level than Grade 4 in other schools, just as it is at a lower level than, let us say, Grades 4 in the suburban secular and urban upper-status religious schools discussed above.

Now let us turn to Grade 7^1. The following is the schedule of the class.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Crafts	Nutrition	Crafts	Prophets	Science	Mathematics
2	Crafts	Gymnastics	Crafts	Gymnastics	Prophets	English
3	Mathematics	Mathematics	Hebrew	Hebrew	Crafts	Teacher's hour
4	English	English	History	History	Crafts	Radio hour
5	Science	Hebrew	Prophets	English	Mathematics	
6	History			Legends		

The following is the actual program of classes during the three days that I visited there.

	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Hebrew	Science	Geometry
2	Gymnastics	Prophets	English
3	History	Crafts	Geography
4	Legends	Crafts	Hebrew
5	English	Mathematics	Teacher's hour
6		Science	
7		Science	

Thus, it can be seen that Wednesday and Friday did not follow the officially scheduled hours, except for gymnastics and English; these are taught by special-subject teachers, whose schedules, as noted above, are divided between two schools. The last two hours on Thursday are not scheduled, and I will discuss them below. Nevertheless, we can see that behavior with respect to scheduling is not a characteristic of any particular class, but seems to characterize the school as a whole.

The following is a comparison of scheduled hours in this Grade 7^1 and published requirements of the Ministry of Education.

Required by Ministry	Hours Listed	Subject
4	3	Prophets and Bible
1	1	Legends
3	3	Hebrew
4	4	Mathematics and Geometry
3	3	History
2	0	Geography
2	2	Science
4	4	English
2	2	Gymnastics
1	0	Art
1	0	Music
1	1	Teacher's hour
2, 3, or 4	6	Crafts and Agriculture
0	1	Nutrition
0	1	Radio hour
30-32	31	

But this listing does not tell the entire story. The six hours for "crafts and agriculture" are devoted exclusively to crafts. As can be seen from the program of actual classroom hours for the three days that I was there, an additional two hours of science are held on Thursday during the sixth and seventh hours. But these are not for the entire class. There were only 7 pupils during these two additional hours. When I asked the class' teacher about this, she said that attendance at these hours were a reward confined to those pupils who had done all their homework during the previous week. Science here is also of the look-but-don't-touch variety.

About 1-1½ miles from the "Anglo-Saxon" community discussed earlier and separated from it by a vacant interstitial area is an area of development housing -- large apartment blocks -- of lower-class immigrants, most often North African and Asian.

This was one of the areas in which huge housing tracts were built to house the waves of immigrants who came between 1948 and 1954, but especially the immigrants from Asia and North Africa. The apartments are well designed, and are built to assure a maximum of visual privacy; each has its own terrace, which can be shuttered, but which is usually used to hang wet laundry. The apartments are privately owned, and they were made available to the immigrants at very low cost and repayment rates. Aside from their monotonous institutional appearance -- which is an insignificant consideration, and probably the reaction of an urbanized American, considering the haste with which they had to be erected -- there was only one miscalculation on the part of the planners of these housing developments. They seemed not to have realized that young adults -- the majority of the immigrants -- procreate; furthermore, they did not seem to consider that the overwhelming majority of these immigrants were terribly poor and quite religious and that poor religious people (no matter what their "cultural backgrounds") are the most averse of all, or the least likely, to practice contraception. And so their families grew. (All contraceptives, oral and mechanical, are purchasable in Israel without prescription; abortion is readily available in hospitals, though it is technically illegal.) The population density is probably higher in such teeming areas than anywhere else in the country, with the exception of some Arab villages in which there are many poor religious people.

Most sections of this area have two schools, one secular, the other religious. I am first going to describe the secular elementary school. But before turning to the school itself, it is necessary to show how it remains ethnically and socially segregated. There are three basic ways by which the upper-status parents in the area are able to send their children to such schools as the urban elite or suburban lower/upper schools in my sample.

The first, and the only legal way, is based on prior residence. For example, there are several families in the private houses of this area who had originally lived in the area served by the latter suburban school, and having graduated from the status of "young marrieds on their way up," they moved to this area when they were able to afford the high price of private housing and as their need for more space for their children became pressing. Since their children had begun to attend school at the lower/upper suburban school, they were entitled to remain enrolled there, "to keep their friends," as their parents put it to me. They reach their school every day by bus or car.

Other than this ploy, every other technique of enrolling children in higher-status schools is illegal. One illegal technique is to falsify an address, either by blatantly giving a false house number or by giving the address of some other person, usually a relative, of the same name or one who is willing to allow a friend or relative to have his name added to one's mailbox.

The other involves the open collusion of principals. To illustrate, a man and his family recently moved into one of the private homes in this housing development. He is one of the most highly placed officials in an unimportant Ministry and is Israeli born; his wife is Czech born. They just returned from the United States where he spent a five-year tour of duty as a representative of the Ministry, his first assignment was in Los Angeles, and his second was in Atlanta. His wife is a petite blonde, who struts around the neighborhood in tight slacks and sweaters (usually white, otherwise orange or some other pastel shade) carrying a tennis or badminton racket. She told me shortly after moving in there that she was both appalled and fascinated "by all these Jewish Arabs." In the course of explaining to me what she meant by the term she said, "We have a Negro problem too, you know. Of course, I can say that to you; but I would never say it to the couple next door to you." The latter were Roman Catholics, the husband being attached to a consulate. When I asked the wife of the official what they were doing about their children's schooling, she explained that she had enrolled them in the suburban lower/upper school. I asked how she had managed that. She told me that she could not think of having her children go to the suburban lower-status school after learning the local situation, and she went to see the latter's principal; I assume she was elegantly dressed as usual. She told me that when she walked into the principal's office, the latter looked up, stared, and finally said, "What are you doing here?" She said that she wanted to register her child for that school "so that we can start the formalities for transferring the children to [the other]." She said that the principal replied simply, "Of course, I understand." The registration and transfer forms were filled out forthwith. She went directly to her target school where, she said, the principal also said, "Of course, I understand." The official's wife is very pleased with the instruction her children are receiving.

The following are demographic profiles of Grades 4^1 and 7^1 of the suburban lower-status coed school.

Grade 4^1

N = 30

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	29
Asia and North Africa	1

Pupils' year of immigration:

After 1961	1

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
1	1
5	2
2	3
7	4
6	5
3	6
4	7
0	8
1	9
0	10
1	11

Pupils' placement in birth order:

Child's place	Number of children in family 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
I	1	4									
II		1	2	2	3	1	2				
III				5		2					
IV					1	1	1				
V					1						
VI											1
VII							1		1		

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school	1
Primary school	65
Under school age	26
In army	5
Employed	5
14-18 but not in secondary school	6

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	0
Europe	1
Asia and North Africa	55
No data	4

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	3
1948-1954	53
1955-1960	0
After 1961	2
No data	2

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	0
11-20	35
21-30	18
31-40	4
41-50	1
No data	2

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: None

Parents' educational achievements:

Primary school (in part/whole)	9
No education	2
No data	49

Parents' occupations:

Manual labor	19
Drivers	2
Carpenter	1
Milkman	1
Policeman	1
Clerk	1
Electrician	1
Dressmaker	1
Housewives	9
No data	24

Household population density: No data

Languages spoken at home: No data

Grade 7[1]

N = 33

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	29
Europe	2
North African	1
No data	1

Pupils' years of immigration:

1955-1960	1
After 1961	2
No data	1

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
3	1
3	2
7	3
4	4
6	5
4	6
2	7
1	8
2	9
1	10

Pupils' placement in birth order:

Child's place	Number of children in family 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	3	1	6	2	1	1			1	
11		1			1		1			1
111			1		2	1			1	
1V				1	1					
V					2	1	1	1		
V1						1				

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school	4
Primary school	52
Under school age	26
In army	9
14-18, but not in secondary school	10
Over 21, working	17

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	1
Europe	10
Asia and North Africa	55

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	1
1948-1954	57
1955-1960	0
After 1961	4
No data	3

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	0
11-20	23
21-30	16
31-40	12
41-50	3
51-60	5
No data	7

Number of inter-ethnic marriages: None

Parents' educational achievements: No data

Parents' occupations:

School principal*	1
Clerk	1
Skilled workers	3
Carpenter	1
Policeman	2
Manual work	22
Gardener	2
Chambermaid	1
Housewives	7
No data	23

*In Arab village

Household population density: No data

Languages spoken at home: No data

The following is the schedule of this Grade 4[1].

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Singing	Prophets	Hebrew	Arithmetic	Prophets	Hebrew
2	Composition	Prophets	Prophets	Hebrew	Arithmetic	Prophets
3	Gymnastics	Homeland	Arithmetic	(Open)	Hebrew	Arithmetic
4	Arithmetic	Hebrew	Dictation	Homeland	Library hr.	Teacher's hr
5	Science	Arithmetic	Science	Prophets	Crafts	
6	Crafts		Science		Crafts	
7	Crafts		Homework		Singing	

Grade 5 in this school has no complete official schedule. Only 10 hours are scheduled for that class -- divided among gymnastics, English, crafts, music, and storytelling over the six days of the school week. The other hours are for the teacher to do as she pleases.

My observational period at this school was three days in each class. During Sunday's fifth hour, there was a lesson in Prophets instead of science; on Monday, the second hour was devoted to homeland, the third to Hebrew, and the fifth to a radio hour; Tuesday's program followed the schedule above.

I have already described the behavior of the teacher of this Grade 4; she is the loud and slightly obese lady who described her class as a shuk (market place).

The following is the schedule of Grade 7^1 in this school; as will be recalled, this class is taught by the young lady who observed that the boys and girls of the class seemed to have different capacities.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	(Open)	Crafts	Press (news)	Bible	Mathematics	Agriculture
2	Prophets	Crafts	Discussion	Mathematics	Science	History
3	Geography	Prophets	(Open)	Geography	Prophets	Bible
4	English	Geometry	(Open)	English	Legends	Teacher's hour
5	Gymnastics	English	Gymnastics	Geometry	English	
6	Art	Hebrew	Music	Legends	Discussion	
7	(Open)	Grammar	Science	Crafts	Grammar	
8		History		Crafts		
9				Crafts		

The following was the actual program of classes followed during the three days on which I visited there.

	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Geometry	Mathematics	Agriculture
2	Mathematics	Science	History
3	Geography	Prophets	Mathematics
4	English	Discussion	Hebrew
5	Bible	English	
6	Legends	Legends	
7	Crafts	Grammar	

The following is the distribution of these hours and a comparison of them with requirements of the Ministry of Education:

Required by Ministry	Listed	Subject
4	5	Prophets and Bible
1	2	Legends
3	3	Hebrew
4	4	Mathematics and geometry
3	2	History
2	2	Geography and homeland
2	2	Science
4	4	English
2	2	Gymnastics
1	1	Art
1	1	Music
1	1	Teacher's hour
2, 3, or 4	6	Agriculture and crafts
0	1	Press
0	2	Discussion
30-32	38 + 4 "Open" hours	

In this school, too, there is an extremely lengthy schedule because of the policy of the Ministry of Education to have a "long study day" for children of North African and Asian immigrants. Although classes are scheduled to last until 5 p.m. on Wednesday, they were over at 3 p.m. on the Wednesday that I was there. There is a cafeteria in this school, so that there is no need for the children to go home for lunch, although the monotony of the food -- it is nourishing from a nutritional and caloric standpoint -- leads many of the older children instead to patronize the little shops in the neighborhood where snacks are sold.

There are several comments that deserve inclusion at this point. First, it will be noticed that no "Teacher's hour" was conducted during my visit to this Grade 7[1]. The teacher's explanation was simply that there was not enough time for it. Secondly, and perhaps more important, it is interesting to note the differences between Ministry of Education curricular requirements and the school's official schedule for Grade 7. Bearing in mind that this is a class made up almost exclusively of children from disenfranchised groups -- that is, those for whom it is most difficult to break out of the trap of poverty and low social status -- in what directions does this school go when it deviates from the curricular requirements of the Ministry? Does it provide extra hours in the study of mathematics, geometry, and Hebrew -- the three subjects of the seker examination and the most basic tools for socioeconomic advance in modern Israel? Does it provide additional hours in subjects that can provide better understanding and awareness of the world in which people live, whether it is history or science? As can be seen from the foregoing list, the answers are clearly in the negative. Where, then, do the additional hours go? One hour (Thursday's "discussion") went to "homeland." Two additional hours are devoted to Biblical studies (including Legends) and to crafts. I was not present for the "press" hour on Tuesday, but almost all the newspaper clippings on a wall of the classroom stress Israeli military heroes and exploits.

I observed above that this Grade 7^1 is a different affair from 4^1. It is different only -- and I do not wish to minimize the importance of this -- in the teacher's treatment of, and attitude toward, her pupils. My protocols do not contain a single reference to her raising her voice, sending a pupil out of the class, or stopping a lesson for disciplinary purposes. But as in higher-status schools, and others, the children in this class gave their special-subject teachers no quarter in the pandemonium at which all children seem to be expert.

Now let us turn to a state religious school for girls in one of the oldest neighborhoods of the city in which it is found; it is not a neighborhood school, and it draws its student population from the very lowest socioeconomic stratum of the society. Thus, it represents three separate features of boundedness: religion, sex, and socioeconomic status. Many of the children in this school commute to school by bus (free transportation provided by the Ministry of Education) from one of the worst slums in the city.

The principal of this school is a widow in her late 50s or early 60s, completely white haired, who gives an impression of being quite harassed. When I began to explain the purpose of my research, she told me that she did not have to be told what research is since she knew many people involved in education in Israel and the United States. She told me that I was more than welcome to her school, but asked that I visit Grade 4 very soon since their regular teacher was due to take maternity-leave within a few weeks. I agreed to this. She is very much a pedant and takes her work seriously; she corrected every mistake I made in my use of genders. Our conversation lasted about 15 minutes, and she explained to me that she had to terminate it because a child's mother was waiting to see her. Sitting on a bench with a mixed look of resignation and apprehension was a rather large woman in traditional North African dress who came about a problem in connection with her daughter, but who did not speak a word of Hebrew.

The following is a demographic profile of the students in Grades 4 and 7 of this school; not surprisingly, the data are very incomplete and inadequate, but they do give some indications of the socioeconomic backgrounds of these children.

Grade 4
N = 37

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	28
Algeria	1
No data	8

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of Children
0	1
0	2
1	3
0	4
1	5
1	6
34	No data

Parents' countries of birth:

Asia and North Africa	53
Israel	1
No data	20

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	5
1948-1954	32
No data	36

Parents' occupations:

Manual work	30
Clerks	2
Housewives	27
No data	15

Grade 7

N = 35

Pupils' countries of birth:

Israel	29
Morocco	1
No data	5

Number of children in household:

Cases	Number of children
1	1
0	2
2	3
4	4
3	5
3	6
2	7
0	8
1	9
0	10
0	11
1	12
18	No data

Siblings' occupations:

Secondary school	2
Primary school	37
Under school age	4
Between 14-18, not in school	17
In army	8
Over 21, employed	9

Parents' countries of birth:

Israel	5
Asia and North Africa	49
No data	16

Parents' years of immigration:

Before 1948	10
1948-1954	29
1955-1960	2
No data	24

Parents' ages at time of immigration:

1-10	3
11-20	3
21-30	2
31-40	3
41-50	54

Parents' education:

Secondary school	1
Primary school (whole/part)	9
No education	2
Yeshiva	1
No data	57

Parents' occupations:

Manual work	26
Contractor	1
Clerk	1
Dressmaker	1
Housewives	22
Deceased	2
No data	17

Household population density (data for 13 households):

Number of people in household	Number of rooms				
	1	1½	2	2½	3
3	1				
4					
5	1	1			
6		1	1		
7			1		
8	2				
9	1	1			
10			1	1	
11					1

Languages spoken at home:

Hebrew only	5
Arabic	7
Spanish	1
Hebrew and Arabic	2
Aramaic ("Targum")	1
No data	19

The following is the official schedule of Grade 4:

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prayer	Arithmetic	Gymnastics	Bible	(Open)	Prophets
2	Prophets	Hebrew	Bible	Arithmetic	(Open)	Music
3	Crafts	Bible	Prophets	Homeland	(Open)	Language
4	Crafts	Homeland	Art	Homework hr.	(Open)	Teacher's hr.
5					Homework hr.	

Now let us look at the actual program of studies of Grade 4 during the week that I was there.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer/Gym	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer/ Arithmetic
2	Prophets	Bible	Prophets	Prophets	Hebrew	Arithmetic/ Music
3	Crafts/ Remedial Reading	Science	Arithmetic	Bible	Bible	Hebrew
4	Crafts/ Remedial Reading	Prophets	Art	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Teacher's hr.

The Ministry of Education has published its curricular requirements for Grade 4 in secular schools and for Grade 4 in religious schools for boys; it has promised, but has not published, the requirements for this grade in religious schools for girls (not for co-educational religious school). This in itself provides a considerable amount of leeway for religious schools. Nevertheless, let us look at the listed distribution of the 25 hours in the schedule of Grade 4 and compare them with the actual program of studies.

Listed	Taught	Subject
4	-	Open
1	6	Prayer
3	4	Prophets
2	1	Crafts
2	4	Arithmetic
2	2	Hebrew
3	3	Bible
1	1	Art
2	0	Homeland
0	1	Science
2	0	Homework hours
1	1	Music
1	1	Teacher's hour
1	1	Gymnastics
25	24	

On Sunday, during the scheduled hours for crafts, the class was divided in half and the two halves took turns in spending one hour in remedial reading and another in crafts (sewing). On Tuesday, even though gymnastics were scheduled for the entire first hour, a prayer session was held first and the girls went out to gymnastics at 8:25. On Friday morning, an arithmetic lesson was crammed into the period between 8:45 and 9:04.

Not surprisingly, the study of arithmetic in this Grade 4 was at the lowest and most concretistic level of all the Grades 4 that I observed. Problems were exclusively at the level of 4x5, and the work itself involved the use of small wooden matchsticks.

The following is the official schedule of classes in Grade 7:

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Bible	(Open)	Gymnastics	Geography	Home economics	Bible
2	Prophets	(Open)	Prophets	History	Prophets	Language
3	English	Music	English	Mishnah	Bible	Science
4	Language	Music	Mathematics	Laws	Hebrew	Science
5	Crafts	Science	Geometry	English	Arithmetic	
6	Crafts		History			
7			English			

The actual program of studies during my three days in this Grade 7 was rather close to the above.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday
1	Prayer/Bible	Prayer/Grammar	Prayer/Prophets
2	Prophets	Hebrew	English
3	English	Music	Arithmetic
4	English	Science	Arithmetic
5	Crafts	Science	History
6	Crafts		Gymnastics

During the first hour on each of these three days, the session devoted to prayer lasted about 20 minutes, the remaining time being devoted to another subject. Considering that in most other schools, arithmetic and geometry are devoted to preparations for the seker examination, the level of arithmetic was surprisingly low in this class; I did not observe any teaching of geometry, and the level of arithmetic suggests that none was taught. Arithmetic on the day that I was there for its teaching consisted exclusively in working out such problems as 225.4 x 35.2, 9.725 x 3.75, 5.8 x 7.3, etc. At the end of the second hour of arithmetic, the teacher introduced them to division involving decimals -- such as 854 ÷ 2.4 and 534 ÷ 0.4 -- but it was difficult for the girls, and she reverted to the multiplication problems. In History, the class was using a textbook intended for Grade VI. Science on Monday was devoted to a discussion of the structure of the tooth, including the blood vessels in the tooth (sic).

I am going to halt this recitation of data at this point; having begun with the schools whose pupils come from those strata that are most open to government influences (which are the "best" schools) and concluding with those that are most closed (and which are also the "worst" schools). This is a good place to stop, and I only want to note that there are many schools between these two extremes that have not been described, but they conform to the picture obtained on the basis of these.

But I want to illustrate some of these processes a little further by means of a somewhat different example. As I have observed above (Chapter 5), and which is in no way original with me, science and research are integral aspects of contemporary life and its variety of modernity. Whether we look at Israeli methods of teaching science -- which is an aspect of its educational system's fundamentalism and religious influence -- or at American principals who say that their teachers are "over-researched" it generally emerges that those people who are most opposed to science and research are also generally opposed to modernizing influences. Thus, in the Israeli part of this research, all instances of non-cooperation or ejection of investigators in this project from classrooms at the elementary-school level, and the vast majority of such instances at the secondary-school level, were in religious schools. When compared with the foregoing data and with other situations which I now want to describe, this can only be interpreted as an aspect of insularity with respect to the surrounding world.

Another context in which I experienced nearly consistent non-cooperation -- though there were a few notable exceptions, for which I am most grateful -- was at the level of the university in the city in which I lived, most importantly in the social science and humanities faculties. In some instances, when I approached some of these people, I was told in one way or another, "Don't call me, I'll call you." In others, though there were subtler variations between the two extremes, my requests for help or information were refused outright. The few non-academic people with whom I managed to discuss this -- this happened rather early in my research and, not having the present perspective, I was quite puzzled by it -- sought to attribute this to "personality" factors, a feeling of threat, and faculties' domination by autocratic professors in the European tradition.

Without denying that these factors may have played a role, I would, instead, attribute this to the autonomy enjoyed by each faculty vis-à-vis the university as a whole and the surrounding society. One example of this boundedness is that students are not accepted or rejected by the university as a whole but by the individual faculties (social sciences, humanities, natural sciences, and the like). Policy making personnel in the Ministry of Education and Culture suggested to me on many occasions that Israel's universities constitute one of the last bastions against the introduction of full inter-ethnic equality in the educational sphere; it is largely because of this that it is planned by the ministry to establish a network of colleges, admission to which would not be governed by the same exclusive criteria (Bagrut examination) as the universities. From what I have been able to gather, the Minister of Education and Culture is currently negotiating with the presidents and rectors of the various universities to establish mechanisms by which these colleges will be attached to the universities and by which college students will be free to transfer to university status after, let us say, successful completion of two years of college work. This closely resembles the United States junior-college system but, several members of the ministry's planning personnel insisted, the idea for this did not come from an examination of the United States system.

Another aspect of the autonomy and firm boundedness of Israeli university faculties is their preference that those students who go on for post-B.A. degrees do so at the same universities at which they received their B.A. When, in one conversation, I observed to a university dean that the preference in the United States was for people to receive their academic training in as many institutions as possible so that they can be exposed to a variety of influences, he insisted that there were overriding advantages to a system in which students receive a "consistent point of view." Thus, it comes as no surprise that the tendency is for each faculty to recruit personnel from among its own graduates, to the extent that this is possible. It will be recalled that among the most important characteristics of a firmly bounded system is the systematic exclusion of members as well as of influences. I do not know of any social science faculty in Israel's universities in which there is a wide range of viewpoints; almost every one tends to exhibit a "consistent point of view."

Still another context in which I experienced non-cooperation was in one small sector of the Ministry of Education and Culture itself, though it is probably the most important sector; my reference to it as "small" is in terms of its size. I was not permitted to attend any sessions of committees at which final policies were resolved and determined. Naturally, I did not expect to receive such permission, but it was my policy to ask for it because I was conducting a national study and not of only one segment of the educational system. Whereas one could say, What would you expect, it can be countered that the very fact that those who are not privy to secrets in a political system are excluded from such councils sheds a considerable amount of light on any aspect of a state system. It is when taking all of these instances together that we can begin to learn somewhat more about the various aspects of autonomous subsystems within a state system.

Let us leave aside the question of secrecy and the exclusion of outsiders in connection with, let us say, military security which is (I think) self-evident. Taking a nation's educational system as a whole, what can we learn from the following combination of incidents: my (and my assistant's) ejection from classrooms that we had already observed for two days; my inability to get demographic data for some elementary school (always religious) and some secondary schools (mostly religious); the refusal of the Director General of the Ministry of Education and Culture to see me; my inability to receive permission to attend committees making final decisions on curricular standards; my inability to get any details on the proposed college program; and the non-cooperation that I experienced at the university level? (My inability to receive an appointment with the Director General -- who is the effective day-to-day administrator of the ministry -- was not actually stated as a refusal. One day I received a telephone call from the secretary of one of the deputies of the Director General informing me that I had an appointment with this deputy. I had seen the latter several times in connection with his area of responsibility, but I did not have any recollection of having asked for this appointment. Thinking that I might have forgotten having made such a request, I made the appointment. When a few days later, still somewhat puzzled, I entered the deputy's office, he said to me, "You asked for an appointment with the Director General. This is it." This is a somewhat inadequate translation and detracts from the impact of the original, since in Hebrew the latter three words are one word.)

It is not enough to say that each of these instances represents an aspect of autonomy in the society, because these autonomies are on different levels of the national society and thus represent different forces. Specifically, it is necessary to distinguish between local autonomy, separateness, or boundedness and their parallels at the state level. The former, as has been seen, is the major source for the perpetuation of particularistic standards and of inequality among groups; it is the situation, to use the terminology introduced earlier, which maximizes the predispositions of people to brutalize pupils and to wreak havoc with whatever potentials they may have for intellectual performance. On the other hand, as has been maintained, the people who speak in the name of a state -- because of their vested interests -- are committed to a set of standards which are universalistic, uniform, homogeneous: in other words, egalitarian. *These, too, must remain bounded in order to resist -- at least initially -- the demands and interests of particularism and localized self-serving investments of the competing autonomous groups in the society, which the state seeks to erode*. I observe "at least initially" because the boundedness and insularity of state agencies tends to become a habit of mind of those who control them and speak in their name. This may be one of the underlying factors in the distance and secrecy (or the "credibility gap") which characterizes states in their process of entrenchment.

People tend to see demons in the dark and they also tend to imagine the worst when trying to comprehend distantly sealed areas in which darkness prevails. This seems to be the case when the polity tries to imagine what unknown persons in control of state agencies are doing. (This can also work in reverse, as in recent United States history, when an executive so loses contact with the polity that he reciprocally imagines the worst about them.) On the other hand, localized boundedness is never as frightening, because it is possible for the masses of ordinary men to know localized decision-makers personally or to more accurately visualize the latter in their own images. Furthermore, there is greater likelihood that those individuals who speak in the name of localized autonomous groups will speak the same symbolic language (including dialect) as the mass members of these groups. From one point of view, it can be said that they are in greater cultural contact with each other. Those who speak in the name of the state, on the other hand, occupying positions of an entirely different sort, especially because they are not based on small and personalized networks, speak a very different symbolic language than those at the local level.

One of the ways in which this difference between the two levels of national social organization is perceived is in connection with the inevitable "wheeling and dealing" which is intrinsically characteristic of politics, whether in connection with education or marketing policies. Here, too, there appear to be substantive differences in the *modus operandi* of localized and centralized groups. (This is based for Israel on a set of documents of local political-party and factional agreements, which are probably conspiratorial in terms of Israeli law, and which I have only been able to examine for a few minutes; I will probably not be able to get a set of these documents for myself until two or three days before I leave the country, for rather self-evident reasons.) It appears that entirely different standards -- of rhetoric, barter, self-interest, and the like -- obtain at different levels of national social organization in the allocation of resources (or, more accurately, wheeling and dealing) in connection with, say, education. At the national level of Israeli politics, the standards used are those of the relations among formally defined and demarcated groups -- religious and non-religious factions, kibbutzim, ethnic groups, and the like -- in terms of lofty ideological rhetoric, such as the goals of education, the maintenance of tradition, selectivity in admission to secondary schools and universities, and the like. Cutting across these, one is able to discern a preoccupation with a "balance of forces" in the society, a concentration on a juggling act in which different political factions seek to determine who "needs" whom for the maintenance of a parliamentary coalition, and hidden background negotiations involving issues that -- at least on the surface, and this is one of the keys to the process -- seem to have nothing to do with each other.

Thus, for example, the cabinet officials who, for all intents and purposes, oligarchically govern Israel recently enraged the religious factions of the country by decreeing that television (which is nationally owned and controlled) will operate on a full weekly basis. Surprisingly, at least at the time that I write this, the religious factions have not resigned from the coalition (as some people expected them to do in view of the seriousness with which they regard such things). I have absolutely no evidence for this, but I suspect from my direct observations of some other wheeling-and-dealing in a committee which I was permitted to attend over an extended period of time, that one of the "bargains" involved in the religious factions' decision to remain in the coalition was the decision of the Ministry of Education and Culture to leave intact, at least for the time being, the religious teacher-training schools instead of merging them with the secular teacher-training schools under the control of the universities' schools of education. This is the stuff of which Israeli politics are made. (However, the very fact that a visiting anthropologist would be allowed to attend the deliberations of such a committee -- and who can be counted on to disclose everything that he sees and hears -- suggests that the latter was a relatively "low level" and unimportant decision.)

At the local level, as in municipalities, relationships among factions and groups are very different. Here they involve allocations of money -- in a manner that is not terribly different from local "machine politics" in the United States -- together with, and inseparable from, jobs and building-contract awards. Patronage is, of course, an important consideration here, but just as important are control of votes and decision-making apparatuses. Many local agreements in these connections could bring prison sentences for their parties if they were disclosed, but these are precisely the kinds of political brokerages that the masses of ordinary men at the localized level can understand. Whether or not the latter know that such agreements are often illegal, they can empathize with them because they are predicated on the same sets of terms by which most people run their own daily lives. (Needless to say, if I do get a copy of these agreements, they will be completely disguised in my planned book so that no one will be penalized.) This is one of the most important reasons that the masses of people are able to put their trust in those who speak in the name of localized groups and symbols of loyalty, and this is also one of the most important obstacles to effective state centralization, whether in the educational sphere or in others.

Counterpoised to the distant demons in state agencies who speak in strange tongues, then, is democracy, the belief that "the people" should control and regulate their own lives. We know from the studies of linguists that language is generally a symbolic representation of existing social processes; the power that the word "democracy" has in mobilizing sentiment is an example of the reverse process, by which a word becomes so highly charged that it is thought to represent reality, and people thus behave in terms of it. Thus, localized control over education is associated with "democracy" while centralized control is associated with totalitarian demons. I believe that the data gathered in this research support the reverse conclusion, illustrating the hiatus between the politics and reality of educational processes.

Another illustration of the difference between -- or confusion of -- the politics and reality of a situation is the frequently repeated assertion that centralization leads to homogeneity and uniformity, a loss of individuality, of everyone being the same as everyone else. The man in the gray flannel loincloth, however, was the product of lineages and clans and isolated small communities, not of nations. Centralization has nothing to do with these qualities of personalization. Instead, the question of centralization centers only on the issue of whether autonomous and firmly bounded subgroups within a national society will continue to exist as competitors for the individual's loyalty and allegiance; it focuses on the problem of whether autonomous sources of localized control will survive. I believe that the data gathered in this research conform to interpretations of history which see local autonomies as the ultimate loci of the burning of heretics, banishment of dissidents, and the perpetuators of systematized ignorance and other insults to the human mind.

IX

Sources of Change in Education

In attempting to understand the swirling events of change in Israeli education -- the rate of which visibly accelerated during the two years of research -- it became clear early in the investigation that I would have to choose between two alternatives in the writing of the history of Israeli education. One approach is the view of history as "one damned thing after another." The second, which deals more with process than with occurrences, explicitly eschews the idea that anything ever ends or can be defined; instead, in this, every event is viewed as a context. It is the latter approach which seems the more appropriate to me because, both in Israel and in the United States, there is no end in sight to the processes that are currently in motion; it is almost impossible to define any event; and ends and means are constantly shaping each other. This situation is especially acute in Israel -- as is probably the case in all new nations -- where political life is highly personalized (and personal life is highly politicized) and major educational decisions are often hammered out in secret "deals" or gray-area agreements; not only is it often difficult to know what was concluded in a particular set of negotiations, but it is sometimes impossible to learn that the negotiations between different vested interests have taken place at all.

Nevertheless, the situation in Israel appears to be very different from the United States. In Israel, the Minister of Education is Zalman Aranne -- who has held the post for a longer period than any other person -- is a member of the troika that runs the country (the other two are Golda Meir, who is now Prime Minister, and Pinhas Sapir, now Secretary of the Israel Labor Party and until relatively recently Minister of Finance). Aranne's political position in the country is such that he is also primarily responsible for many of the country's decisions in foreign policy in one of the most sensitive areas of international relations; like the other two members of Israel's troika, he has held the position of Secretary of Mapai, the leading labor party which swallowed up the other labor parties to become the Israel Labor Party in 1968 under Golda Meir.

As a result, most changes in Israeli education during the last 15 years have to be seen in terms of the fact that it is ruled by a single person who is also one of the most politically powerful in the country. But to put this in perspective, it should be said that these changes bear Aranne's stamp; he cannot be regarded as their cause. This stamp is a distinctive one. For example, it is probably safe to say that were these changes carried out under someone else, they would have been marked by much more conflict, if not by violence. But Aranne -- who was described to me by one of his closest associates as "a complete political animal, with exposed nerves at every one of his fingertips" -- is so adept at political maneuverings, in playing off one group against another and disarming all of them in the process, that he enters almost every political battle in the educational sphere with almost no opponents left to challenge him.

One of Aranne's crowning achievements was the Educational Reform Bill of 1968. It will have the effect of completely centralizing the nation's educational system in less than another decade. The controllers of Autonomous (ultra-religious) Education admitted to me privately that they probably have less than five more years of existence. When the reform legislation was originally proposed in late 1967 and early 1968, they knew that it was largely for them that the bell tolled. Nevertheless, the political party with which Autonomous Education is associated -- Agudat Yisrael -- voted in favor of the bill. They did so because of a secret agreement signed between them and one of Aranne's closest assistants -- whose name does not even appear in the ministry's table of organization, but who is known throughout the country to speak in Aranne's name -- which, in effect, exempted Autonomous Education from most of the law's provisions that the latter considered most damaging to it. The agreement consists of ten items; most of them are terse clauses, and none is more than two sentences in length. Because of the circumstances under which I was shown this agreement -- by a third party, who was uninvolved in it -- I was unable to copy it or fully digest it; I was shown it for such a brief period that I was unable to read past the seventh item. The first few items -- which are relatively unimportant -- deal with the physical placement of schools housing the intermediate grades of Autonomous Education. Another clause stipulates that pupils in Autonomous Education schools who have completed Grade 8 but who have been accepted by _yeshivot_ (schools which are largely devoted to rabbinical studies) will be given graduation certificates by the ministry, even though the law stipulates that these can be granted only upon succesful completion of Grade 9. (If the ministry refused to abide by this clause, no court would demand its enforcement, since it is clearly illegal.) A set of clauses -- and this is as far as I managed to read in the agreement -- exempts Autonomous Education from the new standards required in the law for teachers of Grades 7-9 (intermediate grades).

This agreement, at least at the time of its signing, was unknown to the National Religious Party (_Mafdal_), whose members sought to persuade the Agudat Yisrael members of the Knesset to vote against the bill. The former were thoroughly confused by the Aguda's decision to cast their votes for the legislation -- and the unity of the religious parties was effectively broken. It has been hinted to me that there are other such agreements and there are indications that they are already being broken by the ministry, as in the recent move by Aranne to abolish separate-sex classes in state-supported religious schools. It is apparently part of the code of honor among political machinators not to produce these agreements for public scrutiny, though there are probably material penalties for doing so as well.

Now, this raises two questions, among others. First, since such maneuverings are probably part and parcel of every political and educational system, and since their secrecy is an integral element in them, how would it be possible to write a history of an educational system within the framework of "one damned thing after another" if one cannot know what all the "things" are, or even whether they exist or not? Second, and perhaps more important to the questions under discussion, is it necessary to take such machinations into account; are they, in other words, important in terms of the outcome of the evolution of a particular educational system? I suspect that they are not, and that they only provide a particular spice to the political life of the society. Were someone less adroit than Aranne serving as Minister of Education and Culture, there may have been some violent demonstrations on the part of members of the religious factions in protest against the reform, some strikes and school shutdowns (as had been threatened), with eventual acceptance of national law at the convincing ends of police batons. Would someone who is less of a "political animal" and less obsessed with the achievement of political centralization in the post of Minister of Education and Culture have taken longer to put Israeli education on the final path to centralization? As I will attempt to show below, the answer is probably in the negative. What is more, I will also try to show that Zalman Aranne himself -- his political acumen, his ambivalence about university academicians (who will also be severely affected by the educational reform of 1968), his desire (in the words of his most admiring, if not adulating close associates) to leave a unified educational system as a monumental edifice to his own memory -- is entirely incidental to the processes reflected in the history of Israeli education.

A local wit recently (in an informal conversation) referred to Israel as a participatory non-democracy. He was referring to the illusion that many Israelis have that they participate in their country's political processes and that they are able to influence government policy. The late Levi Eshkol, when he was Prime Minister, once bemoaned the attempt to govern a nation of 2-1/2 million prime ministers. I do not know whether the relative ease with which they are governed is despite or because of this. But the fact nevertheless remains that -- whether in connection with recent changes in military policy or educational policies -- change in Israel is almost entirely directed "from above" and is almost invariably passively accepted by the polity. In the early months of 1969, for example, in anticipation of the elections scheduled to take place in November 1969, petitions were circulated throughout the country naming Moshe Dayan (now Minister of Defense) as the popular choice for Prime Minister. Immediately, these petitions were denounced by Golda Meir and Pinhas Sapir as "anti-democratic," with hardly a protest from the polity. However, different sectors of the population have different reasons for this acceptance. I have already referred to the fact that the disenfranchised groups in the society, especially the Jewish immigrants from Asian and North African countries, have a long tradition of passivity with respect to political institutions, which is effectively reinforced by the objective conditions under which they live in Israel. (Their offspring may well reverse this state of affairs during the next decade, if not sooner.) Israeli Arabs accept this situation under the weight of military authority and the intelligence services, paralleled by a separate set of laws which apply almost exclusively to them. Non-Arab Christians live in Israel by suffrance, and are thus very reluctant to voice their opinions openly when they disagree with government policy. European and American Jewish adults -- with few exceptions -- constitute the privileged groups of the society and, by definition, accept the status quo of the moment. (A current bit of humor defines an Israeli "Wasp" as a "white Ashkenazi sabra with protekzia".) Israeli university students, as will be discussed below, have their own motivations for political passivity, only some of which are shared with the latter groups.

One of the reasons for this is that Israel has no tradition of good journalism or "muckraking." The development of such a tradition was first thwarted by the British, during the Mandatory period, when any effective criticism of established authority was met with closings of newspapers or journals, fines, and prison sentences. That this is not tobe explained only in terms of British hypocrisy with respect to freedom of the press, but rather in terms of the idea that people in power will behave like people in power, is underscored by the fact that Israeli authorities continued this tradition after the departure of the British. With only slight variations on the rationalizations used by the British prior to 1948, criticism of established authority is suppressed by censorship rules which are justified by military necessity. Again in the British tradition of maintaining the argument of military security long after events have passed into history, Israeli authorities often continue to cite these standards more than a decade after events have occurred, to say nothing of events that have taken place more recently. Thus, for example, it is still impossible to gain access to the primary data of the "Lavon Affair" of the late 1950s on the grounds of military security. More recently, hardly any Israelis know that the Straits of Tiran were not mined by the Egyptians in May 1967, that an Israeli ship was scheduled to go through the Straits of Tiran -- unescorted -- after the supposed Egyptian blockade was proclaimed, or that no Arab armies had made a move to cross the pre-1967 cease-fire lines prior to the Israeli air and armored strikes on June 5th. There is probably not a journalist in the country who does not know these facts -- and many of the first frogmen who inspected the Straits of Tiran for mines after June 5, 1967 are willing to provide the evidence for the absence of any mines there -- but none will even attempt to publish them. Under the guise of military security, it is forbidden to publish data in Israel on administrative detention of Israeli Arabs. This is a law -- also first established by the British, but retained by the Israelis -- by which a citizen may be confined to prison or any other place for an indefinite period without rights of habeas corpus or information of the charges against him. This law is almost never applied to Jews; when it is, it is only in cases in which Jews protest the treatment of Arabs. An Israeli Arab can be placed under administrative detention for voicing his discontent over the fact that Arab villages receive less water and electricity than Jewish settlements or that they are denied equal treatment by the Ministry of Education; as would be expected, Israeli Arabs are given even more severe treatment when they say -- even in private conversations, which can usually be counted on to be reported by paid informers -- that Arabs have the same historic rights to national and cultural development as Jews. Recently, I sat in my home listening to a professional Israeli Arab who was going to be placed under administrative detention in his tiny northern village -- the paper work had not yet been completed -- asking my help in his attempt to get an immigrant's visa to a western country. His offense was having said at a party that Arab culture has as much right to survive as Jewish culture. As we sat talking, I closed my eyes for a moment and I was able to visualize myself in Germany in the late 1930s being asked for similar help.

Nor are social scientists exempt from such pressures. A young doctorate student at one of Israel's universities wanted to do his Ph.D. thesis on the history of Israeli labor exchanges (roughly equivalent to our employment offices). He is the son of one of the country's leading aviation personnel. When he turned to the office in which the data for labor exchanges in Arab villages are contained, the director of the office said to him, "Look, if you insist on getting this information, I have to give it to you; but if you want to have a future in this country, forget about it and find another topic." The young man took the advice and is now writing a thesis on the development of Israel's shipping industry. (I have only slightly disguised the facts of this, combining several incidents into one, in order to protect individuals from retaliation for having told me about their experiences.)

Thus, as the Israeli situation suggests, the exercise of power at any given moment in a society's history is inseparable from the control of change. Not only is Israel ruled almost entirely "from above," but the direction, content, and rate of change are also governed "from above." To revert to the question raised in the previous section of this report, questions about localized or "decentralized" controls over education miss the point of the relationship between education to the total social system. This is so because whoever maintains control of the major economic and political institutions of the society will also exercise control over the content and change in education, and because education is inseparable from the other institutions of society. To assume that those who control the major institutions of the society will yield control over the educational sphere is based on the same logical premises that such people would also yield control over any other institutionalized matrix: economic, legal, police, and the like.

Closely related to this is the fact that almost all of Israel's newspapers (of which there are more than a dozen, giving the country one of the world's highest per capita rates of newspaper publishing) are politically controlled. With only one major exception (Ha'aretz), almost every newspaper is a house organ of a political party or of a major-establishment institution, such as the Histadrut or a kibbutz-federation. Very few people read the communist newspapers (of which there are two), which are the most critical of the government. But even the independent Ha'aretz -- which is often the subject of Pinhas Sapir's vilification for reporting news that he feels is best suppressed -- seems to check in with the authorities in matters that seem of special political (non-military) sensitivity. For example, to take a recent example, it was decided recently to provide amnesty for Amos Ben-Gurion's partner in the libel suit against Shurat Ha'mitnadvim (discussed above), that is, the former chief of police and ambassador to Austria who committed perjury. A letter protesting this, written by a politically prominent Israeli to the editor of every newspaper in the country, was not published in any of them.

Another reason for the Israeli polity's impotence in stimulating or influencing social change is to be sought in the country's parliamentary and representational system. As noted, voters cast their ballots for party lists, not for individual candidates; these lists are chosen by the parties' secretariats. As a result, no member of Israel's

Knesset represents a constituency; he represents his own party. (Another way of looking at this is to say that the entire country is a single constituency.) Even Arab members of the Knesset -- and there are always two or three -- are affiliated with one of the major Jewish party lists, such as Mapai or Mapam. There are attempts, from time to time, to run purely Arab lists, unaffiliated to any of the Jewish parties; usually, however, if it appears that the Arab lists will gain enough votes to secure parliamentary seats -- that is, a sufficiently large percentage of the overall vote -- these parties are declared illegal by the Minister of Interior two or three months before the election on grounds of national security.

One of the functions of political parties in modern nations is that they serve as lines of communication between the state and polity; they are mechanisms by which the state makes policies and influences known and by which the polity make known their sentiments to the state. Because no Israeli member of the Knesset has a constituency, no members of the polity have their own representatives in the country's parliament. Hence, Israelis are almost entirely without mechanisms by which they can make their wishes known to legislators or to the government through members of the Knesset.

Earlier in this report, when discussing some of the factors involved in the Israeli school reform of 1968, I noted that it was reported by several people -- including some on the commission itself -- that the report of the commission suggesting the reform was actually written by the Minister of Education. One of the members of the group suggested to me that this event demonstrated the importance of the individual in social change; while not denying the importance of this, I asked him whether his breakfast menu that morning may not also have played an important role in his decision. We both enjoyed the little joke and then speculated about the possible course of European history if Napoleon had eaten different breakfasts.

Countering this, it is customary in other analyses of such phenomena to speculate that if one minister was not responsible for a particular change in policy, "someone else would have done it eventually." While this may be appropriate in the history of science (as, for example, in connection with Einstein or Freud), and it is debatable even in that context, it is an irrelevant, if not misleading, question in the study of the history of social systems in general and education in particular. The question is not whether one individual or another has moved the course of events in a particular society, or even in relations between societies, but rather whether the individuals who manage the bureaucracies of a society have a choice in the policies that they adopt. I suggest that they do not.

Zalman Aranne, Israel's current Minister of Education who is reputed by some to have written the report of the Prawar Commission recommending the reform of 1968, may have added or omitted a detail here or there that someone else would not have. In fact, he may have fashioned a vehicle that another would not. But were his proposals entirely discordant with the directions being taken by other branches or sectors of Israeli society -- with its emerging national policy in governing the relations among groups -- it can be speculated that his intervention in "democratic parliamentary procedures" would have become such a cause celèbre that the government could have been overthrown as a result. Politicians who were capable of resurrecting the the Lavon affair several years after it had happened, and who have access to their own party newspapers, can easily do this. Instead, they shrugged, as it were; they let it pass and, on the July evening that the bill was finally passed, they jammed the parliament in a rare display of attendance. These are the particulars from which we create theories of history, debating about the role of the individual vis-à-vis social forces that constitute the patterns of history. When Dwight Eisenhower sent military forces to Little Rock, Arkansas, to enforce the law on desegregation -- an act of which has probably been unparalleled in shaping the course of American education -- he was not expressing any particular feature of his personality or suddenly revoking his beliefs in decentralized government (what is called states' rights in the United States). Instead, it can be suggested that he had no choice.

What, specifically, is this lack of choice? There is no force or agency, mystical or real, which binds men and which limits their choices. To use an overworked cliché (most often used by those who seem to give the least evidence of it), man is a rational being; it is his very rationality, or capacity for it, that contradicts any hypothesis that he is governed by agencies and forces outside himself, which direct him and bind him in his movement toward certain points. What I suggest is that the limitations of people's choices in shaping policies are to be found within this capacity for rationality. In other words, the limitations on choice in formulating policies exist in people themselves, rather than outside them.

The limitation is this. Once a "generic" policy has come to prevail in people's thinking, it assumes the characteristic of a logical premise, axiom, or postulate. All major policy decisions in a society are, inter alia, logical deductions about the meaning or significance of perceived events within the potentials and restraining limits of the basic and antecedent logical premise or generic policy. Let me give some examples of this.

As has been recently demonstrated, in the post-World War I Versailles Treaty, the underlying premise -- or what I am calling here a generic policy -- of the victors was that "Bolshevism" had to be stopped at all costs. This not only led to their "intervention" in Russia, but also to the way in which they drafted the Treaty. In a vastly different environment -- altered by the existence of new weapons -- the same powers, starting with the premise or policy that they did not wish to risk a thermonuclear war, were logically -- ineluctably -- led to refrain from intervention during the Middle East war of 1967 or the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Each of these generic policies -- and I am deliberately disregarding the question of their sources, because that would require a Toynbeean theory of history -- not only seems inescapable ("rational") to the people who adopt it but, more important, it has its own force of logic. This also seems to be borne out in Robert Kennedy's posthumously published account of the "Cuban Missile Crisis" of 1964.

To swing to the other extreme for the moment -- and the juxtaposition of this example with the foregoing may seem banal -- when an Israeli teacher or principal defined his major school problems in terms of the pupils' group membership (as members of a particular ethnic group or as a zoo or a market), he has set forth a premise or axiom in terms of which these children are perceived; it is this rational process which completely limits his choices of action in relation to those pupils. He has no choice but to treat them as so many threatening chattel. We are familiar with even clearer examples of this from psychopathology. This is an important aspect of what is often referred to as lawfulness in human behavior, whether at the level of the individual, the society and its culture, or international relations.

Naturally, the same particular considerations cannot obtain at each of these levels, because there is nothing else in common between an individual teacher or paranoiac and international relations, except that people are involved; to assume otherwise, as in deterministic philosophies, is to invoke mystical external agencies. I would now like to back off a bit from straddling such widely disparate examples, and take a somewhat closer look at the formation of recent educational policy in Israel. (Needless to say, my adoption of this point of view limits my choices in interpreting the data at hand.) My point of departure -- my generic policy, as it were -- in examining the evolution of a national society has been to focus on the relations among boundary-maintaining systems or groups. One of my premises is that the firmness of different boundary systems in a society are in competition. That is, a relationship of antagonism is established among the members of different groups that represent mutually exclusive interests in commanding allegiance and obedience, as well as different modes of thought and customary behavior. In a community that seeks to establish very firm boundaries around itself -- by systematically excluding influences and people and by governing admission to the community by a rite de passage -- a relationship of antagonism is established between its boundaries and those of subsystems within it: segmented kin groups, marital networks, inalienable friendships, and the like. That is, in a community in which influences and people are selectively excluded and admission to which is governed by a rite, the intensity of social relations will be characterized by role transposability and the intolerance of sustained outspoken dissent. In such a community, its subsystems (e.g., segmented kin groups, marital networks) will not be autonomous and will be submerged within the whole, as, for example, in relation to decision-making and implementation.

On a larger scale, when a state seeks to establish itself as the supreme authority in the national society -- that is when the managers of its bureaucracies are seeking to centralize all authority in their hands -- and to establish maximally firm boundaries, the state must also seek to eliminate differentiated boundary systems within the nation:

ghettos, autonomous communities, kin groups, regional and ethnic subcultures, and the like. The conflict between the boundaries of the state and those of the local community or other autonomous groups is an important element in the histories of many societies, each of these nexuses opposing the strength and authority of the other's. This, as we have seen, is true of Israel, among other societies.

No two societies resolve these conflicts at the same rate, in part because different societies focus on -- and are composed of -- different groups representing very different kinds of interests. It is not my purpose here to go into the reasons for this. I merely take it as given.

I do not know yet why the Israeli state embarked in 1967/8 on a major assault against the autonomous subsystems of the society: the religious sector, the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, and the kibbutz and moshav federations. The answer to this may emerge to be simply that in 1967 Israel fought its first major war on its own strength, "our own war," as Israelis are wont to refer to it, and won it handily. Perhaps the reason is simply that the Israelis found that they could "go it alone" while the state realized that it had the loyalty and obedience of the polity to an extent not previously imagined. If it did not have it before that war, it at least had it afterward. In the largely successful submergence of divergent group interests for one stressful month -- when "no thought of religious and Oriental," as is often claimed -- it is possible that a premise that had lain dormant and confined to rhetoric could now be converted into an active premise or generic policy: that these people can be mobilized into a single and undifferentiated polity. (In the light of this, did American society "miss its chance" in 1945?)

If this is correct -- and it would be folly to overlook such possibly "simple" explanations and insist exclusively on much "deeper" and "complex" reasons -- the rulers of the society had little alternative but to act on the premise. Thus, they began to reduce the number of proliferating political parties and strip them of their autonomous claims on people's loyalties and obedience, to strip the Jewish Agency of its last major function (the regulation and control of immigration), to weaken the role of the Histadrut in the nation's industrial sector and challenge its control over its pension funds, and -- 15 years after it was first proposed -- to begin to bring the kibbutzim and moshavim under direct governmental control by means of legislation that would more directly and carefully regulate their federations. Equally fundamental and important, it began to question the separateness of the religious sector by challenging the exemptions of some of its men from military service and by a few subtle challenges (in the courts) of religious control over marriage. There are hints that even the army's autonomy has begun to be weakened, but these are entirely inferential; given the nature of Israel's current needs with respect to military security, it is not likely that administrative decisions about the army's status in the society would be made public at present. For example, it has recently become evident that the army has been lying to the public about several types of events since about March

1968. Prior to that time, casualties in border and other incidents were always truthfully announced; Israelis maintained with pride that because of the nature of society-wide communication, it was impossible for the army to be anything but truthful. This policy was apparently changed, as in connection with personnel losses caused by anti-vehicle mines, kidnappings in Hebron, casualties in the raid on Karame, the bombings on August 18, 1968 in Hebron (completely censored out of news reports) and Jerusalem (which precipitated the Jewish "race riot" in the Arab sector of Jerusalem), and casualties along the Suez Canal (in some cases only 30% of casualties are reported). It is, of course, the society-wide communication system which makes these incidents known almost as soon as they occur, and many Israelis are bewildered by the change in the army's policy, which seems to be moving toward the norm of the "information gap" which characterizes government-polity relations generally. In addition, it appears that the traditional separation between the army and the political parties is also being broken down. Whether this is in reaction to the threatened coup by the army in April-May, 1967, or because of other factors is difficult to tell. One of the latter may be the suddenly large number of high ranking officers in their early 40's who are being retired into civilian management jobs; it is possible that the political rulers of the country want to lessen the disparity between the values by which the army is run and those which govern civilian institutions. For example -- and still unannounced publicly -- 17 high-ranking officers who are scheduled for retirement during the summer of 1969 have been selected for a year's training to become principals of comprehensive secondary schools being established under the educational reform law of 1968. These were chosen out of a field of about 40.

In any case, once the attempt was begun to reduce or weaken the autonomy of subgroups and subsystems within the society, it was unavoidable that this premise would be applied in other sectors of the society. Also in 1968, the government decided to adopt legislation guaranteeing employment or a minimum annual wage, thereby increasing its control over labor and the economy as a whole. Not surprisingly, it did this within a few days of enacting the educational reform program of 1968, that is, within less than a year after its sweep toward centralization was begun.

Now, there are two additional considerations which, at first, may appear to be mere sidelights of these processes; in fact, however, they are crucial. First, these instituted changes have not been the result of pressure from the polity. Parliamentary representation in Israel is by party (based on proportional distribution of seats) and not by constituency. Not only are there no mechanisms by which the polity may have access to members of the parliament in order to make their wishes known, but, more important, these changes in policy were not preceded by any public demand for them. Second, all of these changes, when taken together, especially within the very short span of time during which they were instituted, add up to a radical upheaval in Israeli social organization. Surprisingly, I have not met an Israeli, in or out of government, who has been aware of the extent of the change currently being wrought in Israeli society. Each has expressed awareness of changes in one or two spheres, usually those that most closely affect him: immigration, wage policy, education, the cooperatives sector, religious autonomy, political-party organization, and the like. None has seen these pieces as part of a larger picture; nor has any disagreed with the portrayal of the larger picture once it has been pointed out to him, albeit not without surprise. This transformation is being carried out exclusively at the level of administrative policy and legislation. In fact, most people outside governmental bureaucracies profess not to understand the details and implications of each of these changes, to say nothing of the picture as a whole. Meanwhile, life goes on as previously in private as well as public. The effects of these administrative and legislative changes in the quality of Israeli private and public life will probably not be apparent for at least another decade, if then. It will require considerable passage of time before these public generic policies become private and personal premises for thought and action; once these adoptions are made -- and people will barely be aware that they are making these substitutions, and they will do so almost without conscious awareness -- there will be little choice available in the behavioral sphere.

The foregoing is based on the assumption that the movement toward increasingly effective centralization will continue. An important element in this, as suggested above, is the continuation of present foreign policy which is an important aspect of proclaimed domestic policy: the need to maintain control and unity in the face of external military and political threat. Inane and one-sided United Nations resolutions about Israeli attempts at self-defense are a godsend from the point of view of those who control Israel's domestic policies, because these resolutions accomplish nothing except to increase Israel's sense of isolation and defensiveness. Wars, raids, border skirmishes, and minings -- regardless of who is responsible for them -- perpetuate the feeling of being constantly under attack and beleaguered, thus reinforcing the proclaimed need for unity and centralized control. If the Israelis should blunder and be maneuvered into negotiations to end the hostilities with their surrounding neighboring nations, much of the force behind the movement toward increasing centralization will have been weakened. But as long as Israel is able to maintain its policy of demand for "direct negotiations" -- and most Israelis know that this is currently impossible, the majority thus approving of the policy -- there is little danger of this happening, all other things remaining relatively constant, such as the issue of the Palestinian Arab refugees, the focus of Soviet-American tension in the Middle East (among other places), the difficulty of importing a sufficient number of Jews from abroad to offset the natural increase of the non-affluent Jewish and non-Jewish population, and the like. These are policy issues, conveniently legitimated by the Prophets (especially the Book of Joshua) and Israeli readings of history. (However, as suggested above, "it takes two to tango." Similar processes are at work on the other side of the "cease-fire" line, especially in Egypt and Syria, where strenuous efforts are being made to unify nations. Hence, a state of war is equally fortuitous for many of the Islamic nations, and this too is inseparable from the maintenance of village education in those nations in the hands of religious functionaries. A study of Egyptian education, paralleling the present one in Israel, is therefore imperative. Unfortunately, however, it is unlikely that Syria will allow such research within its borders at the present time.)

I have mentioned the study of the Prophets in this context in order to emphasize what I consider an important point in this connection. Not all of Israeli education will change as a result of the reform of 1968. As a matter of fact, and this needs special emphasis, it is unlikely that there will be any basic curricular change for many years, especially in the teachings of traditional and fundamentalist doctrine. When I jokingly suggested to the person in charge of programming Israeli educational television (see below) that the next step in this medium is to have televised instruction in Bible and the Prophets, she answered in an exaggeratedly quivering and whispered voice, "Don't say that."

Thus, as I have repeatedly emphasized, current change in Israeli education is structural, not curricular. Curricular change is strenuously resisted, as will be illustrated below. Curricular change refers to a different set of sociocultural values than structural change. Specifically, the former will have to be based on a change in the legitimating ideologies of the state, especially in its international relations. Structural change, on the other hand, manifest in the State Education Laws of 1949-1953, 1959, and 1968, refers primarily to centralization of control over the schools. This reflects domestic policy governing the relations among groups.

With this distinction in mind, it is now possible to look more closely at the educational reform of 1968 and examine its relationship to sociocultural changes in the society at large; in other words, we can now inquire into the broader changes of which the educational changes of 1968 are a part. Why and in what ways, in other words, did Mr. Aranne have no choice? It will be recalled that the change in the educational system just enacted alters the pattern whereby children were compelled to go to school from ages 5-14 and in which elementary school ranged from Grades 1-8. (Kindergarten covers the age group 5-6.) With a few exceptions, schools are tied to neighborhood residence; since neighborhoods are by and large ethnically segregated -- or gerrymandered -- education is also in effect segregated according to ethnic and social class membership. Under the new system, elementary school will cover grade 1-6; grades 7-9 will be within the framework, or under the jurisdiction, of the secondary school system which, until now, had largely been a part of the private-enterprise sector; grades 10-12 will now be considered to constitute secondary school; the seker examination will be eliminated; compulsory education is extended to 15 years; the intermediate grades (7-9) will not be tied to neighborhoods; and because secondary school teachers are required to possess the B.A., the intermediate grades will now also be taught exclusively by such people.

One of the consequences of these changes is that pupils will be taught by special-subject teachers, rather than by "home room teachers" (to use the American concept, who are referred to in Israel as "educators" rather than "teachers"); each of these persons will be in charge of different classes in his subject matters in at least two schools. Opponents of the reform (especially the teachers' union) are aware of this aspect of the change; in fact, they used it as an argument in opposition to the reform bill on the grounds that it will destroy the "student-teacher relationship" (note the similarity to the argument of the American Medical Association that Medicare would destroy the "sacred doctor-patient relationship").

But this will have another effect, perhaps unintended and unappreciated. We have seen the disparity among schools with respect to scheduled hours and adherence to schedules. While it may, perhaps, be too much to expect that this will change in grades 1-6, henceforth almost all children from ages 11 through 15 will receive training in adherence to uniform schedules. It is simply impossible to play havoc with scheduling when a teacher is involved with different classes in more than one school. (Of course, this too can be considered to constitute a curricular change but, as noted, this is unintended.) Now, it is important in itself that this is being introduced at an earlier age than heretofore. But there is a more important consideration: for the first time in Israeli history, this will affect the entire school population, because until now this training was largely confined to the upper socioeconomic strata and the Development Towns, since these were primarily the pupils who had access to secondary-school education and its values with respect to schooling.

Another -- and intended -- effect of the reform of 1968 is to make inroads into neighborhood-school segregation. This, together with the elimination of the seker examination, is probably the crux of the program; in fact, Ministry officials largely remained silent about the elimination of the seker examination until passage of the bill was assured. As I have noted, sociopolitical "equality" is an important byproduct of political centralization; "inequality" is similarly an accompaniment of localized autonomous groups. One of the aims of a state is the equal treatment of all citizens in all spheres of activity, and the enforcement of such uniformity is also one of the means by which a state undermines the autonomy of local groups, especially in the legal sphere. But I do not think it is equality per se which is the goal of a state's bureaucratic managers because, after all, they are members of a privileged group or are members of the small social nuclei -- such as the kibbutzim, Histadrut and Jewish Agency in Israel -- which embody unequal privilege. From the point of view of such people, true sociopolitical equality must be an unpleasant consequence of the success of overcoming local pockets of resistance to centralization of authority. But history has known even greater paradoxes.

One of the characteristics of a firmly bounded system is the interchangeability of its members, especially in the performance of social roles appropriate to the group. In terms of adult roles, this means that people from any group -- whether defined by sex, color, parental country of origin, religious affiliation, and the like -- must be equally available for all tasks. Equally important, they must have equal access to opportunity and social institutions: political office, a livelihood, employment, medical care, space, education, and so forth.

More importantly from the point of view of the state, however, is the elimination of competing boundary systems. We have seen that the Israeli state has been moving on a broad front to eliminate the autonomy of localized groups within the society. Replicating this in the educational sphere is the corresponding reduction in the number of educational subsystems. This has been a gradual process, as has been seen, from the elimination of formally recognized "trends" -- though, in effect, this was merely a reduction in numbers -- to the imminent removal of Autonomous Education and the greater centralization of control over the rest of the educational system.

Once the establishment of firm boundaries by a state becomes a generic policy or premise, its managers in its bureaucratic offices have no choice but to implement it. The extension of the years of compulsory education to 15 -- Aranne wanted 16, most politicians wanted it kept at 14, and so they compromised in Middle Eastern market style at 15 -- and the first major freeing of schools from residential considerations, as well as the automatic availability of secondary school education to all pupils, and the like, are to be regarded as little more than particular details or wrinkles in a broader policy. It is in the latter -- in the broader policy -- that there was no choice. Someone else in the post of Minister of Education and Culture may have devised a different plan, but its net effects would have been -- would have to have been -- similar.

But this is far from being the entire picture of social change in Israel and its educational system. Even if all inequalities were removed within the Jewish sector of the population, there will remain the problem of separate and unequal Arab education. It is not true that a house divided cannot stand; most do. Arab apartheid is not a separate problem from other differentiations in Israeli society. The economic, political, social, and educational segregation of Arabs will not end until the basic premise of lack of internal differentiation is consistently applied throughout the society. To the extent that Arab separatism is maintained in law and custom, it will not be possible to eliminate autonomous subgroups within the Israeli population entirely. It is only when all sources of local autonomy are removed from the social map that Arab separatism will also be removed. At the same time, the very external forces that are so convenient in legitimating centralization of control are also used to justify the segregation of Arabs and their confinement to less than full citizenship. In effect, what this means is that the forces contributing to increasing homogeneity and lack of differentiation are also contributing to the maintenance of heterogeneity and differentiation. This is not unrelated to the fact that the Histadrut was one of the major sources of opposition to the educational reform of 1968, that it carefully regulates the economy of the Arab sector through its ownership of all marketing cooperatives in the country as well as by preventing the establishment of industries in Arab towns and villages, and that its newspaper (Davar) which is also the government's major press forum, is among the most vehement and unyielding in the demand for direct negotiations with Israel's neighboring enemies.

However, and to keep this in perspective, it is necessary to remember that only short of revolution can all the institutions of a society be changed simultaneously. In almost all periods of rapid, but peaceful, social change, transformations take place more rapidly in some areas than in others. And that is also an aspect of social inequality: the members of the lowest social stratum -- in Israel, those in the Arab sector -- are the last to enjoy the benefits of change. The disenfranchisement of Arabs in Israel is so complete that their token representatives in the parliament almost never voice complaints about such problems as schooling in Arab villages; apparently, they must be content to give periodic newspaper interviews stressing the friendly quality of Jewish-Arab contacts in Israel. Any physical violence by Israeli Arabs protesting their school situations (as well as other conditions of life in Arab villages) would be defined as coming within the jurisdiction of the military authorities; physical violence by orthodox religious Jews is considered a police matter.

Another way of putting this is that there is probably no social change that does not meet resistance from one quarter or another. (Cf., for instance, The Evolution of Medical Education in the Nineteenth Century, by C. Newman for opposition to, among other things, the use of stethoscopes in medical practice.) It was claimed by many opponents to the school reform of 1968 that the new system would fix a child's career for life by Grade 9, and that this was contrary to democratic practice. The truth of the matter, however, is precisely the contrary. Under the old (pre-1968) system, a person's career was largely determined by whether or not he could go to a secondary school. This was primarily achieved by the seker examination. Under the reform of 1968, each set of intermediate grades (7-9) will be composed of two "tracks" -- academic and vocational -- with complete freedom to transfer from one to the other. Another argument was that "educational experts" -- who were always unnamed -- disapproved of such changes in an educational system. Naturally, the overwhelming majority of the public and school personnel had no access to the opinions of "experts". At one point in the debate about the reform, the teachers' union announced that Dutch educational experts advised strongly against such a move; this was shortly after Holland adopted almost the very same educational reform, but which was unreported in the Israeli press.

During the "briefing" by the principal of the religious moshav that I attended in a Development Town, in which he gave the teachers' union's reasons for opposing the school reform, he said, among other things, that grades 7, 8, and 9 will be taught by "experts" -- a term that he used with a condescending sneer when not citing them in his support -- who know all there is to know about particular subjects but who, because they are not graduates of teachers' training schools, "know nothing about teaching". He went on to say to the teachers in his audience -- all of whom are graduates of these training schools, rather than the university -- that "it is better to have teachers who have limited knowledge of their subjects but who at least know how to teach".

Thus far, I have discussed structural change in Israeli education. There is some curricular change, and this also has to be understood in terms of its sources and opposition to it.

The first consists of a series of changes that are intended by the Ministry of Education as changes in methods of instruction rather than curricular changes per se. However, as I have suggested above in connection with the inclusion of greater numbers of pupils within consistent scheduling, this may have more than intended effects. These changes stem from a sub-ministerial level within the Ministry of Education, specifically, from career educationists who are employed as general inspectors with responsibility for particular subjects on a nationwide level. These individuals are responsible to the Inspector-General of the Ministry (who is an appointee of the Minister) who has the right to veto any of their recommendations and innovations.

The most widespread change that stemmed from this source during the last few years was the introduction of "programmed learning" (or instruction) in English and arithmetic. I have put this in the past tense because the experiments in this mode of instruction have been temporarily suspended until the curriculum under the new reform has been worked out; this will probably not be done for several years. Nevertheless, these attempts have been very important for the light that they shed on the nature of Israeli social organization and education.

With one exception (programmed instruction in English in Grade 6 of the upper-status religious school), the introduction of programmed learning in English and arithmetic was confined principally to schools in Development Towns. Not all Development Towns were brought into these experiments, but their initial introductions were confined to Development Towns. Only later was programmed instruction introduced to old towns and, in one case, to the urban center in my sample.

The rationalization offered by officials of the Ministry of Education for confining the introduction of programmed learning -- at least at first -- to Development Towns was that it was best suited for raising the educational level of "culturally deprived" pupils. One of the men charged with the responsibility of overseeing this method of instruction, had maintained to his superior at the Ministry that if this was a worthwhile method of instruction, it should be introduced universally. He was overruled, and it was confined to Development Towns and he was allowed to introduce it elsewhere only in 1967-1968.

Programmed learning is still considered to be a major innovation in Israel. In terms of the theory being employed in this research, it can be termed an influence which originates outside a school or settlement. Hence, it can be anticipated that, from the point of view of the state, it is most easily introduced into the most loosely bounded subsystems. In Israel, these are the Development Towns.

The importance of understanding such innovation in terms of boundary systems can be seen through the nature of opposition to programmed instruction or learning. In conversations with principals and teachers in different parts of the country (including those who use and oppose programmed learning), the major reservation voiced about this pedagogical technique is that it is not the group as a whole which is learning but, instead, too much emphasis is placed on the individual pupil learning at his own speed and by himself. This conflicts with continuing Israeli emphasis on the overriding importance of the group -- the chevra -- vis à vis the individual.

Thus, it is insufficient to view such introduced change solely from the point of view of the centralized bureaucracy or from that of the local community. Instead, what is necessary is to view it in terms of the relationship of the two to each other. I can perhaps emphasize the importance of this through the sequence of events in which I myself realized this, discussed above in the section (2) on methodology.

When the decision is made in the Ministry of Education to introduce an innovation like programmed learning in arithmetic or English, the appropriate inspector approaches the principals of different schools and asks them if they would be amenable to such an experiment. The principal has the right to refuse, in accordance with the concept of school autonomy; the right to refuse is explicitly recognized (though rarely exercised) while the notion of school autonomy is not, and is even officially denied.

There are times, however, when a principal learns that such experimentation is being sponsored by the Ministry and approaches the appropriate inspectors and asks to be included in the program. Such an approach is never rebuffed. One such school with which I am familiar is a Religious Elementary School in a southern Development Town. The principal of this school is 26; he was born and raised in one of the first agricultural settlements established at around the turn of the century. He represents an example of the convergence of individual personality, openness of a settlement's boundaries, and centralized bureaucratic policy. He told me that it was when he was attending a teachers' training school that he realized that everything he had been taught from his earliest school years until then was wrong. Hearing about a vacancy for the post of principal in this Development Town, he applied for the job and -- since he was the only applicant -- received it. An intense young man, often given to exaggeration, I doubt whether he could have accomplished what he did in any other type of settlement, except perhaps in the suburban secular coed school in my sample (see below).

After surveying the scene for a year, he decided to adopt three of the Ministry's experimental programs: laboratory science, programmed instruction in English, and programmed instruction in arithmetic. Like many other schools, his had been provided with laboratory equipment by the Ministry; when this is done, the principal must take the initiative -- that is, part of his annual budget -- to construct a laboratory or convert one of the schoolrooms to a laboratory. In this school, this required an outlay of IL. 7,000. This Development

Town is composed exclusively of immigrants from Asia and North Africa and their descendants. When he decided to construct the laboratory, he told me, many people said to him, "You know *these* children, they will destroy everything. You can't have these children handling such equipment". Perhaps in defiance, principle, or a combination of the two, he also purchased a large microscope, special laboratory furniture, and two human skeletal models (the only ones that I have seen in Israel). Furthermore, he decreed that none of these materials were to be locked, though the room itself is locked when not in use. All test tubes, flasks, burners, and the like, are left in remarkably uniform arrangements on the worktables after they have been used and cleaned. The room gleams. I visited this laboratory a few times in January and February 1968; the program had been started in September. During that period -- and this was told to me independently both by the principal and the science teacher -- the only breakage in the laboratory was of test tubes whose breakage was required as part of experimental procedures. The pupils rotate among themselves in washing, cleaning, and arranging the equipment after each lesson, and they regard this -- as I was told and observed -- as a jealously guarded privilege. The prevailing principle in the science class of Grade 7 that I observed can be described as, "Look, touch, and learn," and the level of excitement among the children during their lesson was higher than in any other grade 7 that I observed.

Another experiment was programmed instruction in English in Grade 5. (Heretofore, English was begun in Grade 6, as a result of such experiments during the last two years, English will start to be taught in 1968-1969 in Grade 5 throughout the country.) I observed a demonstration lesson in this class, which was conducted for English teachers in the Southern District of the country (the Negev). Many of the teachers objected strenuously to this "new-fangled" method; I taped the entire session, including the "post-mortem" discussion, but have not yet had the opportunity to transcribe the materials. During the discussion, the principal challenged an objection -- that the lesson was confined to only four or five words -- by insisting that the entire point of this method of learning had been missed. Noting the linguistic impoverishment of many of these pupils, he noted that the mastery of even four or five words in a foreign language in one hour was "a tremendous thing" for them. He then went on to illustrate the futility of established methods in teaching English by citing his own experience. He observed that after learning English for a total of 9 years -- 3 in elementary school, 4 in secondary school, and 2 in teachers' training school -- he is able to understand a simple sentence in English but is wholly incapable of framing a sentence in English himself. His point was well taken; there were several English teachers present who were also unable to phrase their questions and comments in English.

To reiterate, my concern in this connection is not with the possible effects of such changes on the pupils themselves, either in their childhood or adulthood, but only with the sources of the changes themselves.

Another important *source of change* in Israeli education has been the introduction of educational television. This has been part of the Israeli curricular scene for several years, but only on an experimental basis. Defined as such, it was originally confined almost exclusively to Development Towns. In September 1968, it was expanded to all other types of settlements in the central part of the country. While I observed few actual classes using television, I have been given screenings of films in all the subjects to which educational television is devoted. Some are superb, especially in arithmetic and science, while others (as in English instruction) are simply awful.

Radio and television are probably the most important technological developments in the history of education since the invention of the printing press. There are two principal reasons for this, and they are not unrelated. First, and this is especially true of television, because most concepts of education -- for a reason that is not entirely clear, and which needs investigation -- seem to be based on the physical appearance of a teacher instead of only educative materials, it provides a medium by which the centralized educational bureaucracy of a nation can reach every child in the realm at precisely the same moment with precisely the same materials and messages. This is one aspect of the transmission of universalistic values as well as ideology, by a state. Another is that the authority represented by a television screen is impersonal, since the teacher who does appear on the program is unknown to any of the students. The rewards and punishments are in the learning process itself; personal rewards and punishments are confined to those hours of the school day during which a living teacher substitutes for the television film. Second, educational television makes it possible for an entire school population in a nation to be taught by the single best teacher in the society using the most advanced and specialized knowledge available. Both of these are potentials which accrete over time. Potentially, educational television can eliminate ignorance and socially discriminatory behavior from the teaching staffs of a society.

I said that the films in English instruction were awful because many of them are thoroughly out of contact with the contexts and milieus familiar to Israeli children. All the people involved in making these films are American, British, South African, and affluent. One widely used film is "The Birthday Present", in which a boy goes to a store to buy a birthday present for his sister. The shopkeeper recommends one toy and game after another, and the lad answers, "No, she has (whatever it is that is suggested)". It is probably inconceivable to most Israeli children that a child could have so many playthings. (At one time, when my family and I moved to a new house, the movers pointed to the cartons and duffle bags stuffed with my daughter's playthings and asked in earnest whether we owned a toy shop.) Finally, when the shopkeeper suggested something that the sister did not have, the boy exclaimed, "But I only have five pounds (IL.) to spend". I suspect that it is beyond comprehension for more than half the child population that a boy could have more than one-fifth that sum, if that much, to spend on a birthday present for another child, sibling or not. Another film uses as a background an English country-style wooden house with a fence around it, a phenomenon almost entirely unknown in Israel; the theme of the film is the painting of the fence. An entire film is devoted to the use of the word "can" and while the word is correctly pronounced when it is part of "cannot" or at the end of a sentence, it is most often pronounced "c'n". No reason was offered for the differences in pronunciation though it could have provided an excellent introduction to linguistics.

Arithmetic and science, however, and as noted, were very good films. In arithmetic, I saw two films on the concept of numbers, for Grades 7 and 8. These made very good use of musical background and a comical character named Doody. Both emphasized cognitive processes. The film for Grade 7 (and which has also been used with some success in some Development Towns in Grades 5 and 6) opens with a scene involving stellar exploration, and used this as a basis for a discussion of the need for numbers. This film used Israeli backgrounds and props throughout. The second, for Grade 8, was concerned with prime and reducible numbers and took the viewers back to the original Greek discoverers of the concepts. The closing scenes illustrated the use of computers with a demonstration of the inability of computers to solve even some of the problems that were raised with these first discoveries. An excellent science film dealt with the respiratory system, using X-rays, logico-deductive procedures, and an experiment showing the effects of smoking.

There are also what are called "enrichment" programs which vary in their content with respect to values. Some, like "The Sad Princess", which is a cartooned story of a princess who is happy only when she works for a livelihood, seeks to illustrate rock-ribbed Protestant or puritanical ethics. Others, like "The War for Peace", an hour long documentary on the technological development of Israel, are squarely in accord with national values and policies, and contain very strong anti-Arab emphasis. Others in this series are "reading" films which are intended to stimulate book reading among students. In one that I saw, "The Diary of Anne Frank", still and moving pictures provided a documentary-type background to the book as it was read aloud.

During the year 1968-1969, the Educational Television Authority is planning to produce films in physics, citizenship, geography, and possibly history; the last is understandably a matter of debate at the moment. Also under discussion are films for kindergarten children -- especially in the Development Towns -- introducing them to such basic skills as telling time. In this connection, a plan is being considered to have special films for the parents of these children, showing the parents what their children are learning so that they can help them with the materials at home. I have been promised screenings of these films in the Summer of 1969.

There is no need to elaborate on the importance of educational television as an aspect of increasing educational centralization, except to mention that broadcasting is from a central studio in Tel Aviv. Just as important is the fact that televised educational materials are the only curricular materials shared in common by religious and secular schools. Where textbooks are used without television materials, separate textbooks are used in the two sectors; most often, as in arithmetic, English, history, and geography, these books cover the same materials, with differences only in the authors and, to a minor extent, in the order of the materials presented. Thus, television is not only a direct bridge from the Ministry to the entire country but also horizontally, between the religious and secular sectors of the educational system.

Quite separate from the Ministry of Education, if not in opposition to it, is curricular change for which individuals are responsible. It is my impression that there is very little o this. In addition to the sample to be described, I have heard of one other teacher in the same city employing her methods, a kindergarten teacher in a school serving a similar community. One of the teachers in the secular upper-status urban coed school in my sample is planning to use these methods in Grade 3 during the coming year, but this is still at the level of intent. From what I have learned, approximately similar proportions obtain in other cities.

The teacher that I am going to describe (Mrs. L) is remarkably similar in many ways to the excellent arithmetic and science teacher that I discussed above in connection with the suburban secular lower-upper status coed school in my sample. Mrs. L taught in a similar school in a different city. In order to protect her identity, I will not describe how this school came to my attention; suffice it that it came within the range of my observations in accordance with the methods of research described earlier in this report. The following discussion is of a demonstration hour in Grade 6 Science that the teacher staged for the district supervisor in charge of science instruction in that city, the other teachers of the school, and her principal.

The subject of the hour was burning of matter. Mrs. L began the hour by asking the class, "What is burning?". After receiving several answers, she suggested that they try to learn by means of an experiment. Using a minimum of equipment, she involved pupils at every step of the experiment, which consisted of two variables. First, she weighed a matchstick, burned it, and then weighed it again. Then, she followed the same procedure with a strip of magnesium. After dramatically showing the class -- as one of the pupils read the scale -- that the latter material gained weight, she asked, "So, what is burning?" Methodically, she led the discussion so that it would be interrupted by the bell ending the hour. With complete aplomb, she said, "You think about it, and we'll discuss it further next time," and dismissed the class.

After the pupils left, the representatives of the adult world assembled in the teachers' room, where tea and cake was served, to hold the usual "postmortem" that almost always follows a demonstration lesson. The inspector chaired the session in a manner resembling a teacher--he went around the table, calling on each teacher to express an opinion of the hour, scolding teachers for talking out of turn and for conducting private conversations, and once for not paying attention. He is a small, cadaverous looking man in his 60s, bald, and wore a tie and vest. He said that he would express his comments last. Most of the remarks were rather banal: the teacher's desk was at the children's eye level and therefore they could not see very well, or why Mrs. L did not also explain about the temperature of magnesium, and the like. Before he would express his own opinion, the inspector asked Mrs. L to explain why she conducted the hour in the manner that she did.

The essence of her remarks was that most education in Israel consists of telling pupils about things without giving them a chance to learn for themselves. She explained that she wants children to learn for themselves and not to be afraid to try something even though it may not work, to leave them wondering about a problem -- like what burning is -- without handing them the answer in rote manner. This was why, she explained, she left the last question unanswered, and this is an experience which they almost never have.

At this point, the inspector interrupted her and said that he had several comments to make; Mrs. L said that she had not finished, but he waved her off. First, he said, it is necessary to point out to pupils that we do not experiment simply for the sake of experimentation. Instead, "man says, 'I need something from nature or from the earth, let me see if I can get it out.' " Second, he said, he was sorry that Mrs. L did not stress the aesthetic side of science and that not all of science was materialistic. Finally, she should have confined herself to only one type of matter, not two. Two variables were too much for children to grasp in one hour, and there is no need to introduce them at such a young age to comparisons. He paused for a moment, as though he was done, and then came forth with what he considered his most telling point: "It is not wise to encourage children to try to figure out for themselves what 'burning' is. Tell them what it is, and they will know and understand".

To demonstrate the profundity of this observation, he pointed out that when Mrs. L asked at the end of the hour, "So what is burning?" only four pupils raised their hands to answer. (Later, in a private conversation with the inspector, Mrs. L told him that she was teaching her class how to add a series. When he asked her how many grasped the material completely, she said that she was certain that half the class understood it. "See?" was his answer.) "Do not try to cover too much in one hour." He admitted that understanding was important, but that transmitting information and facts was much more important. Mrs. L said that she did not care whether they had the precise information correctly in their heads; she wanted them to understand the nature of the thinking that was involved. She did not care, she added, if they forgot about magnesium and wood per se by the next day, but she wanted to instill curiosity in them to find things out for themselves. Citing Edmund de S. Brunner as her authority, she said, "Let us not be afraid to teach something new; all we have been doing is showing the children and telling them." Not to be outdone, the inspector cited Dewey's How we Think to support his contention that children have to have explanations offered for things that happen.

They were like two ships passing in the night; neither really knew what the other was talking about, though Mrs. L probably had a grasp of the establishment mode of thinking in which she had been trained and in which she had been working. At precisely 1:50, he formally thanked Mrs. L for the demonstration and rose from his seat to indicate that the hour was ended. Before this, he would periodically stop between sentences to let the assembled teachers voice their opinions; many of them, who had not had anything to say before the inspector spoke, suddenly found themselves in remarkable agreement with him.

The following day, I saw Mrs. L in the school yard and asked her how she was. "Depressed", was the straightforward reply. I asked why, and she referred to the "banality and stupidity" of the teachers' and supervisor's comments. I asked her whether she is obligated to follow his suggestions and criticisms. She said that teachers are generally under this obligation but, she told me, she informed the inspector in advance that she would not necessarily be bound by anything he said. I then spoke to her principal who told me that he thought that the inspector is a "genius". Of course, he told me, teachers are not obligated to follow his suggestions, but, in view of his incomparability, no one would think of questioning him in matters of pedagogy. He said that he was certain that Mrs. L would take what he said seriously, though he knows the two of them disagree. During a conversation some time later, Mrs. L answered me briefly when I asked her where the principal stood in this; "he protects me". My patience was to be rewarded even more about a month later.

But before going on with that, let me explain a little about Mrs. L. She is anything but a radical revolutionary. Married to a mechanic, who is embarassed by his soiled hands and clothes when meeting professionals, Mrs. L is not a university graduate, but received her training in a teachers' training school. Her parents immigrated from Poland about 30 years ago, and she does not consider herself to be a political person. Her campaign for teaching reform in science began only two years ago when she came across, quite by accident, a copy of Science I: Observation and Experiment, by Davis, Burnett, Gross, and Pritchard (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). She told me that it was a "revelation" to her, since the book is intended for early graders and is completely free of jargon; she was able to read through it with her meager reading knowledge of English. She carries it with her all the time, as though it were a Bible, showing it to anyone who seems the least bit interested. Almost breathlessly, she told me that there was nothing like it in Hebrew.

About a month after the science lesson described above, Mrs. L invited me to what is probably best described as her "underground". Periodically, she meets with about four or five teachers of the school and teaches them how to teach their subjects according to her methods. These sessions are always held in the evening in the homes of the teachers themselves. Furthermore, the school's principal is always present, but silent. The discussions are almost entirely devoid of theory and are confined to the practicalities of teaching. Since arithmetic is Mrs. L's favorite subject, teachers bring her the quizzes that are given to the children, as well as other examples of their work.

One of the sessions that I attended was devoted to Mrs. L's methods for teaching homeland, which involve field trips that usually last half a day. When asked where she gets the time for this, Mrs. L said that she gladly cuts out Prophets and Bible lessons for these. In her method of teaching this subject, she dispenses entirely with textbooks and has the children rely on their first hand experience in drawing maps of their neighborhoods, conducting censuses, and even conducting surveys, such as learning how people dispose of their garbage in a neighborhood that was particularly dirty. She also has them learn by first hand how the city is governed -- she got them to complain to the municipal authorities about garbage collecting procedures -- as well as the organization of the school. (That the principal has not completely joined the ranks of the under-thirty was revealed in this connection by one of his rare comments during such a session. He felt that it was wrong for pupils to come to him, even as part of such a project, and ask her what his job is. It is all right for the children to go to the school secretary, the maintenance man, and the teachers to get specific details about their tasks, he said, but not to the principal. Mrs. L acquiesced.) Thus, we can see the correlates of a school system when Prophets and Bible are so lightly regarded.

The reader will have observed throughout much of the foregoing that there are many influences from abroad on the course of change in Israeli education. This is an important aspect of the openness of the Israeli state. It could be maintained, from one point of view, that this is inevitable in a new or developing nation, because, for example, it is only in the advanced and more affluent nations that such science textbooks as the one cited by Mrs. L can be developed. However, it can also be maintained that this book served as a reinforcement for Mrs. L, just as the imported concept of "cultural deprivation" serves as a rationalization for the maintenance of group differences in Israel or the reliance on (and rejection of) "experts" from abroad played such an important role in the debate over the educational reform of 1968. Similarly, there are non-Israeli agencies -- such as the United States Office of Education and the Ford Foundation -- which are important sources of change in Israeli education. For example, these agencies provide programs for developing new instructional methods and textbooks (like the biology textbook for Iraqi children, discussed above), and the like.

In this connection, it is necessary to distinguish between actual sources of change which draw on personnel and ideas from outside the society and the reasons offered for proposed changes. For example, it could have been possible for the stat's rulers -- such as the Minister of Education -- to say that Israel should adopt the educational reform program of 1968 because it is a program that will benefit the society regardless of whether it had been adopted in other countries; similarly, it could have been opposed by some on the grounds that it is undesirable for the society irrespective of what had been found by "experts" in other nations. But people often reveal more than they intend by the kinds of reasons that they offer for their actions and intellectual positions. In their citations of non-Israeli intellectual authority as justifications of change, the country's rulers are implicitly saying something very important. They are saying, as I have suggested earlier, that the society's social boundaries continue to remain open. To the degree that these social boundaries remain open to alien people and ideas, the nation will continue to exhibit important differences among the groups making up the society. Inequality and decentralization will persist in proportion to the openness of these boundaries.

I do not gainsay the importance of the rhetoric of egalitarianism, which can only be put into effect to the degree that the society's boundaries become closed to outside personnel and influences. The rhetoric is important if only as an important instrument of legitimation. But it also serves as an indicator of the degree to which closure of boundaries is a goal in itself. However, the closure of a society's boundaries is not a simple matter, like turning a key in a lock. In Israel, it depends on a variety of interrelated factors: relations with neighboring states, with the major powers (the United States, the Soviet Union, England, and France), and with Jews outside Israel. I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that there is no basic desire for peaceful relations with the surrounding states, a situation that has as much source in Israel itself as in the neighboring countries themselves. All of them have too much to lose, especially in terms of maintaining domestic power, if peace were allowed to break out.

This, in turn, maintains the country's dependence on the policies and materials of the major powers. I think that a content analysis of newspapers, periodicals, press conferences, addresses, policy statements, and the like, from all sectors of Israeli society will reveal an extraordinary concern with "what does the rest of the world think of us," and "what are the major powers planning for our fate?" I am not suggesting that these preoccupations are unrealistic; the contrary is the case. But what is important is not the realism of these concerns, but rather that they have their domestic consequences, in education as well as in economics or law. To the degree that Israeli preoccupation with external influences continues -- for whatever reasons -- it can be anticipated that among other things, inequality in educational content and opportunity will persist, that localized and particularistic values will continue to make themselves felt in education, and that centralization of education will escape final achievement. This will be reflected in the reliance on real or imagined "expertise" from abroad.

Inseparable from the foregoing is Israel's relationship with Jews abroad. As has been noted, this was a serious point of contention in the drafting of the country's Declaration of Independence in 1948. The country's dependence on immigration is a major source of domestic policy, whether in regard to the continued maintenance of traditionalism in education or taxation policies. Although Israel's persisting traditionalism in education is principally understandable in terms of its status as a new nation, it receives considerable reinforcement from the attempt to attract Jewish immigrants from the Western countries. The latter, whose sense of Jewishness is exclusively tradionalistic, have to be appealed to in precisely those terms. Were less attention devoted in Israeli education to the study of the Bible, Prophets, Oral Law, Talmud, and the like, potential Western immigrants would be immediately discouraged because they would then be unable to see anything

"Jewish" in Israeli life and education. Together with the country's rulers -- who, in the words of a member of Israel's General Staff (in a private conversation), continue to think as though they are living in a pre-World War I Eastern European ghetto -- these potential immigrants are an important source for the maintenance of non-Israeli standards in Israel. But nor will it be an easy matter for Israel's policy makers to disregard these potential immigrants. As one of these policy makers put it to me, Israel has by and large always attracted the lower strata of Jewish communities throughout the world; especially in regard to European Jews, he said, "the rich and the professionals went to Auschwitz or the United States." This unrequited yearning for affluent professional Jews in the Western countries is thus another important source of the openness of the society's boundaries.

It is the outcome of these issues which, perhaps more than anything else, will determine the degree to which retired professional soldiers -- especially colonels and generals -- will be able to gain control of the country's administrative machinery and put their policy-values into effect; currently, Israel's army retires its high-ranking officers before they reach the age of 45. These officers are now being placed in some of the most important administrative posts in the country, though mostly in non-decision making jobs; it is in this way that they hope to achieve what they failed to gain by the near-coup of 1967. In view of their potential importance in civilian life in Israel's future, I interviewed a group of these men individually (with the assurance that they will remain anonymous). Each interview lasted a little more than an hour. The first half was opened by the same question: "Off the top of your head [since none knew in advance what I wanted to speak to them about], what changes would you like to see in Israeli education?" The second half was similarly introduced by the same question: "What would you like to see retained in Israeli education?"

Some, though not all, began with an indictment of the extreme nationalism and jingoism which they felt is fostered by Israel's schools. These former officers tended to be most in favor of social egalitarianism and most opposed to the various forms of educational discrimination which favored more gifted pupils. In terms of popular conceptions of political ideology, these officers tended to be what could be called "socialist" in their orientations. But aside from this, there was near unanimity in their views.

Understandably, coming as they do from one of the most modern and successful armies in the world, they were all aghast at what one of them referred to as the "basic illiteracy" fostered by Israeli education, especially in regard to mathematics and the underlying logic of computer science (which all of them had learned abroad, since it is one of the policies of the Israeli army that all of its professional officers receive university education in Western countries). They bemoaned the fact that few students who have completed an Israeli education can comprehend such basic newspaper stories as space explorations.

This, naturally, could have been expressed by well educated people in any country; incidentally, I was impressed by the size and variety of the personal libraries in the homes of these men. But what was most striking in these conversations was the uniformity with which they expressed concern over the lack of "aesthetic appreciation" among the graduates of Israel's schools. They pointed to the lack of appreciation of good music (by which the mean classical music), art (of all traditions), and the like. In this connection, it was frequently mentioned that Israelis do not know how to express themselves verbally or in writing. (This should occasion no surprise in view of the systematic inhibition of self-expression in Israeli schools.)

Another frequently voiced criticism of the Israeli school system by these men is the inability to reason abstractly on the part of those who complete Israeli schools. These former officers spoke specifically of the concretism among the men and women whom they have encountered in the army, and this, too, they attributed to the quality of the schooling. They were unable to point to the specific sources of this in the curriculum, saying only that such abilities are the products of education, and their lack must therefore be attributed to education. Perhaps because they, too, are products of the Israeli school system and are therefore too close to it, they were unable to see the relationship of this to the extreme emphasis placed on religious subjects in the schools. However, almost all of them, in other connections, said that they felt that less time should be devoted to traditional religious subjects, and that their texts should be treated as literature. They also felt that more attention should be devoted to foreign languages -- especially international languages like English and French -- as well as Arabic Many of them rued their own lack of abilities in English, and blamed their own education for this.

When the conversation turned to what they would like to retain in Israeli education, many of these former officers were at a loss to point to more than the informality between pupils and teachers which, they felt, was unique to Israel. My own observations did not reveal informality to the extent that it is claimed to exist. Possibly, pupil-teacher relations were more informal when these men went to school than they are now. Interestingly the Israeli army itself, which had long been known for its informality among ranks, is currently becoming more and more formalized and rigid about behavior and protocol.

Thus, it can be expected that if this group of men do gain political control, they will effect important changes in Israeli education. But it is doubtful whether they will be able to introduce these changes easily. None of them was aware of the resistance of teachers to changes in educational curriculum and none of them seemed to be aware that educational policy is inextricably tied to larger and overall social policy. They seemed to feel that educational change can take place in a vacuum, independently of other social policies. Thus, for example, none of them spoke about unequal educational opportunity for different ethnic groups, though some expressed concern about meeting the problems of "cultural deprivation" among descendants of Asian and African immigrants. While there is no doubt that the former army officers will have an impact on the future of Israeli society and education, it must also be borne in mind that it was the army which had major responsibility for the administration of apartheid laws among the country's Arab populations. While this administration has been relaxed considerably since 1965, the law of administrative detention continues to be applied and enforced primarily by the army.

X

Israel's Silent Generation

I

When the wave of student uprisings began to sweep much of the world in 1968, many Israelis in and out of the country's universities, in print and other media, asked why Israel seemed immune; why, many wanted to know, did not Israel's university students and young faculty rebel? There was no self-satisfaction or congratulation in the question or in any of the answers. Quite the contrary; I sometimes got the impression from newspaper and magazine articles and from radio panel discussions that not a few Israelis were worried by this. Student uprisings seemed to be a mark of modernity, and some Israelis sounded as though they were beginning to feel left out.

It is not that Israeli university students and young faculty have nothing to complain about. Let me give two examples of grievances which, in many other countries today, would produce storms of protest. The first came as an aftermath of the explosion from a saboteur's bomb in the cafeteria of the library of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in March 1969. Although plans had been under way for several months before the bombing to erect a security fence around the university, especially after the explosion in the Jerusalem market in late 1968 which killed 13 people, almost nothing was done about it. This was primarily because, as both university administrators and security personnel told me, no imaginable precautions could prevent a bombing in the university. These people knew that there would be a bombing; they only could not say where and when it would occur.

During the scheduled Spring recess shortly after the cafeteria bombing, the eight foot high link-chain fence was completed, and the university community returned from vacation to find that the campus had been converted into a fortress. Entrance to the campus could only be gained upon presentation of identity cards to armed guards. Briefcases and handbags were regularly searched after the guards were posted -- but not coat pockets: the cafeteria bomb was sufficiently small, according to army experts, to have been carried in a coat or trousers pocket. Most students and faculty to whom I spoke reflected the opinion of the campus student newspaper, that the new precautions were absurd -- because they could not prevent further bombings -- and the atmosphere of a fortress was hardly compatible with the idea of a university. Others, academic and non-academic, maintained that the fence had succeeded because there had been no further bombings at the university (thus far). In reality, this is much like maintaining that a magical formula prevents green elephants from walking along the street. There are two reasons for this. First, Arab saboteurs seem to have the policy of never bombing the same place twice; after the cafeteria bombing, many people felt that the university had become the safest place in the country, even before the fence was erected. Second, because of the rocky and hilly terrain on which the Hebrew University sits, there are enough "holes" in the fence to enable anyone to pass through unobserved. How else does anyone imagine that dormitory students return to their rooms at night after the gates have been locked?

Leaving aside the question of why there were no saboteur bombings in Israel for about three months after the cafeteria explosion, or the motivations of university and security personnel in creating a fortress with its atmosphere of fear and constriction, the question remains why no protest was voiced beyond the single issue of the campus newspaper which discussed the subject. Students and faculty maintained that there was no way for them to protest the decision. This, however, is questionable. If every student and faculty who opposed the measures had refused to exhibit his credentials at the new gates, thus automatically being refused admission to the campus, it is likely that the university would have been paralyzed within a matter of hours; without a voice having been raised in anger, the restrictions would have been withdrawn -- assuming that as many were opposed to the fence as claimed to be.

The second example of grievance is more general, but no less real. One of Israel's leading sociologists, in a public seminar, referred to the Hebrew University -- which dominates and controls the country's other universities, intellectually and administratively -- as "the last German university." The description is accurate. Israeli faculty generally limit their office hours to an hour a week, and students in all the universities complain about the lack of contact with their teachers. (One ingenious teacher used to schedule his weekly office hour at 7 A.M., and achieved his goal of never being disturbed by students.) Faculty pomposity is prevalent, and it is not unknown for a professor to stop a lecture and walk out because two students were seen talking in the rear of the hall. Most students complain that they go to school almost exclusively to pass examinations (which dominate their lives and control their future careers) and that their teachers are dull and unimaginative, and discourage independent thought. The last, as has been seen, is a process that begins in the earliest elementary grades. The depersonalization which Israeli university students experience in respect to school is worsened by the almost total absence of mechanisms by which students can make their grievances known to the faculty or administrators. Universities, especially the Hebrew University (which has the largest dormitory population), claim the right to oversee their students' non-academic and off-campus activities; this problem came to a head (no pun intended) in late 1968 and 1969 when the latter institution expelled several students for having allegedly used hashish in off-campus dormitories, in a different part of the city. Characteristically, the university denied having made the expulsions, However, the university did incur the wrath of some of the faculty when, without having waited for the outcome of his trial, it began expulsion proceedings against a student who was arrested for posession of hashish in his private apartment. Led by a senior member of the faculty, who is a highly Westernized individual, several members of the staff threatened to publicize the university's policies in the press; an agreement was quietly reached with these faculty that the student would not be expelled. Whether by oversight or not, these faculty members agreed only to a decision in connection with this particular student; they did not gain an accession in principle.

Young faculty -- who, in Germanic tradition, in effect tend to include everyone below departmental chairmen or the "great man" of a department -- are equally resentful, but for quite different reasons. Most symptomatic of the "last German university" is the custom whereby the dominant professor in a department parcels out research problems to his juniors which he then presents as his own in a periodic magnum opus. Not only does this deprive the former of the recognition which they consider their due, but they are often restricted from carrying out the research which they are more interested in; their status is often comparable to sharecroppers, albeit titled ones. It is customary in Israeli universities for people to get all of their higher education at the same institution and in the same department; students wishing to go on for M. A. and Ph. D. degrees are discouraged from transferring to other schools. As noted earlier, this is rationalized in terms of providing students with "a consistent point of view." Hence, people who do go on for the Ph. D. -- and they are very few -- have generally spent all their academic lives in the same department and usually under the same professor. In this kind of situation, servility is learned early and has long and repeated reinforcements. This situation is true in most departments in the country. While there are indications of change with respect to this in Tel Aviv and Haifa Universities, it will remain limited as long as these schools continue to be under the administrative control of the Hebrew University: promotions and appointments at the other universities must have the approval of parallel departments at the Hebrew University, and many departmental and university committees at the other universities include representatives of the Hebrew University.

Academic freedom, as we know it in the United States, is limited. There have been faculty who have lost their jobs when their public criticisms of state policies, whether in regard to education or political and military policies, exceed accepted bounds. Thus, to cite some cases, it is not acceptable to publish research demonstrating the genocidal ideology of Israeli elementary school education; one does not advocate Israel's abandonment of a Zionist ideology; one does not argue publicly that Israel maintains a policy of apartheid with respect to its Arab citizens; one does not say overly loudly that Israel's insistence on direct negotiations with the Arab states is a ploy to prevent a peaceful settlement.

Why did not the examples of students and young faculty in other parts of the world in 1968 serve for Israel? Israelis themselves offer several explanations which are worth considering; they not only reveal something about Israel itself but they also contain a grain of truth. Most frequently offered explanations center around the state of war under which Israel has lived -- though not always active war, which often tends to be overlooked in Israel -- since 1947, the year before independence from British rule was achieved.

For example, it is noted by Israelis that the overwhelming majority of male students do not reach the university until they are about 21 or 22; there is nearly universal conscription for men beginning at 18 or when they complete secondary school, and the period of service is three years. (It may soon be extended, depending on the outcome of Israel's current economic crisis as well as military needs.) Conscription is not as nearly universal for women, but most female university students have served the legally required two years in the army. Hence, it is often maintained, Israeli university students are much more mature than their confreres in universities in other countries.

Some local observers go on to maintain that the students' added years make them conscious of the fact that they want to marry, raise families, and settle down. Equating age with maturity, these commentators then point out that such preoccupations leave little time or energy for the frivolities of other university students. They want to get on with the task of earning their degrees and then earning a livelihood. This is an important point. Israeli students and faculty are a grim and determined lot, though they are not very different in this from the rest of the population. I was repeatedly impressed with the seriousness of students and faculty, especially in contrast to the United States. Only rarely does one see student pranks and gaiety; when these do occur, they are almost always well organized and are usually on occasions of nationalistic holidays and celebrations. Most noticeably lacking is the carefree relaxation and easygoing reflectiveness that is often a hallmark of universities elsewhere. Humor is also conspicuously absent.

A few people go on to point out that Israeli men remain subject to reserve duty -- which, especially these days, is arduous and dangerous -- until they are 49; students and faculty are called up annually, as are most other men, for periods of up to 40 days. This, it is sometimes maintained, provides a regular and readymade displacement of aggression. "By the time they come back to school," one recently retired general (aged 42) told me, "they are not so eager to go after deans."

Others, perhaps more romantically inclined, disregard the military emphasis and point to the fact that Israel is a young country which was built on a pioneering spirit. Unlike most observers of the Israeli scene, they assert that this élan has not been lost among the nation's youth, especially those in the universities. Such commentators then go on to say that faculty and students are conscious of the need to keep building the country -- "making the desert bloom" is one of their favorite slogans -- and are thus uninterested in destroying any of the country's institutions, especially its universities. Such statements usually mark a speaker as being over-50, and have almost no relation to the real concerns of students and faculty.

This is not to say that young Israelis never protest against the established social and academic order. There have been cases recently of Israeli soldiers refusing to carry out military orders to break up demonstrations by schoolgirls and women in the occupied territories. (In such cases, the entire unit is replaced, and not just the individual soldiers.) There has also been a rather violent university demonstration, though for goals that would puzzle many Western university demonstrators. In May 1969, the accountancy students petitioned Haifa University College that the B.A. degree be awarded at the end of their course of studies; currently, they receive only a certificate. This included the demand that their department be administered by the social sciences faculty at Hebrew University, so that they would have the proper academic status which would then make it possible for them to receive B.A. degrees. When Haifa University demurred, the accountancy students declared a student strike, and were later joined by the rest of the students at the school. The latter, however, announced that their participation in the strike would be for three days: on a Thursday and the following Monday and Tuesday. On the second day of the nearly total strike at the institution, the students resorted to disruptions of the few classes that were being held. The highlight of this occurred when an instructor bit one of the disrupting students on the hand. The Hebrew University later announced that its social science faculties would assume responsibility for the Haifa accountancy department. In June 1969, junior faculty at Tel Aviv University staged a two-hour boycott of their classes protesting the dismissal of Dr. Georges Tamarin, a psychologist, whose research has included a scathing study of genocidal ideology in Israeli elementary school education. This is becoming an annual issue at Tel Aviv University, and it is curious that it erupts just prior to summer vacations. But even more interesting is the battle-cry of these junior faculty. They wanted to make it clear that they could not be dismissed out of hand like ordinary workers; they did not explicitly demand guarantees of academic freedom.

The most permanent and prominent opposition to established Israeli domestic and foreign policies is a very small group of students known as Mazpen (tr., compass). They are socialists, anti-Zionists, opposed to the country's occupation of conquered territories, and they are constantly agitating for equal rights for Israeli Arabs (who live under an apartheid system). Numerically insignificant (they number about 150), they are under constant surveillance by Israeli security services. An Israeli non-academic scientist whom I know once wrote a letter of recommendation for a student who was applying for admission to a European university; after arriving there, the student joined a small group of Mazpen members who were also studying there. Shortly afterward, the scientist who had written the letter of recommendation was visited by a security agent who demanded to know why the former had written an endorsement of such a person. (The agent was firmly, but politely, told to peddle his wares elsewhere. The scientist's non-academic standing is important in this connection.) Many Israelis believe that this group is made up largely of foreign students. However, as far as I have been able to determine -- and Mazpen is understandably secretive about its membership -- all of its members are Israelis. (There can be little doubt that non-Israeli members of Mazpen would long since have been deported.)

But the most frequent harassment of Mazpen is by their fellow students, usually when the group sells its monthly newspaper -- an excellent and professional publication which could be emulated by others -- on the country's campuses. On one campus (Haifa), dogs were set on the Mazpen students and they were driven off the grounds. (I was unable to learn whether the dogs belonged to the security forces or were privately owned.) On another campus (Jerusalem), they are regularly attacked physically by a very small group of fellow students; most, however, simply ignore them. Nor are female vendors of the newspaper free from such attacks. On one occasion, I saw security guards at the university try to drive the Mazpen group from the campus grounds -- which they had no legal right to do -- but then stand passively as a band of male students pummeled one of the girls selling the newspaper. Were it not for the intervention of her fellow Mazpen members, the result would have been tragic. Although these assaults are regular and recurrent, and are under surveillance by plainclothes intelligence personnel, the universities do not provide protection for the group. The Israeli press does not provide coverage of these incidents, even though they take place at regularly scheduled intervals, and other university activities receive fairly extensive newspaper reportage. It is not that these incidents are unknown; a few reporters have told me, "We must get around to that one of these days."

II

Naturally, activism is easier to describe than passivity. The few instances of outspoken dissent that I have noted should not be regarded as indications of a society or generation in ferment. Such challenges to established authority are infrequent in Israel. To return to my theme here -- the possible reasons for the passivity of Israel's younger generations -- I noted that many of the explanations offered locally contain an element of truth. However, they leave much unsaid. It is to these factors, many of which operate below the surface of Israeli social and political life, that I now want to turn. There seem to be four major sources of this passivity: (1) The success of Israeli education from the earliest grades in establishing intellectual passivity; (2) the role of myth-symbol-systems in fostering identification with established authority; (3) the role of national political parties in campus student organizations; and (4) the commingling of police and military authority. I will discuss each of these in turn.

(1) The success of Israeli education in establishing intellectual passivity. I have already noted that religious subjects -- Bible, Prophets, Oral Law, and the like -- occupy a very large proportion of the curricular schedule in Israeli elementary schools from the earliest grades. The theme, "Thus said God," is repeated almost daily, sometimes explicitly. What is important in this connection is that these subjects

are not taught as literature or as examples of the history of human thought and knowledge; they are taught as they were originally intended. As even a casual familiarity with the Bible and the Prophets reveals -- especially the Book of Joshua, with its genocidal ideology, on which so much emphasis is placed in Israeli schools -- one of their principal themes is the legitimation of the established social order as God's will and design. The legitimacy of Israel's current existence as an autonomous nation is explicitly taught in the schools as an expression of God's intent as revealed in the Bible and Prophets. Explicit parallels are drawn in classroom lessons between the accounts of battles in the Prophets and 20th century wars fought by Israel, especially those in 1967. Even in non-religious schools, these victories are discussed by teachers as demonstrations of God's will, as are leadership and legal systems. While it is difficult to know the precise connections made by children as a result of these years of repetition of such themes, it is doubtful whether the impact is lost. Such studies continue through secondary school, and nearly rote memorization of the Bible and the Prophets is indispensable for passing the examinations which govern admission to the university. I know Israelis who have not looked at the Old Testament in more than a decade who can still recite whole chapters (especially of the Book of Joshua) verbatim. Most Israeli Arab university students, Muslim or Christian, have greater familiarity with the Old Testament than with the Koran. Biblical accounts of ancient battles continue to be used as texts in the Israeli army's officer training courses. As put to me by one who is very close to the army's training programs, "Why is the rest of the world so surprised that we have such a successful army? Look at our history; we've been the most warlike nation in the world."

This is of course highly speculative, but I do not think there can be much doubt that such education at the earliest years of psychological and intellectual vulnerability has a lasting influence. Can it be expected that people, at whatever age, will attack the established social order -- academic or political -- when their first introductions to and awareness of authority are phrased in terms of the deity's will? What can be more terrifying to a child than the wrath of God -- and is there a more wrathful deity than the one depicted in the Old Testament -- especially when it is coupled with daily reminders of an enemy who seeks to destroy his home and people?

Israelis often give a hint of this -- without, of course, intending to do so -- when they speak of the social rebelliousness in which they have indulged. An important part of Israeli lore is that the original Jewish settlers of kibbutzim (communal settlements) in the first decades of this century were the products of highly orthodox religious families in Eastern Europe. Part of their ideology in establishing these settlements was an explicit rejection of diaspora definitions of Jewishness, whether in connection with religion or concepts of appropriate labor. Disregard of dietary and other traditional Jewish laws was as integral a part of their way of life as their anti-intellectualism and their shunning of the customary status of a "nation of shopkeepers." Most of the people in control today of Israeli education are veterans of this group; they remain non-religious, and sometimes anti-religious. Since one of my research interests was the role of religious education in Israeli political legitimation, I frequently discussed these problems with the controllers of the Ministry of Education and Culture and curriculum planners. Almost inevitably, they cited their explicit rejections in their youthful years of the religiosity of their parents in Eastern Europe when they migrated to what was then known as Palestine. However, whether explaining why all laws concerning personal status are religious laws, the retention of religious education, or that even the most anti-religious members of kibbutzim during the 1920s and 1930s agreed to religious marriages (which they otherwise decried), it was almost uniformly said by these original settlers, "Whenever one of us saw an old man with a skullcap and a beard, we saw our fathers and grandfathers." It is interesting that the statement was so highly stereotyped, if not cathechetical.

But it is not only in terms of curricular content and ideology that Israeli education seems to succeed. Closely related is the method of teaching. As noted, classroom instruction involves minimal participation by pupils. The incident of Mrs. L. and her inspector, described in the last chapter, is representative of teacher-pupil relations: "Do not let the children try to learn for themselves; tell them, and then they will know." Or, in the words of the principal of a state-supported religious school in a Development Town, teachers dispense gifts of knowledge from some Olympian height with no attempt to involve pupils in the process of uncovering knowledge. In most schools, children ask almost no questions, and there were some schools in which I visited in which no questions at all were asked in the course of an entire week. This training is clearly manifest at the university level. When I asserted before a graduate seminar that I had been invited to teach that Max Weber had been clearly wrong in some of his historical interpretations, the group was unabashedly shocked: Weber is sacred in Israeli sociology. They had reduced Weber to catechetical knowledge and, from what they seemed to have been told, modern social science is a long footnote demonstrating Weber's brilliance. I suggested to the group that they turn to the same sources of data that I had used to see whether they could come to a different conclusion from mine. I never succeeded in getting them to do this during the entire trimester. I often got the feeling that I would make about as much headway in arguing for the divinity of Jesus Christ in a yeshiva. The philosophy of "Look, but don't touch" in science instruction produces its own harvest.

(2) The role of myth-symbol-systems in fostering identification with established authority. In many societies, and especially in Israel, it is often impossible to understand the group's history as a whole; instead, it is necessary to regard each generation in the population as a distinct entity which has been subject to its own pressures and experiences, including its relationships with the other generations. Thus, in Israel, for example, it is necessary to appreciate the special characteristics of the settlers who arrived just prior to World War I -- and who now rule the country in a fairly closed and inbred oligarchy --

in terms of their rejection of most standards of Jewishness, the hardships they endured after arrival in the desolate Promised Land, their establishment of kibbutzim, the guidelines they established for Jewish-Arab and other political relations, and the like. Much of the sociological literature on Israel is devoted to the characteristics and achievements of these generations, defined primarily -- though to some extent erroneously -- in terms of membership in different immigration waves. One of the characteristics of an "expert" on Israeli society is the ability to rattle off the years during which different immigration waves arrived in the country and "who's who" in each of the groups of immigrants. Naturally, this situation continues to be underwritten in much Israeli sociological research by the oligarchy whose distinctiveness is thereby maintained. To a large extent, this is an accurate reflection of reality, especially when one seeks to understand who is included in or excluded from the nation's oligarchy. But it is erroneous to the extent that this generational-immigration division tends to exclude people born in Israel, including those whose families lived there for many generations prior to the 20th century. A corollary of this is that, instead of a "generation gap" in Israel, there are many "generation gaps," each finding much to complain about in all the others. Thus, Israeli WASPS (White Askenazi Sabras with Protekzia) can wax eloquent on the "primitivity" of the Asians and North Africans who migrated to Israel between 1949 and 1955 or the rate of delinquency (partly real, partly imagined) of these immigrants' children. Before the war of June 1967, older Israelis, especially those from the same generation as the oligarchy (one of whose characteristics is often a preference for conducting political and financial business in Yiddish) complained endlessly in public about their children's generation (the sabras) for their lack of idealism and pioneering spirit, their "materialism" and concern with status and occupational security, and the like. Immediately after the war, during which this army excelled in a fashion previously unknown in any nations' history, these complaints were changed to paeans of adulation of "the golden generation which we have raised." Understandably, the group referred to resented both extreme characterizations.

But cutting across these generational chasms is an important myth-which-binds; my reference to this as "myth" does not imply that it is not true -- since most myths contain germs of truth or referents in reality -- but rather that it produces a particular sense or consciousness that "we are all in this together." One of the important realities of Israeli life is that, beginning with the current generation of university students and moving backward, every generation of adults in Israel have participated in a major war. Some individuals have actively participated in all three wars in addition to having served in the underground armies of the British Mandate period. Each of these wars has, in its own way, been defined as a "war for survival" -- the "War for Independence" of 1948/9, which broke out when Israel's neighboring states invaded it when it became independent of British rule in May 1948; the Sinai "campaign" of 1956, fought jointly with the British and French, about which not a few Israelis had qualms of conscience and in which some refused to serve; and the war of June 1967, in which some men of the disenfranchised ethnic groups refused to serve on the grounds that "this is an Ashkenazi [Western, or European] war, go fight your own wars." (I once overheard a street conversation, in which a woman said to a friend, "He's not a human being, he's an Ashkenazi.") In speaking about the current generation of university students in Israel, it is important to bear in mind that although Sephardim (Easterners, those primarily from Asian and North African countries and their descendants) constitute more than half of the country's Jewish population, they make up only about 12% of the university student bodies. This, of course, is only one aspect of their disenfranchisement.

Now, there is nothing like a war to produce a sense of camaraderie; it binds people to each other as few other experiences are able to. But when _all_ the generations in a national society have participated in the same _type_ of war -- a "war for survival" -- an important basis has been laid for a sense of national unity and inter-generational identification. In Israel, as in some other societies, this has important concrete repercussions in daily social life -- in the basic human concern of getting from one day to the next -- which thereby serve to provide additional common characteristics for all the adult generations. Two of these are especially important.

The first of these is that one's army peers provide him with the kinds of people who, to use the sociological jargon, constitute one of the most important mechanisms according to which day-to-day social relations are organized: _chevra_. It will be recalled that without such a solidary and intimate association of close friends, one is, for all intents and purposes (especially occupational), an isolate in Israeli society. In getting a job, coping with the labyrinthan web of bureaucratic offices and regulations that govern most aspects of daily life in Israel, as well as in the more basic area of having dependable social contacts, it is extraordinarily difficult and often painful in trying to get through one day and to another. As also noted, this has many sources in Israeli history. During to the immigration periods prior to World War II, many people -- especially those who settled in kibbutzim and gained control of the political machinery of the Jewish sector of what was then Palestine -- arrived in the country _as_ members of political parties and movements which had been established abroad. Those who didn't, and these were primarily urban people, soon understood the need for such cliques and, in response to the pressure, formed their own _chevras_, usually along lines of ethnicity and country of origin. Another source of _chevra_ during that period -- which, understandably, established a pattern that continues until today -- was service in one of the underground armies which fought against the British and Arabs. Such ties are never lost; many times, during my research in 1967-1969, I was able to get what I wanted -- an appointment with an important official, permission to observe behavior in relatively closed institutions, access to documents or archival materials, and the like -- because an Israeli friend was willing to call a friend with whom he had served in a pre-1948 underground unit who would either himself give me what I wanted or introduce me to someone else, passing me along from hand to hand and into overlapping groups in classic _chevra_ style. In any of these encounters, my initiating contact may have visited with his old "buddy" the previous Friday night or he may not have seen or spoken to him for more than 20 years; that made no difference -- they still thought of themselves as chevra, and it is one of the characteristics of people with such bonds of sentiment that they keep careful track of each other's occupational careers, partly in order to know the circumstances in which they may be of help to each other. In the Arab sector, kinship and village ties (which often overlap) and patron-client relations have been the bases of such relations.

To an important degree, the patterns of chevra filled the void left by the absence of kinship connections in the Jewish sector. One of the important characteristics of the people who first established the patterns -- and they now constitute the oligarchy which rules the country -- is that they generally arrived unmarried and without other kinship ties; political and chevra affiliations, which were (and are still) often one and the same, filled the social and emotional vacuum. Kinship is now becoming important in Israel, in kibbutzim as well as in urban life, but the voluntary associations of chevra seem to be much preferred over kinship by the younger generations, especially university students (though not to the complete exclusion of kinship, as will be seen in a moment).

Chevra is essentially an intra-generational pattern of association, But there are two points at which it becomes inter-generational, and it is this which serves to bind the younger with the older and more politically and economically entrenched groups. It is here that the myth-symbol-system takes effect. The first is in military-crisis situations, when the entire nation becomes a single communications network, cutting across generational lines. Whenever there is a war or a major battle -- like the headline-making raids deep into Jordan or Egypt -- there is the custom, as noted earlier, whereby the army arranges for the men who were involved to call their families. They are limited to the briefest exchanges, and each informs his family that he is well, and then tells them which of the men known to him and to them is wounded, killed, or missing. As soon as he hangs up, his family begin a series of calls to their friends and relatives, as well as to the families of the casualties whom they know, passing on the news. Thus, each call from the field sets off a geometrically increasing series of calls. Within a couple of hours, every message has been delivered through the country's telephone grid. Aside from the fact that this is an important source of unity for the nation, what is important is that it cuts across generational lines. (This custom may have changed recently, since the Israeli army has begun -- for the first time in its brief history -- lying to the populace about casualties incurred. Nevertheless, communication patterns within the society being firmly established, the information is known within a day or two after an important military engagement. This appears part of a larger change in the relationship of the army to the civilian sector of the population, which began in early 1968.) In a concrete illustration of this, the incident will be recalled in which a young soldier used this telephone network to ensure that his physician stepfather would look in on the former's seriously wounded fellow soldier.

Whenever a saboteur bomb is exploded, or a rumor spreads that one has been exploded, the nationwide telephone networks again come to life. In this case, all telephone calls converge on the city in which the bomb exploded (or is said to have gone off), clogging the trunk lines for most of the day. As university students in Jerusalem put it to me, "Every Jewish Momma has to call to make sure that her child is all right." This is usually said with considerable disdain, but is somewhat deceiving. I happened to be in one of the dormitory areas late in the day of the morning on which the bomb exploded in the library cafeteria of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and overheard a conversation between two ladies who seemed to be in their 30s. One was complaining strenuously to her friend about her parents in Tel Aviv, that "here it is 6 o'clock, surely they've heard about the explosion by now, and they still haven't called."

The second situation in which inter-generational lines of communication are important is in connection with securing a first job; this is especially important and relevant for university students. In most bureaucratically organized firms and offices, the people responsible for hiring are older than university graduates -- who are 24 or 25 -- seeking their first employment. That is, they cannot be members of the same, or even overlapping, chevras. In Israel -- and this is not to say that the country is unique in this respect -- one gets a job on the basis of whom he knows (protekzia), more than on the basis of his skill and knowledge. Characteristically, the first question asked an applicant for a job, in one way or another, is, "Who sent you?" rather than, "What are your qualifications?" (Attempts to institute a true civil service, and civil-service standards, in Israel are meeting with very strong resistance.) The quality of the job that one gets, especially a position with opportunities for advancement, therefore depend to a very large extent on one's personal connections; their cultivation for university students are considered as important, if not more so, as actual studies during the three years that are spent at the university. The goal in this connection is the exploitation of social relations with generational peers who have strong ties -- such as those of kinship -- with administrators who control employment in different firms or agencies. Later, after one has his first job, his reliance on his own peers -- his chevra -- increases for mobility and advancement.

Israel is as small socially as it is geographically. It is a country in which "everyone knows everyone else" or, if not, anyone can find out all that is necessary about anyone else within a few minutes. Hence, one does not readily rock boats in such an atmosphere. While this may suggest such a strong element of reality -- the threat of withholding jobs -- that it is unnecessary to invoke the abstruse notion of myth-symbol-systems that enhance identification between generations. While the reality considerations may certainly play a role, I think it is insufficient as an explanation. When people are committed to changing their society (or any part of it in microcosm, such as the university), they do not ordinarily worry about jobs; when the number of rebels is sufficiently large, especially in an economy which is attempting to expand as rapidly as Israel's, employers need prospective employees as much as the latter need jobs. When the people who now control Israel were themselves in their 20s, the even more final threat of the British colonialists' gallows did not serve as very much of a deterrent against underground terrorism. Consider Egypt, for example, which is remarkably similar to Israel in many respects in terms of ideology and social organization (in line with the idea that it takes two very similar parties to maintain a quarrel). When Egyptian students held their short lived protests against the policies of their universities in late 1968, they did not back down almost as soon as they started because of the threat that jobs will be withheld from them. One of the major reasons for their abortive challenge to established authority was the fact that the number of university graduates far exceeds the number of jobs available. Nevertheless, they desisted as soon as the Egyptian government closed the universities. Egypt, like Israel, struggled for independence against foreign colonialists and, in both countries, the history of this battle remains an important subject of study in the schools. In Egypt, as in Israel, there is a strong orientation to the past, and religious ideology and authoritarianism continues to dominate the school curricula. And, whereas the Israelis emphasize their victories in three wars, the Egyptians emphasize their losses of three battles in a continuing war; in both countries, military adventures are important means of unifying and establishing centralized control over extremely heterogeneous populations in which localized control and authority is religiously validated and jealously guarded against centrist encroachments.

To return to Israel, the fostering of identification between the generations in the university is not an abstraction; instead, there are constant reminders of one sort or another that "we are all in this together." For example, if a student has a complaint and goes to see the dean of his school -- who may be a man or a petite and very feminine lady who is never without a rose on her desk -- it is unlikely that the dean will fail to find some opportunity to mention his or her experiences in the pre-1948 underground armies or in subsequent wars. All Israeli men are subject to annual (and sometimes more frequent) calls to active reserve duty, including students and professors, until they are 49. When pupils and teachers see each other coming and going to and from the military front and the school -- and it is possible that a university instructor and one of his students will be in the same unit simultaneously, or even that the student may be his teacher's commanding officer -- the notion that "we are all in this together" is quickly removed from the abstract realm to a very concrete and real interchangeability and inter-generational identification.

The element of "this" in "we are all in this together," finally, not only refers to the past, though it is important in a society in which the present is constantly legitimated by the past, especially the sacred Biblical past. It also includes the present: the separatism of the Jewish caste, which rules the country, from the Arabs, both Israeli and foreign. Almost any Jewish university student and instructor can recite the rapidly rising birth rate of Israeli Arabs, which is far outdistancing that of the Jews', no matter what their ethnic group; not unrelated is the almost equal ease with which present and prospective members of the ruling group -- who are overwhelmingly of Western origin -- can recite the high birth rates of those who came from the Asian and North African countries (the "Orientals") and their descendants, who now constitute almost 55% of the population. Both sets of statistics are politically charged, and they are almost universally regarded as potentially dangerous threats to the groups that control the country's major institutions. Many people have observed that the worst thing that Israel's neighboring Arab states could do to the Israeli "Establishment" is to declare peace or allow it to break out. It is generally agreed in Israel that the tenure of the ruling groups would be no more than about six months; some estimates are even less generous. If and when that happens, the rationale for maintaining the status quo -- that Israel's neighboring states will invade it at the first sign of internal disunity -- will disappear with respect to apartheid policies for Israeli Arabs, a rigid class structure within the Jewish caste, and an oligarchic political system.

(3) The role of national political parties in campus student organizations. Israel is known to many observers as an extremely politicized country. Not only does it have a plethora of political parties covering the entire political spectrum, including religious and non-religious parties, but it is a country in which political relationships are often highly personalized and personal relations are often politicized. Alignments and coalitions inside and outside the cabinet are constantly shifting, and they can be threatened by such major issues as foreign and economic policy or by such matters -- which to some Israelis are even more important -- as whether to permit television broadcasts on the sabbath. Political discussions and arguments are frequent and volatile, election campaigns are marked by an intensity rarely matched in other countries, and an election day is a national festive occasion on which everyone goes to the polls dressed in sabbath finery.

But this surface political volatility is somewhat deceiving. Freedom of expression in political matters is often sharply curtained, in personal exchanges and in official policy. On a personal level, a person may find himself charged as a traitor or renegade if he outspokenly favors a policy of egalitarianism with respect to Israel's Arabs or if, to take a more pressing contemporary issue, he favors immediate withdrawal from the occupied (or, as some Israelis say, liberated) territories and a Middle East settlement whether by direct negotiations or other means (which are clearly within the range of possibilities). To call someone a traitor or renegade in Israel is not a matter of mere name-calling versus sticks and stones; the two are interchangeable. As a fairly well placed official of a government ministry put it to me, "If I was ever overheard saying at a party, for example, that Israel should renounce its Zionist ideology or if I joined the wrong political party, within a month I would find myself without a job, I would start having trouble with my water meter and rates, my mortgage schedule would be seriously questioned, I would start having trouble with my telephone, I would start having trouble with my electricity, and my bank would start calling me to come in every day to check my balance sheet." An Israeli Arab who is overheard saying --

and who is reported to the intelligence services by the latter's ubiquitous informers -- such things as that Arabs have the same rights to cultural autonomy and development as Jews will almost certainly, especially if he is a member of the rather large Arab intellegentsia, find himself placed under administrative detention. This is a law carried over from 1945 -- that is, from the period of British authority -- under which a person may be forbidden to enter certain places (like East Jerusalem), confined to his village for a definite or indefinite period, or jailed without rights of habeas corpus, without the right to know the nature of the charges against him, and without rights of judicial appeal. This law is applied almost exclusively to Arabs.

Officially, it is possible for political parties to be declared illegal by fiat (by the Minister of Interior) on the grounds that they endanger the security of the state. When this is done, it usually happens just prior to national elections -- all elections in Israel are national -- and is applied to Arab political parties or to Jewish parties that adopt a pro-Israeli Arab platform when it appears from pre-election surveys that they may gain enough votes to seat a few members in the parliament. The calendar also plays an important role in official control of politically outspoken Arab university students, who are most often placed under administrative detention in their home villages just prior to examination periods.

This is the climatic background to the role of Israeli political parties in social institutions generally and in university-student life in particular. A general rule of Israeli social and political life is that there is no major organization which is free of direct political-party representation. For example, the executive committees of the Histadrut (the Israel General Federation of Labor) and the Civil Service Commission are elected by proportional representation from lists representing all of the country's political parties. That is, a member of either of these organizations casts his vote for a party slate, not for an individual; the members of the respective executive committee are chosen according to their predetermined positions on their parties' lists, each political party receiving the number of positions warranted by its proportion of the votes cast. Whether or not one's name appears on a party's election list -- that is, whether he is a candidate for election -- is not determined by any popular procedure but by the party's own executive. Mavericks can only stand for election by forming their own parties, which is a difficult and expensive procedure. Members of university student councils are elected according to the same system.

This is important because political parties in Israel, as elsewhere, are inseparable from centralized governmental authority and control, the administration of supposedly autonomous local bodies by people who are chosen according to their political-party affiliation inevitably and necessarily leads to central governmental control over these local bodies. For example, although the Histadrut is often in conflict with the government over such things as wage policies -- the interest of the former being in higher wages while the government is trying to control a spiralling inflation -- it generally emerges that the policies of the two end in close harmony after the rhetorical flurries have died down. Political parties in Israel maintain a considerable amount of discipline over their members; although this is beginning to lose much of its whiplash, expulsion from a party in Israel carries many of the same consequences and implications as medieval excommunication. When the Israel Labor Party (formerly known as Mapai, before it swallowed up several of the other labor parties in early 1969), which is practically synonomous with the government of the country, decrees that there will be no wage increases, at least until after the elections of 1969, it will not take kindly to ILP party members who control the Histadrut who push too strongly for a wage increase.

But party discipline is fragile and tenuous, at best, in a multi-party nation. The most effective control over such organizations as the Histadrut, which is the most powerful economic and political group in the country second only to the government, is maintained by the careful placement of members of these groups' executive committees. In the Histadrut, as well as in other groups, some members of the executive committee are also members of the government cabinet. If there is a conflict of interest here -- and it is doubtful whether this concept applies in Israel to the same degree that it does in the United States -- it is always the government's interest which ultimately prevails.

Much the same thing happens in student government in the universities, except for the latter overlapping memberships in controlling groups. Although it appears that advanced formal education is a bar to mobility in the Israeli power hierarchy -- the sign on the door seems to read, University graduates need not apply -- a few students nevertheless have clear political motivations. They do not enter student-government politics for the same reasons that Americans, for example, do -- to cultivate personal connections, learn the machinery of political brokerage, build miniature constituencies, gain various academic "credits" for extracurricular activities, for ideological reasons, and the like. Generally, when an Israeli university student stands for office in the student government, he does so as a member of one of the national political parties in which he hopes to climb. Like his more senior and experienced counterparts in the Histadrut or the Civil Service Commission, he is not likely to jeopardize his opportunities for a political future by defying party and government policy. One example will suffice. In late 1968, the student government at one of the univeristies decided to conduct a large poll of the student body of their attitudes to a variety of government policies (especially military and security) and student preferences for Prime Minister after the 1969 elections. The latter was universally regarded as the more important issue, but there was also no doubt of the outcome. As expected, Moshe Dayan won 50% of the votes. The cost of the poll, which was going to include computer analysis of the returns, was to have been underwritten by one of the country's leading newspapers, with the understanding that it was to have exclusive rights to the data. Shortly before the poll was to be organized, the project was sharply curtailed and it ended as a relatively minor straw vote. There are two conflicting stories -- though both of them may be true, at least in part -- explaining this. One version had it that one of Dayan's major enemies in the Israel Labor Party and the cabinet persuaded the newspaper to withdraw its financial support of the project; this paper is closely associated with this cabinet minister's faction of the party. After the poll was conducted, this newspaper gave the story very little publicity. The second version has it that the same antagonist of Dayan persuaded the student representatives of the ILP to play down the poll.

Whether it is because of such linkages between national and student politics or because higher education is a bar to political power, only a tiny fraction of University students display any interest in student politics. Only a very small minority turn out to vote in elections for student council representatives. But even more telling is the fact that during some years, there are fewer candidates than the number of offices to be filled. It can be said that these pressures have effectively undermined the possibility or potential for the creation of organizations which could serve as a base for protest or involvement.

Such elections in different interest-groups -- whether the Histadrut, the Civil Service Commission, or university student bodies -- serve another purpose in addition to direct central political control. Since many of these elections occur at various times between national elections -- although Histadrut elections generally follow the latter within very brief periods -- they serve as excellent straw votes and barometers and strongly affect the directions to be taken by political and public relations policies. They also provide indices for the country's rulers as to where pressures must be applied. Between two recent national elections, the residents of a particular Development Town -- which, as will be recalled, is a type of Israeli settlement which is entirely dependent on the government and the Histadrut for its livelihood -- voted against the dominant party, one of the country's cabinet ministers who, perhaps more than anyone else, controls the nation's purse strings, informed the populace in a public speech that if they did not vote properly in the forthcoming election, he would see to it that the town would cease to exist. (He was obviously bluffing at least once, because a threat directed at this Development Town from one of Israel's neighboring Arab states was one of the principal reasons given for going to war in June 1967.) Such techniques are effective: the town voted "properly" by an overwhelming majority during the next election.

While precisely the same pressures cannot be applied to university students, since they are generally more directly dependent economically on their parents than on the government, the government does control the kinds and numbers of jobs available to students who are forced to work. But it has other options available, especially psychological ones. For example, it was probably not accidental that the "security" fence was built around Jerusalem's Hebrew University shortly after its students voted so heavily for Dayan in the straw vote for Prime Minister. If it was calculated that the university community would remain passive in the face of this provocation, the country's established rulers once again demonstrated their political acumen. In any event, whether by intent or not, the ploy succeeded in demonstrating and reinforcing the political and organizational impotence of the university community and in underscoring the government's ability to institute any measures it wishes, public opinion notwithstanding.

(4) The commingling of police and military authority. One of the most consistent elements in student protests and uprisings since the European medieval period has been that such confrontations at least begin as exchanges between members of the university community and civil authorities. It is only when such activities are perceived as threatening the stability and integrity of the established social order that military personnel are brought in. In Israel, as in a few other countries, there is no clear separation in personnel and functions between civil police and the military. As a result, a confrontation which carries the possibility of police involvement also -- and necessarily -- means that it will involve the military, whether symbolically or actually.

This commingling takes place in many ways and on several levels. There are personnel in the Ministry of Police (and probably in the army, though information is much more difficult to secure about this) whose specific functions are to serve as liaisons between the two. The two organizations work jointly in the application of administrative detentions against Israeli Arabs. In most cases, administrative detention orders are issued and signed by district military commanders, but their enforcement is by civilian police.

Another important area of overlap between the two is in the organization known as the Border Patrol. Administratively, it is part of the Ministry of Police. Its functions, however, are almost exclusively military, as, for example, in patrolling and guarding the militarily active and dangerous borders with Jordan and Syria. While the Border Patrol's numbers are a military secret, it seems that their proportion of casualties, at least since the war of 1967, are almost the same as those of the army. Soldiers, regardless of whether they are on or off duty, are under standing orders to assist civilian police whenever necessary -- such as in controlling lynch-prone mobs after saboteur bombings -- whether or not called on to do so. Similarly, police and military intelligence units are mixed. The commingling of the army and police in the Border Patrol is graphically illustrated in the latter's uniforms. Overall, the members of the patrol wear the same military garb as soldiers with the major exception that every Border Patrolman also wears a police-type badge with an identifying number on his right chest pocket. The members of the Border Patrol are also subject to the same military discipline as the army, and they receive the same benefits, such as compulsory special education during the last three months of their conscription periods if they have not completed elementary school, medical care, disability pensions, and the like. Paralleling the particular mixture in the Border Patrol's uniform is the habit of many civilian policemen to wear their military service ribbons and such special emblems as paratroop wings.

Perhaps more than anything else, this commingling of military and police authority serves to reinforce the repeated exhortation in Israel that domestic stability and military security are inseparable. This may be true, but I do not know of any intelligence evaluations (or even hints of them) suggesting a relationship between the two. In any event, what is important is that most people seem to believe that the two are intimately related and this, too, contributes significantly to the maintenance of domestic political tranquility. Not everyone, whether in the universities or outside them, is aware of the admixture of police and military authority, although some students are very conscious of it. In conversations about this, a few of them spontaneously cited the brief protest demonstrations over the visit to Israel of West Germany' Konrad Adenauer in 1961 as an example. Then, much more so than now, animosity to German people and things was bitter and widespread. Many Israelis in all walks of life and of most political persuasions objected to Adenauer' official visit, and he was met by a mixture of sullen silence and outright hostility. The climax of this came during a demonstration by university students who tried to disrupt the movement of his party. As soon as police arrived, most of the students dispersed; the major exceptions were communist students who, as one student put it, "hate the police so much that they would not lose an opportunity to fight them." More importantly, Israeli communists reject the legitimacy of all existing sources of authority in the country; "the rest," as another student put it, "simply ran away from the fight."

More important, however, and as observed above, is that almost every Israeli man is subject to annual reserve duty until he is 49. Israel's army is a "citizen's army" in the fullest sense of the term. There are very few permanent or career soldiers, and Israelis are proud of the fact that they can mobilize and field one of the world's most successful armies in less than two weeks. But there is another side to the picture of Israel's "citizen army," namely, the ideology and official policy that the entire nation is an army. Annual reserve duty -- much more rigorously enforced and willingly accepted since the war of June 1967 -- is the keystone of this concept. It is planned to maintain this even after peace "breaks out." Thus, military discipline is an active ingredient in an Israeli man's life for more than 30 years, covering more than half of the span of his adulthood. In addition, most secondary school students participate in Gadna, a quasi-military preparatory course which is part of the curriculum and which is compulsory for both sexes in most schools, often including summer and mid-year encampments under military discipline. While these requirements have not yet led to the development of Spartan values and attitudes, there are hints of them. For example, men who were not called up for service during the 1967 war were ashamed of their exclusion, and it is not unknown for some to lie and assert that they did serve; secondary school students with physical disabilities and limitations experience considerable anxiety that they may be rejected for military duty; and volunteers for hazardous-duty units (such as paratroopers or commandos) and risky assignments have been consistently higher since the 1967 war than available openings; and a jet pilot's wings are probably the most desirable possession for which an Israeli youth aspires, and no parent with the right to say so fails to mention "my son, the pilot."

Another and very dramatic illustration of the policy that the entire nation is an army is provided by an unusual, though increasingly recurrent, situation in Israeli life. When word spreads throughout the country that a major military operation is in the offing within 24 hours -- such as a land raid deep into Egypt or Jordan or an air raid over the latter that is scheduled to last 4 to 6 hours -- the tension in the major cities rises to an almost unbearable level. Although such information is supposed to be secret, it does leak out and spread rapidly. One means of its dissemination that I have been able to pinpoint is the country's hospitals: during the day before a major action, or early in the morning if it is supposed to start after noon, the major hospitals receive alert notices to be prepared for military casualties. Although it is forbidden to disclose these alert notices to people outside the hospitals, I have clocked the spread of this and other similar kinds of confidential information at within 10 minutes of its receipt through the nationwide telephone grid. Within a few hours, highway accidents increase, fistfights become commonplace, people become more highly irritable than normally, and city core areas give the impression of pandemonious bedlams. The tension, as most people readily explain, is for fear of casualties. When the action is ended and -- as is usually the case, though there have been some tragic exceptions since the 1967 war -- an unusual calm returns and lasts for about 48 hours, giving the impression that the nation has heaved a mass sigh of relief.

There are two principal reasons for this. Many Israelis regard military casualties -- even of people unknown to them -- as a personal loss. There is a tradition, going back to the 1930s and 1940s, of people travelling half the length of the country to attend a funeral of a military casualty whom they did not personally know. This is not necessarily an expression of a high valuation on human life per se, about which Israelis can sometimes be quite cavalier. For example, Israel's traffic fatalities are among the world's highest, but people merely shrug when they read the week's figures, which often fall between 9 and 12 (out of a population of 2½ million). I think that it is the concept of the nation as a single military unit which helps to explain the identification with military casualties. When I occasionally suggested to Israeli behavioral scientists that the country's catastrophic accident rate deserved as much attention as means for reducing military casualties -- and I sometimes added that it made no difference under what senseless conditions human lives were lost -- I was usually met with responses that suggested that the logical basis of my contention left much to be desired; most explicitly rejected my assertion that it made no difference under what conditions human lives were needlessly lost. The second reason is more personal. Most people know someone -- a relative or friend -- on active duty at any given time, and this is also an important reinforcement for the nationwide mutual military identification. Equally significant is that despite the "griping" about the conditions of army life -- which are systematically, albeit subtly, encouraged by officers -- most Israeli men have very strong and positive feelings about the army. This is especially important when thinking about members of the university in connection with challenges to authority for a reason that, together with the positive feelings toward the army, may seem strange to Americans: There tends to be a direct correlation in the Israeli army between scholastic and intellectual levels and involvement in combat; it is the better educated who bear the brunt of combat, while the less educated and those with less intellectual capacity tend to be kept in service capacities behind the lines. (The Israeli army points to this as one of the major reasons for its combat successes.)

I do not know whether there are any plans to mobilize university students engaged in sustained protest; mobilization plans and procedures are among the Israeli army's most closely guarded secrets. While such a move would be within the range of possibilities -- and quite easy, since the entire mobilization machinery is conducted by computer and every datum on every person subject to military duty is recorded on electronic tapes -- it would probably be unnecessary. The emotional identification with the military is so strong, and the consciousness of belonging to it is so deep, that it is unlikely that any large body of students or other people would challenge it or the authority of any other agency with which it is synonymous or commingled. In view of academic people's actual and emotional involvement with the army's military exploits, their strong positive feelings toward it, and its close identification with civil authority -- together with the other factors discussed above -- it is unlikely that they would pose a threat to the society's established institutions under present conditions.

III

Prediction is a risky business, whether with regard to university students and junior faculty or anyone else. The international situation in which Israel is now placed, whether volitionally or otherwise, is only one of the conditions which, when taken together, seem to contribute to the placidity and passivity of its universities. Historical events may prove otherwise, but it does not seem that the outbreak of peace in the Middle East will alone alter this situation.

At the outset of this discussion, I observed that most local Israeli explanations for the country's "silent generation" center in one way or another around people's involvement with the army. While this reveals quite a bit about some of the major preoccupations in Israelis' thinking, it would also suggest that many people think that an alteration in this situation will lead to a change in the behavior of university members with respect to the society at large. However, I have tried to show that this (the military) side of the picture is only part of it. Aside from the symbolism of "we are all in this together" and the commingling of police and military authority, it would be wrong, I think, to discount the roles played by the intellectual passivity engendered by pre-university education and the admixture of police and military authority. Only time will tell which of these, singly or in combination, contribute the most to this situation.

XI

The Israeli Legal System*

As noted at the outset of this report, research into the Israeli legal system was undertaken in order to learn whether the method devised and used in the study of the educational system was an artifact of the latter or whether it is independent of the socio-cultural matrix being investigated. In other words, does the method work for all institutions.

Unlike education, which is regarded as an institution which is supposed to include everyone in the society at one point or other of his life, a society's legal system is designed in large measure to deal with deviant and non-normative behavior. Hence, it is necessary to begin this discussion with a more detailed consideration of some demographic aspects of Israeli society than had been done previously in this report.

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*This chapter was written by Mr. Usher Fleising, a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology of Livingston College of Rutgers University, who was also responsible for the collection of the data on the Israeli legal system. I have merely edited the report; the fact that it reads as though it was written by me is only an artifact of my editing and was done solely for purposes of continuity of style. I want to express my gratitude to Mr. Fleising for the conscientiousness that he exhibited during his period of work and for his originality and adroitness in often working against very difficult odds, for his wholehearted involvement in the research, and for his friendship in the field.

The findings presented here are not final; much statistical analysis remains to be done. Also much background material is still to be collected and analyzed.

The fact that Mr. Fleising has no legal background was not considered an obstacle. In fact, this might be regarded as an asset since no predjudices can be attached to the report as regards legal matters. The five-month period allowed for this research was insufficient to cover the topic in depth; however, an overall picture of the structure, workings and activities of the Israeli legal system was obtained, and confirmed many of the most important conclusions in the study of Israeli education. The base of this research was in a different city from the one used in connection with the educational research.

It is important to understand that even Israeli dissenters will fall back onto their programmed attitudes and activities: e.g. Judge Simcha Landau of the Israel Supreme Court stated at the 1967 Proceedings of the Seminar on Crime in Israel:[1]

> "The expression of aggression towards prisoners belonging to minorities and towards those sentenced for security offenses, reflect paradoxically the identification of the prisoners with the society in general, the same society that sent them to prison."

Whether or not the above manifests itself specifically in the legal system is not as important as the fact that the people involved in the legal affairs of the country have such a volume of common ground and interests.

Israel is regarded as a "Jewish State" and can justifiably be called such simply by virtue of the fact that approximately 90% of the population is of Jewish origin. The total population is just over two and a half million (Fig. 1).

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[1] Publication of the Institute of Criminology - Jerusalem - No. 11, 1967.

Fig. 1 The Population of Israel - from Statistical Abstracts of Israel 1967.

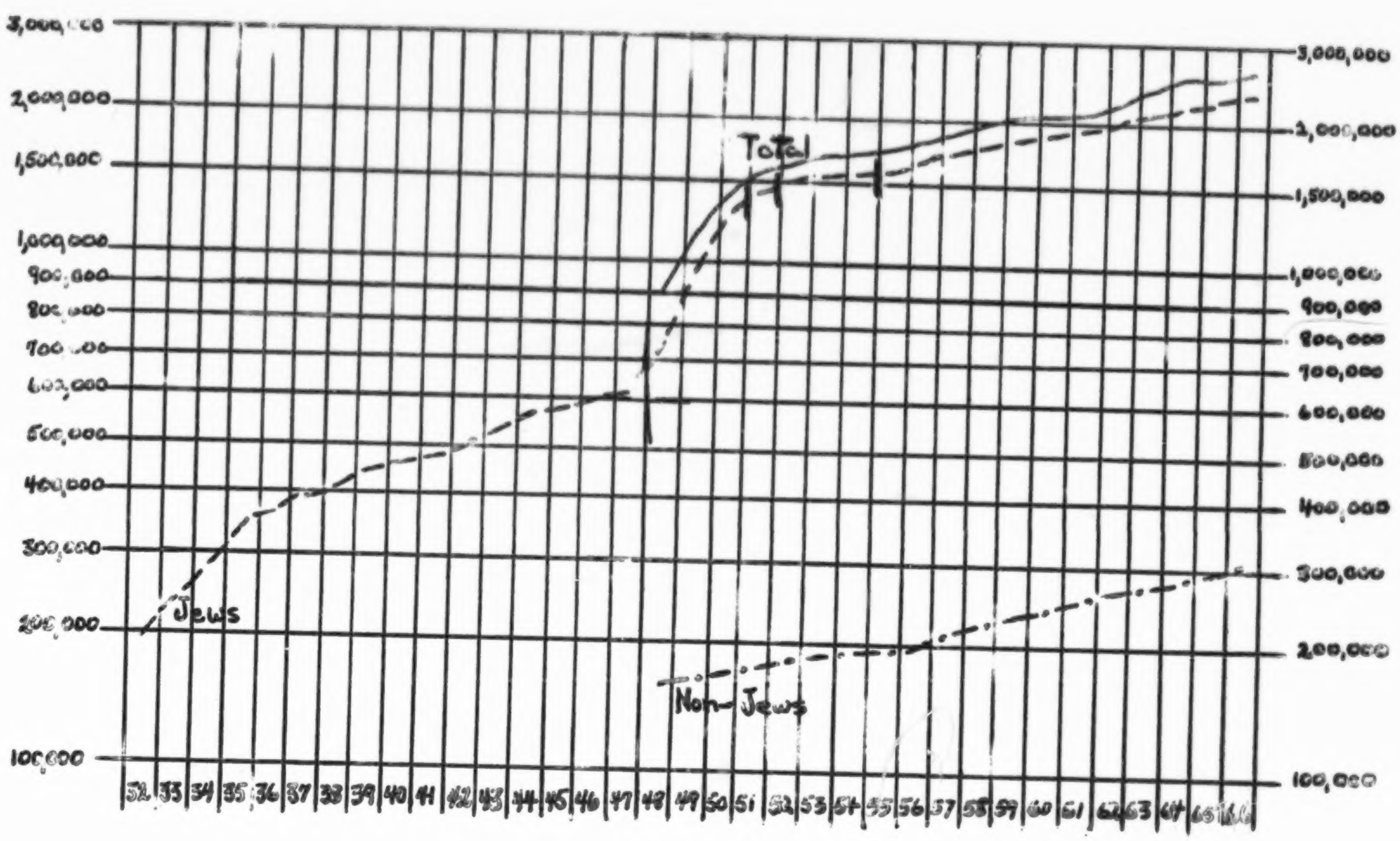


Fig. 2 Migration vs. Natural Increase - from Statistical Abstracts of Israel 1967.

Sources of Increase of the Jewish Population

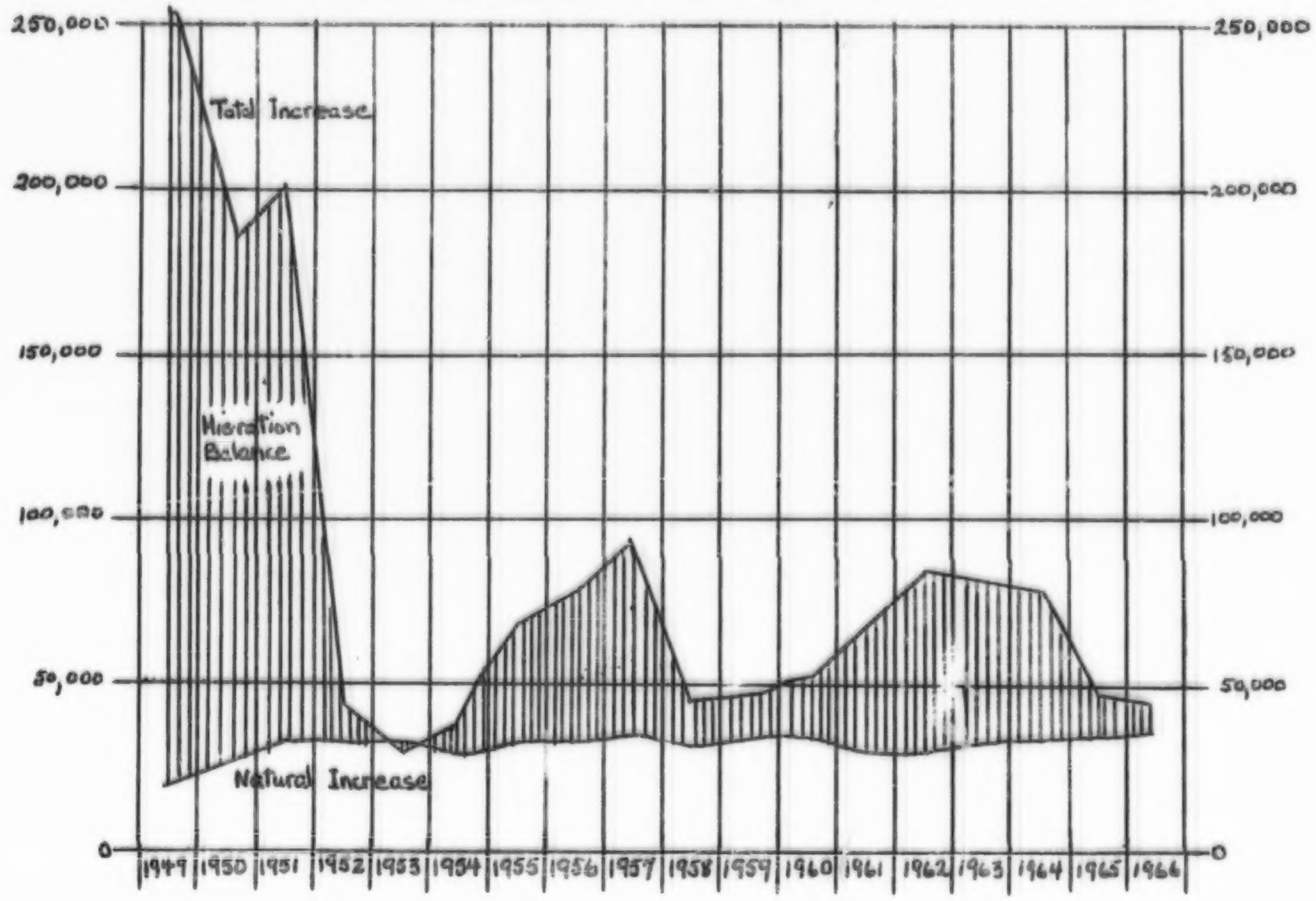


Figure 2 illustrates the importance of immigration as a factor in population growth. The vast migration of Jews from different parts of the world has had ramifying effects on all aspects of Israeli society, including its legal structure and organization. The most significant factor to emerge from this large scale influx of Jews is the cultural disparity between Jews of Asian and African origin (the Sephardim) and those of European and Western origin (the Ashkenazim). The former comprise 52% of the present population and can be regarded as the disenfranchised lower class. (Israelis themselves will often claim the existence of "two Israels.") The 10% non-Jews are mostly Arabs, who are the largest group in the lower caste.

The Jews of European and Western origin, by contrast, were directly responsible for the establishment of the state, and dominate the higher socio-economic levels. Again, it is important to note that the latter constitute the educated majority as a result of which their influence has been more effective in the lawmaking sphere and the creation of the Israeli Establishment.

Figure 3 represents a further dimension of Israeli society, especially in regard to deviance. Further analysis of this situation must await additional background materials.

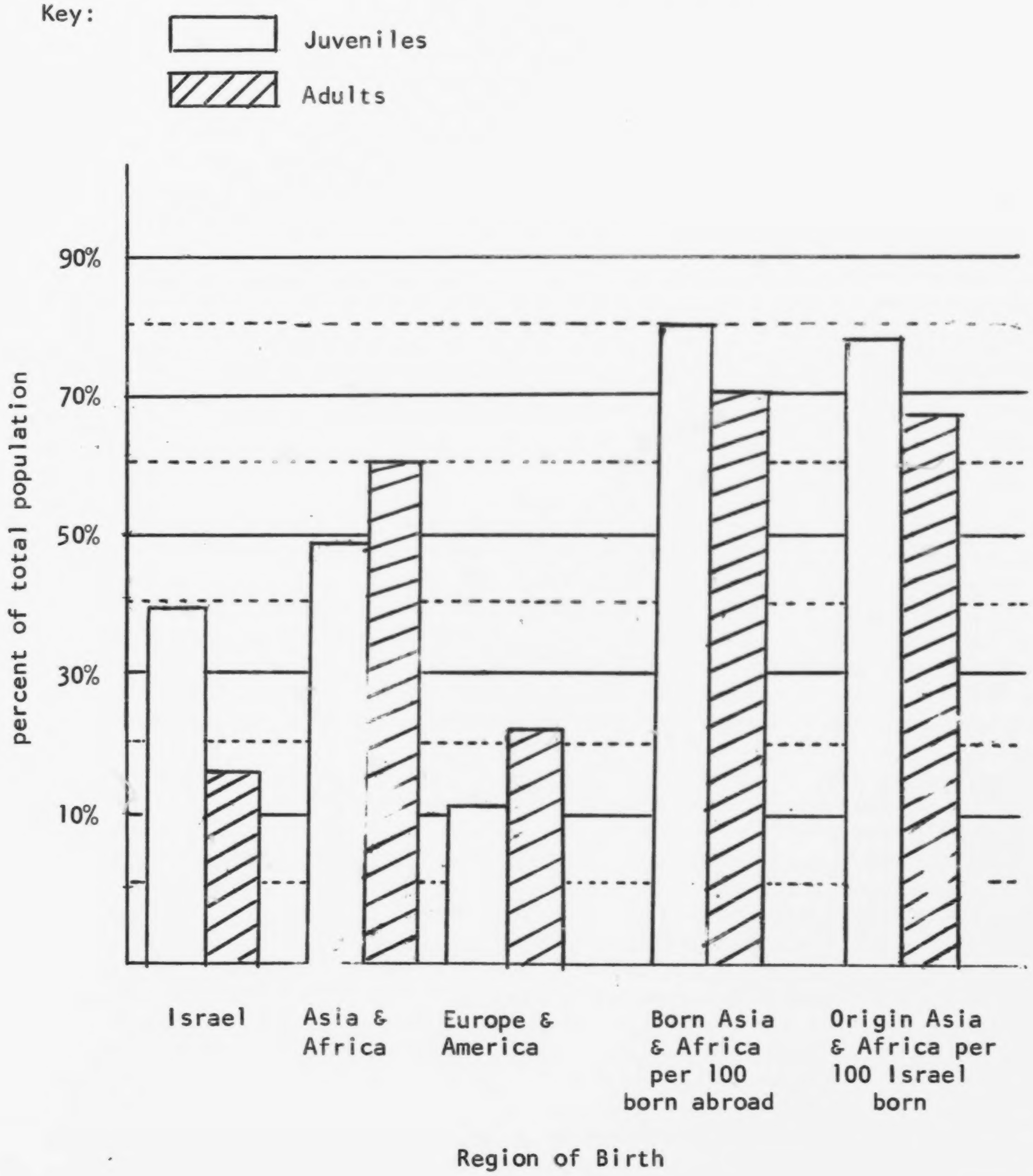
To describe the background of the Israeli legal system would require a separate research paper. In brief, much of the system is rooted in Ottoman, British and traditional Jewish sources; post-1948 jurisprudence has been greatly influenced by American concepts. Much British Mandate Law remains, as has the Ottoman Law of Property of the Turkish period in Palestine. Importantly, this parallels the situation in the educational sphere. Israeli education is an amalgam of British and American educational practices together with many survivals from traditional Jewish education, especially from Eastern Europe.

The Western orientation of Israeli law and the retention of much British Mandate law is largely a reflection of the cultural origins of Israeli lawmakers. It is important to note, and also highly significant, that no vast liquidation of the legal system of Palestine occurred with the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, paralleling the continuity in the educational sphere, discussed above. The powers-that-were-to-be were already there. It is significant too that Israel is in a legal state of emergency in view of the fact that the Emergency Laws ratified by the Knesset (Israel's Parliament) in March 1949 have never been revoked. Many of these laws are continuations of Mandate legislation, which was designed to maintain checks and balances among the various ethnic entities in Palestine. Today, these laws are used for essentially the same purposes. Also, it is important to note that Israel has no constitution or Bill of Rights, even though there was great demand for it after 1948.

Religious law, a special body of law with a separate court system, is dominant in all matters of personal status: marriage, divorce, alimony, burial and inheritance.

Figure: Three [3]

Offenders According to Age Grouping and Region of Birth[1]



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[1] Statistical Data on Crime Amongst Jews in Israel - by Dr. O. Shmeltz.

The Israeli court system is divided into three sectors -- secular courts, religious courts, and military and tribunal courts -- each of which again has its own subdivisions.

The secular courts are divided as follows:

a) Municipal courts (6) which have jurisdiction over municipal regulations and bylaws.

b) Magistrates' courts (23, 11 of which are for juveniles) with limited jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters, i.e. offenses punishable with not more than three years imprisonment.

c) District courts (4) which have unlimited jurisdiction as trial courts in all civil and criminal matters not within the jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Courts. They also handle appeals from the first two courts; their decisions are appealable only before the Supreme Court.

d) The Supreme Court, which sits in Jerusalem, handles the appeals from the District courts and can direct orders to all other courts. It cannot nullify acts of the Knesset.

There are many religious courts in Israel, the largest and most important being the Jewish Religious Courts. However, there are also Moslem, Christian, and Druze Religious Courts. These, as noted have exclusive jurisdiction in all matters of personal status. They also have concurrent jurisdiction with civil courts in other spheres if both parties to a dispute agree to appear before the religious body. The Minister of Religious Affairs supervises the activities of the religious courts, which are largely subsidized by the government.

Military courts and tribunals continue to exist because the country is still under the Emergency Laws, mentioned above. All militarily controlled areas have military tribunals, dealing almost solely with cases of Arab infiltration and saboteur activities. This is one of the legal bases for Arab apartheid, and it parallels the separateness of Arab education.

Israel has a disproportionately large number of lawyers, a point we shall come back to later on. There are 4,211 lawyers (as of this report) in Israel, 2,775 of them residing within the Tel Aviv area. Further background material will have to await the analysis of data provided by the Ministry of Labor on the legal profession in Israel.

Unlike the police forces in the United States, which are subdivided into city, municipal, highway, and other forces, the Israeli force is completely centralized and encompasses the entire country, including the occupied territories. The Israeli police also perform functions alien to North American forces, such as Border Patrol and national security operations (these were discussed in the previous chapter). There are three police districts -- Northern, Tel Aviv (central), and Southern, the population of the Tel Aviv district being the largest of the three. The Border Police constitute a separate division and are divided into battalions, companies, and sections, in line with their predominantly military functions. In many respects, the Israeli police force is more highly centralized than the educational system, although the latter is moving in this direction.

The principal methods used in carrying out this research were interviews and direct observations. In addition, a review of background material from various sources was begun.

The Israeli legal system was approached on four general fronts: police, lawyers, courts, and the laws themselves.

In observations of the police, Mr. Fleising was given permission to visit in preselected police stations in one district. He sat taking notes in each station's recieving hall. Usually, these sittings lasted $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours and were carried out at different time periods. He tried to remain as inconspicuous as possible and at one station had to pretend he was part of the staff. Policemen on duty were also interviewed, as were lawyers and law students. Certain standard questions were repeated throughout, but these were few. These were largely concerned with background and experience.

Direct observations were also conducted in the Israeli courts. One court outside the urban base of this aspect of the research was visited: a Magistrates' court in a Development Town. In the city, Mr. Fleising visited in the courtrooms alone, while in the Development Town he accompanied a lawyer. Importantly, the only courts which we could not obtain permission to enter were the religious courts. The excuse given for this refusal was that matters of too personal a nature are revealed there. This parallels the fact that in the educational side of the research, religious schools were the only ones from which I (and my assistant in the observation of classrooms) was ejected and for which demographic data could not be secured. I feel that this alone made the research into the Israeli legal system worthwhile, since it demonstrates that the findings with respect to the boundaries surrounding religious schools were not an artifact of the educational system but are inherent in religious autonomy per se in a modern society. We did not attempt to gain permission to observe military courts because of insufficient time.

A complete set of the Laws of the State of Israel was obtained, and a systematic analysis of them -- especially the relationship of the values they represent in relation to educational values -- will be undertaken at a later time.

The Police:

At the outset of this phase of the research, it was hypothesized that strong connections will exist between the military and the police forces of Israel. The hypothesis was not only borne out, but we were struck by the extent of the interrelationship. One of our major conclusions in this regard is that Israel can be considered as a de facto military state. Although this conclusion does not carry with it the stereotyped images of such a state, the elements are nevertheless there. Also, we are disregarding the question of the extent to which this situation is warranted by objective conditions; that is, we are omitting a consideration of the limits of the reality and politics of the situation. The commingling of the police and military in the Border Patrol and in security operations make for an almost complete military-police link.

The above manifests itself most clearly in two respects. Firstly, the retention of the Emergency Laws of 1949 give both the police and the military governments wide ranging powers in matters which they feel involve security: e.g. Administrative Detention is a process by which an individual can be detained for a period of up to six months without being charged. This law is most frequently applied to suspected Arab terrorists, but Jews have also been known to be detained. Secondly, the absence of a Constitution or Bill of Rights is deplored by many lawyers, some implying that this can allow for much questionable behavior and procedures under the Emergency Laws.

The extreme preoccupations with security pervade Israeli society vertically as well as horizontally. The number of negative replies that Mr. Fleising received from police officials in response to requests in connection with his work marks this process clearly. Aside from the delay in getting permission to observe the police -- which was extensive -- the following indicate the pervasiveness of the preoccupation with security:

a) Permission was denied Mr. Fleising to accompany patrol cars.

b) Permission was denied Mr. Fleising to visit each station more than once.

c) Permission was denied Mr. Fleising to sit anywhere in the stations except the general receiving hall where non-criminal matters were handled.

d) Permission was denied him to visit any station in the two week period preceding Independence Day.

e) Permission was denied him to visit any station following Independence Day.

Only in reference to (d) and (e) was Mr. Fleising told specifically that security was involved. As a result of this volume of negative responses, the total number of police stations visited was held to a minimum. Thus, we observe once again the close correspondence between the maintenance of firm boundaries and the exclusion of personnel (in this case, a research investigator). It is suggested that the firm boundaries maintained by the Israeli police -- other sources of firm boundedness would obtain in other societies -- is a result of their commingled status with respect to the military. The Israeli army is one of the most firmly bounded institutions in the society and, although this is beginning to change, it is probably the last stronghold of firm boundedness in Israel. The police derive their boundedness from association with the military.

The military-police alliance further manifests itself in the use of police in the administered territories. Also, it was observed while travelling through the country that most rural police stations are built like fortresses, and they are usually placed in strategic areas. If a town has a topographically high point, the police station will usually be placed there. In Israeli Arab areas, police stations are generally a mile or two away from habitational areas.

Another sphere in which the Israeli Police have shown themselves to be unique is in their roles as "family counselors." The importance of this social function cannot be underestimated in view of the social environment vis-à-vis the various ethnic groups making up the society. The vast migration to Israel was accompanied by the establishment of ethnic neighborhoods. Whole city blocks and sometimes entire towns are settled by these immigrants who are mostly of North African and Asian origin. These are transplanted people, usually of meager financial and educational means. The Western immigrants, on the other hand, usually have financial reserves and professions; as a result much inter-group conflict has arisen. Marriage between Sephardim and Ashkenazim is usually frowned upon.

As figure three illustrates the highest crime rate is amongst those Jews of Sephardic origin, a great number of these crimes being of a violent nature. There is no room here to delve deeper into this question. However, we have seen the parallel of this inter-ethnic conflict in the educational sphere.

In this connection, however, two things are important. First, the majority of ordinary policemen are of Asian and North African descent. Second, these policemen frequently intervene in quarrels between neighbors, which are common and which can lead to murder. "The problem of compulsory neighborhood . . . is a structural concrete factor which causes many violent phenomena, and is a direct outcome of defective social planning in the years of mass immigration."[1] Hence, such activity by the police is regarded as important.

Mr. Fleising witnessed several incidents in police stations involving delinquent daughters. Not only did the police locate the missing girls but they also counseled the mothers on what to do in the future. In one case a distraught parent came to her local police station specifically for advice in such a matter. In one station, a man came for help concerning a quarrel with a neighbor.

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[1] English summary in the Publication of the Institute of Criminology. No. 11 - Jerusalem, 1967.

A lawyer, who migrated to Israel after fourteen years of practice in London, commented that according to his experiences the Israeli Police officer was just as deserving of praise as the English Bobby in respect to peacemaking and general behavior.

Several observed street incidents reinforced the image of policemen's restraint and tendency to remain calm. In disturbance in a café observed in a northern town, the police officer returned to the café after the disturbance subsided and discussed the case with the owner who was directly involved. After exchanging greetings they sat over tea and cake and debated the affair. The officer's behavior was very much like a social worker: he went to one of the parties concerned instead of bringing him to the police station to be questioned. An Israeli anthropologist with much experience in these ethnic conflicts particularly stressed the role of the police as family counselors.

However, this situation is not uniform. An Israeli lawyer with many Arab clients tells of their receiving somewhat more than their share of beatings, although some of his Jewish clients were also not immune. At one of the police stations visited an Arab woman complained quite vehemently about undue harassment by certain police officers.

Needless to say, it is difficult to corroborate claims of police brutality. There does seem to be some credibility in the claim of Arabs that, instead of themselves using physical force, police often leave an Arab in the same cell with lower-status Jews of Asian and North African descent -- who are known for their animosity to Arabs -- and leave the rest to them. Nevertheless, the data that were gathered in this aspect of the research strongly bear out the conclusions arrived at in connection with centralization of control and authority in the educational sphere. There can be no question that brutality and discriminatory behavior occurs when policemen are left to their own devices. But that is only one part of the picture. The data gathered indicate that when such behavior is brought to the attention of commanding police officers, it is immediately condemned and often punished. For example, policemen in Israel seem to object strenuously to Arab men fraternizing socially with Jewish women in public (much as a policeman in the United States South would react at seeing a black man and white woman together), and they often separate the couple and threaten the Arab with arrest. This police behavior is illegal, and the patrolmen often act with impunity in this regard. However, whenever such action is brought to the attention of commanding officers, the sanctions applied to the policeman are immediate and strong. Further, it appears that the higher the rank of the police commander or supervisor, the stronger are the punishments.

The parallel with what was found in the schools in Israel is striking and inescapable. It appears that the greater the centralization of authority and control -- the closer people are socially to the sources of national authority and control -- the greater is the likelihood of equal treatment. By similar token, it can be anticipated that as the autonomy and boundedness of the Israeli army is decreased -- if this ever happens -- the weaker will the nation's apartheid policies with respect to Arabs become. But this will not happen by itself, as has already been noted; it will have to be part and parcel of a broader pattern of weakening all local autonomy and boundedness.

One of the major concerns of North American police forces is with alcoholism and its consequences. An Israeli desk sergeant explained that alcoholism was almost totally absent in Israel and gave this as a reason for the relative quiet in the police buildings. Weekends, he stated, were usually quieter than weekdays because with only one day of rest the people did just that: rest. Being a non-drinking country, he claimed, the crime rate was not as high as it might otherwise be. It could be assumed that if Israel did have a relatively normal rate of alcoholism (bars are few and hard to find) more attention would have to be shifted here, wearing thin the security work; however, this is a moot point.

The Israeli Police Department gives the impression of being an efficient organization, an unusual characteristic in an Israeli institution. This is most probably due to its connections with the Israeli Army which is one of the most efficient armies in the world. The atmosphere in and around police buildings was found to be quite relaxed and calm with the officers usually displaying good camaraderie and a certain joviality.

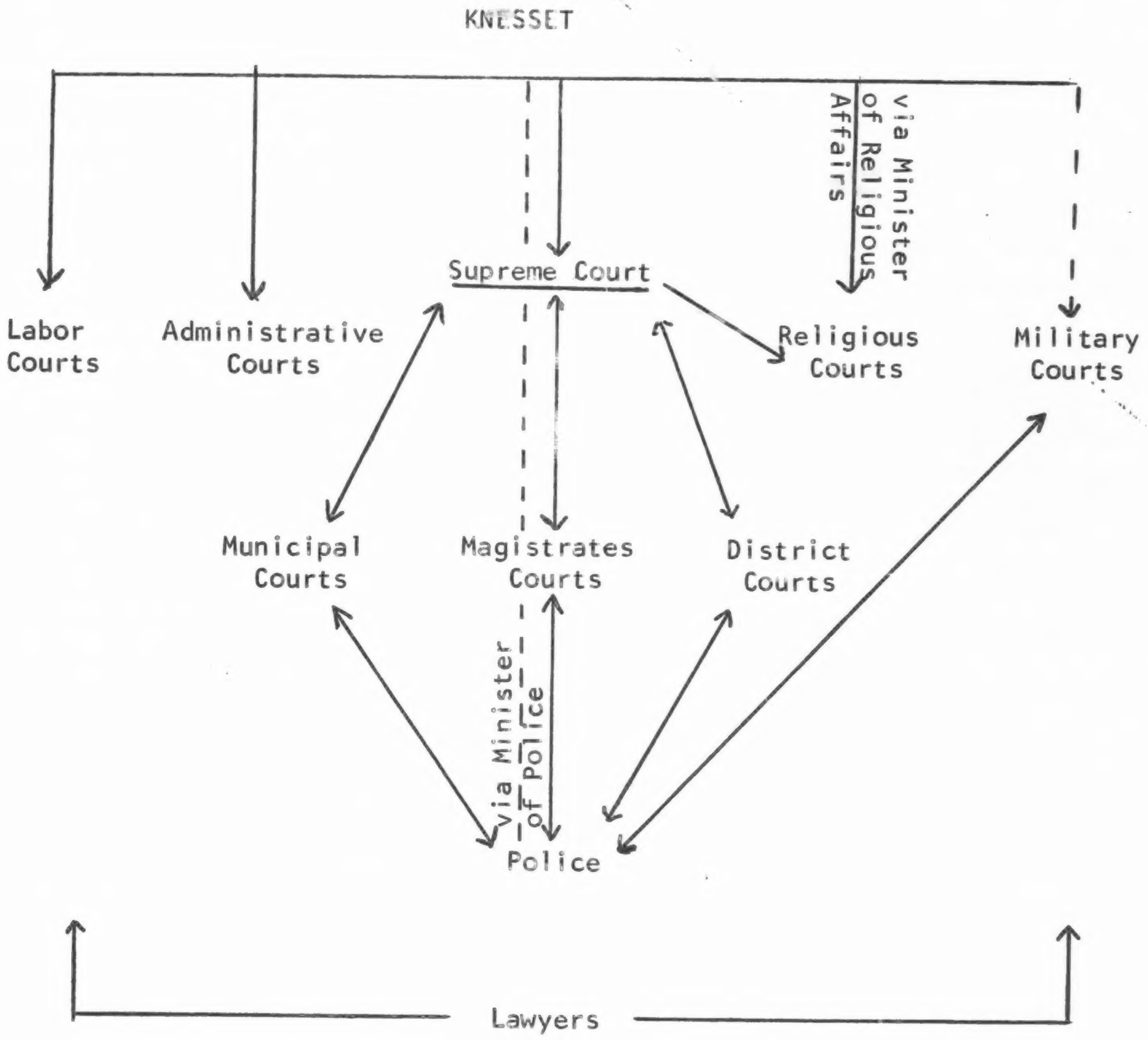
The Courts

The organization of Israeli courts has already been described. One omission should, however, be mentioned and this is the presence of a number of quasi-public courts. Certain institutions retain their own court systems. These include the Histadrut (the labor union of which 80% of the population are members), the kibbutzim, and the civil service. Although these courts are largely disciplinary, they can and have handled non-disciplinary matters. Until recently the kibbutzim never availed themselves of the public court system at all. However, this is beginning to change, paralleling the narrowing of the gap in the educational sphere between the kibbutzim and the rest of the society. As for the Histadrut courts, they handle many cases involving labor disputes since they are also the largest employers in the country. This power will shortly be wrested from them with the forthcoming establishment of Labor and Social Security Courts. Also, the Knesset will soon consider a proposal to establish Administrative courts to handle issues currently being decided at the civil service level and involving influence peddling, e.g. granting of licenses, zoning regulations, etc.

Further discussion on the proposed courts is necessary since they parallel events in the educational part of the study. In effect the creation of the above two court systems is an aspect of the process of centralization. The new courts will create a situation in which government will have some form of control where it previously had none. The control, however, will not be complete since in each case the proposed court structure calls for a 3 man judiciary with only one of the three being government appointed. One lawyer expressed the reservation that the new Labor Courts would give the Histadrut even more power than before, since not only would they have a representative on the three man judiciary but their secretaries would be able to plead before the courts; pleading will not be reserved exclusively for lawyers. The Histadrut being the largest capitalist interest in the nation as well as being intimately related to governing political institutions, it is feared by many people that the Histadrut representative will side with the government-appointed judge on most issues. Not enough is known of the Administrative Court's proposal to be able to anticipate the extent of government control that it would involve.

Figure four shows the position of the government more clearly in relation to the country's legal organization.

Figure 4


KNESSET
via Minister of Religious Affairs
Supreme Court
Labor Courts
Administrative Courts
Religious Courts
Military Courts
Municipal Courts
Magistrates Courts
District Courts
via Minister of Police
Police
Lawyers

The extent of centralized control is illustrated by the absence of feedback arrows, especially vis-à-vis the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court cannot nullify acts of the Knesset, nor will decisions of the Labor Courts be appealable (information is lacking re the Administrative Court proposals); in addition, judgments of the military tribunals are final. The Religious Courts have their own Supreme Court, but their descisions are appealable.

One of the major problems of Israeli legal procedure is the length of time it takes for "justice to be carried out." Several lawyers deplored the situation and this point was debated at the Seminar on Crime in Israel in 1967. As yet, no corrective measures have been taken and none are forseen in the near future. In the courtroom itself procedure is prolonged by the fact that all decisions must be written and Israeli judges, as far as one was able to note, are not known for their brevity. Also, the judgments are written in pen by the judge himself, usually during the proceedings; this causes some discomfort to those sitting in the courtroom. In one District Court visited, the judge had with him two piles of reference materials which he used while dictating his verdict to a recorder writing in pen. About an hour and a half passed before he finished; in the interval several people dozed off. The other two judges on the bench had previously written out their verdicts. No reason other than personal preference can be given for the discrepancy. The delays are not confined to the courtrooms themselves, i.e. in courtroom procedures. In the traffic court of a Development Town, for example, decisions which could have been handed down immediately were usually reserved for a later date.

As noted above, access to the Rabbinical courts was denied on the grounds that they involved personal matters. Although this might be the case it is felt that there are more basic sociological reasons for the refusal. Here, the reader should refer to Dr. Cohen's discussion of boundary systems in Israel.

Varying opinions of the Israeli judiciary were offered by different people. The high standard of Israeli judges was stressed by an executive member of the Israeli Bar Association, and this point was further emphasized at their annual convention. Two other individuals offered different opinions. The transplanted British lawyer, referred to previously, in comparing the British and Israeli judiciary systems, deplored the lack of impartiality and aloofness among Israeli judges, as well as the lack of ethics within the legal shpere itself. A firebrand Israeli lawyer said that the quality of the judges is by far not as high as most Israelis believe or assert publicly; he said this was especially true at the lower levels of the judiciary. The higher courts, he stated, do have judges of excellent quality, but he sees their role as one of perpetuating the status quo.

When asked, the majority of lawyers and law students were against the existence of separate civil and religious courts, feeling that church and state ought to be separate. They did concede, however, that under the circumstances (parallel religious and civil law), no one was better qualified to handle the religious courts than the Rabbinical judges whom they held to be of a very high quality. Even though the religious courts often resembled markets, as one lawyer stated, the legal judgments were generally of very high standards.

The continued existence of separate and parallel civil and religious court systems in Israel replicates the continued existence of secular and state-supported religious schools. Both of these, as has been maintained earlier in this report, must be regarded as features of Israel's status as a new nation. But it must also be borne in mind that these are not necessarily permanent features of the sociocultural landscape because the autonomy of both is being undermined, almost simultaneously. As has been noted, religious education is being weakened as a result of a set of laws that have been enacted since 1953, most recently by the Educational Reform Law of 1968. The central issue in the continued maintenance of religious courts in Israel is in connection with their jurisdiction over marriage. This, too, has recently come under challenge, from different but related sources. For example, when the Israeli submarine Dakar was lost in 1968, the religious courts -- relying on ancient rabbinical law, which had no provision for such events -- refused to declare the men's wives as widows, thereby preventing them from remarrying. The matter was resolved obliquely when the Israel Defense Forces officially declared the men to be dead, thereby removing the power of decision from the religious courts. More recently, the Knesset has agreed to consider legislation -- thereby almost automatically guaranteeing its enactment -- which would give the civil courts ultimate jurisdiction in matters of divorce and annulment between individuals of different religious affiliations. By the definition of Israeli law, such marriages cannot have been contracted in Israel itself, and the religious judiciary has jealously guarded its privilege in controlling these marriages (and refusing to grant divorces to such people). The parliamentary act placing control over these marriages in the civil courts is an important first step in the direction of undermining the autonomy of religious courts and -- ultimately -- separating church and state.

There is no trial by jury in Israel. Although there had been considerable sentiment for the enactment of a constitution and a bill of rights in Israel until the mid-1950s, there has never been any strong pressure for the provision of a jury system. In criminal matters two or three judges are used depending on the severity of the crime. No one interviewed expressed reservations over this point. We can assume that trial without jury has not been deleterious although it is probably responsible for the lack of aloofness of the judges as expressed by the ex-British lawyer.

The Lawyers

The immigration of people from various backgrounds into Israel has given it a heterogeneous group of lawyers. Most important in this connection is that a very large percentage of Israeli lawyers received their initial training outside Israel. The exact proportion of lawyers with outside training is not known, but it is quite high.

As was previously stated there are a very large number of lawyers in Israel; supply outstrips demand and the income of many is quite meager. For reasons that are unclear, Israeli law students do not seem overly perturbed by this situation. An interesting aspect of Israeli legal practice is that even with so many lawyers, there are very few firms of more than three people. Most offices consist of two lawyers and there are only about ten large firms in the Western sense. This is a characteristic both of the people and of the system itself. There are no solicitors or barristers; most lawyers are "general practitioners" with little specialization in a specific area. This is an outgrowth of the importance of the personalization of even professional relations in Israeli society. A man consults his lawyer in much the same way that he turns to his physician, whether casually or in dire need.

Women as lawyers are quite common, and any class of law students will be composed of 20%-30% females. There is no discrimination in respect to women, and they take their place equally beside the men. One female law student noted, however, that she did not know of any women who were criminal lawyers.

With the integration of East Jerusalem and West Jerusalem, the sixty Arab lawyers in East Jerusalem were granted equal practicing rights in Israel and full membership in the Israeli Bar. They have, however, refused to cooperate with the Israeli authorities and none has thus far pleaded in an Israeli court. Since the administered (occupied) territories do not come under Israeli law their lawyers are not permitted to plead in Israeli courts.

In North America we tend to associate lawyers and politics; in Israel, although a lawyer may be keenly interested in the political climate, he tends to be inactive in it. The percentage of Knesset members who are also lawyers is quite small. For a Westerner, this lack of political involvement by lawyers was surprising, especially in a new nation. Even more surprising was the lack of interest displayed by most law students spoken to regarding such issues as the absence of a written constitution and the lack of representativeness or reflection of popular opinion in the Israeli government. They were more concerned with learning the laws rather than debating the issues around the laws. This clearly parallels the situation among other university students. It should be mentioned, however, that some degree of inter-generational conflict among practicing lawyers is surfacing. At the Annual Bar Convention in 1969, a group of young lawyers put forth a platform for the restructuring of the law schools and curricula changes to include such courses as the Philosophy of Law; they also called for an end to certain monopolistic practices within the legal sphere. An older lawyer brushed the group aside and called their proposals so much nonsense; they were not adopted.

The Laws

As of the writing of this report no complete analyses of Israeli laws has been done. Reference to certain laws and proposed laws has been made throughout this part of the report. Nevertheless, it needs to be observed that a uniquely Israeli legal system does not yet exist. The evolution has been very gradual and is still proceeding. The same is true of the educational system. There is a statement in the Israeli Law Books that says where Israeli law is lacking, British law shall be used instead. Until the paragraph containing this statement can be deleted, Israeli law will not be uniquely Israeli.

What has been attempted in this part of the report is not so much a structural analysis of Israel's legal system but a tactile survey, as it were, of the peoples and institutions associated with it. In this way many features which otherwise escape notice have been brought forward.

We have seen that the military-police juxtaposition has not deterred the policeman's ability to deal effectively with certain aspects of the social climate; in fact, his role in the social sphere is highly significant. This, among other things, indicates the importance of personal contact in Israeli society. In reference to lawyers this has already been mentioned; also, however, the non-mechanization of Israeli courts (judgments written in pen, no visible dictaphones, etc. in court or lawyer offices, no mechanized filing system of court proceedings) and the market atmosphere described in the Religious Courts are also indicators of the above. This too, parallels the situation in the educational sphere, as in the absence of audio-visual aids.

By focusing around the police, the courts, and the lawyers some of the characteristics of Israeli society as a whole become clear:

1) Inability to gain entrance to religious courts parallels experiences in religious schools, indicating that the continued existence of autonomous and firmly bounded subsystems is an integral part of Israeli social organization and is not an artifact of the educational system. Counterpoised to the relative closure of the police was the openness of the Bar Association; counterpoised to the complete closure of the religious courts was the openness of the civil courts. Precisely the same correspondences were found in the educational research.

2) The mass immigration of Jews from all over the world has affected all aspects of Israeli life, in the legal as well as educational spheres.

3) Twenty-one years after independence, Israel is still under Emergency Laws and still lacks a formal constitution or bill of rights. This indicates the firm centralized control of the country, and the absence of a formal constitution also shows the influence of the religious sector in trying to commingle

church and state. The church-state dialogue is rampant throughout the country, educationally as well as legally.

4) Non-Jews are treated as a distinct entity, in education as well as law.

To conclude, I believe that the method used in this research has proved worthwhile.

FOREWARD TO REPORT ON RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES

The following section is a report on that part of this project which was carried out in the United States. The data were gathered, and this section was written, by Mrs. Vera-Mae Fredrickson. This is the report that she has submitted to me, and I have left it almost entirely unchanged except to edit it to bring it into stylistic conformity with the foregoing. Hence, when the first-person singular is used, the speaker is always Mrs. Fredrickson.

This section of the report is divided into two major parts. The first is a detailed description in thumbnail sketches of the eight school districts and 21 schools in her sample. The second part consists of several major chapters, in which Mrs. Fredrickson presents her conclusions with respect to the relationship between elementary and secondary school education and the ongoing social system in the United States today. While no attempt was made to fit her data and generalizations into the framework in which the data from Israel were presented, it will be seen that the data gathered in the United States broadly support the conclusions arrived at in the Israeli research.

There are two principal reasons for not fitting the data from one society into the mold of the other. The first is mechanical and practical, the second is conceptual. With regard to the first, data collection in both societies was not completed until very near the end of the 1968-1969 school year. Aside from the usual exigencies surrounding any investigation, the delays in completing the collection of data were primarily due to difficulties in getting permission to conduct observations in schools in both societies. This had not been anticipated in the initial planning of the research, and it should be taken into account in connection with future studies that are broadly based and which are built on direct and systematic school observations. University administrators may rebel at the thought, but two years are insufficient for this kind of research. The unavoidable delays in completing the data collection--which, as pointed out earlier, are important data in themselves--brought the preparation of this report uncomfortably close to the termination of the project and the date on which the report was due. It was thus physically impossible to evaluate the concordance of the two sets of data, to compare specific points, and to reflect about their implications. These can begin once this report is complete.

The conceptual problem is slightly more intricate; it was this which led me to the conclusion around Easter 1969 not to curtail the samples of schools observed in both societies in order to be able to begin writing the report earlier. I alluded to this problem earlier, but it bears repetition and some elaboration. Although Israel is technologically westernized, and appears to be moving socially toward westernization, it is a new nation. The latter status makes comparisons with the United States a delicate matter. Before direct comparisons between the two societies can be made--and they will be made--considerably more comparative research will have to be conducted, using library and other materials, in order to be certain that non-comparable items are not being compared.

In reviewing the United States data periodically, and comparing them in my own mind with those that I was gathering in Israel, it became evident to me that, aside from the easily apparent points of comparison, there are also points of non-comparability. I think that each is as important as the other, but this is no more than a subjective impression. It will have to be subject to a more rigorous evaluation of the data. Had an attempt been made to mesh the results of the two field studies on a rush-basis, the essential long-range aims of the study would have been defeated. Hence, the two sections of this report stand independently for the time being.

THE SAMPLE

The schools observed for this part of the study were all located within a radius of 50 miles of a major metropolitan center in one state of the United States. The schools were chosen to provide a representative sample of the principal territorial groups, castes, classes and other socially based groups in the area. They were selected from two counties (with a total public school population of ca. 400,000 students) and included, in addition to two private and one county administered school, schools in eight districts with a student population totaling ca. 150,000. (The counties are political divisions based on geographical factors; the districts are geographical clusters of schools joined for administrative purposes.) The approximate population, ethnic and class composition of the schools follows. These schools' names are pseudonymous.

NAME	POPULATION	COMPOSITION
Ash River School District	44,000	
Cleveland Elementary	600	Urban, lower status, white
Arthur Elementary	550	Urban, lower status, white
Monroe Junior High School	1,100	Urban, ethnically integrated, middle status
Fillmore High School	400	Urban, ethnically mixed, mainly lower status
Cedar Point School District	16,000	
Taft Elementary	1,000	Urban, ethnically integrated, lower to upper status
Tyler Junior High School	1,300	Urban ethnically integrated, lower to upper status
Buchanan High School	2,500	Urban, ethnically integrated, lower to upper status
Wilson Private School	100	Urban, ethnically mixed, middle to upper status, private secular

NAME	POPULATION	COMPOSITION
Jefferson School District Jefferson School - Grade 7	35	Rural, ethnic and white, lower and middle status
Laurel Creek School District	8,000	
Hoover Elementary	600	Suburban, white, upper middle status
Polk Junior High School	400	Suburban, white, upper middle status
Lincoln High School	1,000	Suburban, white, upper middle status
Mapleton School District	5,000	
Hayes Elementary	400	Industrial town, white and old ethnic, lower-middle status
Madison Junior High School	800	Industrial town, white and old ethnic, lower-middle status
Pine Grove School District	2,500	
McKinley Elementary	400	Urban, white, upper status
Garfield Junior High School	650	Urban, white, upper status
Porter County	Variable	
Porter County School (mixed, including Grade 7)		Ethnically mixed, mostly lower status
Sycamore School District	64,000	
Van Buren Junior High School	1,300	Urban, ethnically mixed, middle and lower status
Christian School (Grade 4 and Grade 7)	300	Urban, private religious, ethnically mixed, lower middle and lower status

NAME	POPULATION	COMPOSITION
Willow Bend School District	10,000	
Harrison Elementary (Grade 4 and Grade 7)	650	Suburban, white and old ethnic, lower middle status

All the names used in this report, as noted, are fictitious. Districts, which in the United States are most frequently named after the most prominent town within the geographical cluster, have been given the names of trees, a familiar source of United States town names. Individual schools have been given the names of United States Presidents, a practice followed across the entire nation. The two counties have been labeled with common United States surnames. The state will remain anonymous.

The original plan was to sample a Grade 4 and Grade 7 in each of the eight districts. Four Grades 11 were added to the plan after six months, plus a Grade 4 and 7 at a religious private school, a Grade 4 at a secular private school, and a mixed class including Grade 7 at a county-administered juvenile custodial facility.

Grades 4, 7, and 11 were chosen for comparability with the Israeli sample. The most usual grade divisions in this sample are 1-6 (elementary), 7-9 (junior high school), and 10-12 (senior high school); this is the structure currently being adopted in Israel. However, this division is changing in many parts of the United States, and one of the districts sampled has the newer mode, e.g., 1-3 (primary), 4-6 (intermediate), 7-8 (junior high school), and 9-12 (senior high school). In the United States sample, Grades 3 or 5 may have served as well as Grade 4. In Grade 7, however, students ordinarily have different teachers for each subject for the first time (departmentalization) and "ability grouping" (if it is used in the district) is applied as a criterion for students on the basis of scholastic ability. In Grade 11, the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test is given as preparation for the Scholastic Aptitude Test, which is given in Grade 12; this largely determines a student's admission or non-admission into various levels of higher education.

I spent three consecutive school days in each of the classrooms in my sample. Because the authority is vested in each district rather than in a centralized agency (as in Israel), it was administratively most practical for me to observe all the selected classrooms in each district before going on to another district, rather than observing all Grades 4, 7, and 11 consecutively. I began and ended the day with the class, spending recesses, lunch hours and preparation periods either with the students or in the teachers' lounge. In a number of classrooms, I was asked by the teacher to explain my research to the class that I was observing. Otherwise, I sat in the back of the room quietly taking notes at approximately two minute-intervals. As in the Israeli sample, tape-recording was done for the first hour and a half of one day in each class. Unlike Israel, this recording was done with the permission of the principal and the teacher (only in one school was such permission refused). In a large number of elementary classrooms, I was asked by either or both the students and the teacher to play back the tapes for the students, which I did. (In very few classrooms in United States urban schools is a tape recorder a novelty. Rather, the students simply wanted to hear how they sounded in the classroom.)

In contrast to Israeli schools, student participation (except in the lowest socio-economic stratum) is encouraged in the classroom in degrees that increase as one goes up the socio-economic scale. Frequently, the majority of teacher questions and student answers were oral. Therefore, it was not always possible to record everything that happened in the classroom. However, a large number of the teachers whose classrooms I observed were willing to fill in details later that I missed. Indeed, many of them made a point of calling my attention to various incidents and comments that they thought might interest me. In the higher status schools, there were often teachers and even administrators who were eager to know what I had observed in the classes that might be useful to them.

Reactions to my presence varied from school to school (and from teacher to teacher). In schools where the emphasis on discipline and order was most marked, both the students and the teachers were initially uneasy, apparently regarding me as a representative of authority. It was also in these schools that teachers were the most unlikely to introduce me to their classes or to ask me any questions about what I was doing. In some of the urban schools where researchers are commonplace, students asked me very sophisticated questions about the research; neither students nor teachers appeared to modify their behavior to observable degrees. However, one student in a very "sophisticated" class commented that the teacher's statement in class that he "did not want the student to believe something because she thought it was what he believed," was made for my benefit. In her opinion, he usually did want the students to believe that he "had the truth." Be this as it may, I regard the differential reactions of teachers and students as a significant part of the data.

The sample was not completed by the end of the school year for various reasons. A Grade 4 and a Grade 7 were observed in six public school districts. In District 7 (Jefferson) only one Grade 7 was observed (in a classroom that combined Grades 5 through 8). The teacher whose classroom included Grades 1 through 4 was not willing to be observed. In District 8 (Sycamore) permission was given to observe one Grade 4 but Grade 3 was scheduled by the district by error and a request to observe one Grade 4 was not acted upon before the end of the school year. In one of the six districts (Cedar Point), the Grade 4 observations were terminated at the request of the teacher after one and one-half days because of a death in her family. (The principal did not feel it would be fair to subject a substitute teacher to observations.) Although a different Grade 4 was requested in the district, this request was not acted on before the end of the school year. Grade 11 was observed in three districts. In the fourth district where such a request was made (Sycamore), the principal of the selected school did not wish observations conducted. A request was made at the district level to ask the principal to reconsider or to supply another Grade 11. The request was not acted upon by the end of the school year. (For details on these problems, see the description of the respective school districts which follows.) In one district (Ash River) two Grades 4 were observed for reasons detailed in the description of the district. The final sample contains three-day observations of ten Grade 7 classrooms, eight Grade 4 classrooms (and one and one-half days at a ninth), and three Grades 11. Taping was done for 90 minutes in each observed classroom with the exception of the terminated Grade 4 and the Grade 7 in which taping was not allowed.

In addition to the classroom observations, I attended district school board meetings, and two staff meetings (the only ones to which I received invitations). Teachers and administrators were informally interviewed at each school where observations were scheduled and at district offices. Curriculum guides, samples of school board meeting minutes and other district publications were obtained when they were available. District policy statements and teacher handbooks were collected, and are being subjected to content analysis. These materials are being coded for computer processing upon completion of the analysis. Three daily and two weekly local papers, as well as one national paper were regularly searched for all articles relating to education.

Ash River School District

Ash River, like Laurel Creek, was unified only a few years ago. Six elementary school districts voted to unite into one district with the same boundaries as the already existing Ash River Secondary School District. Unlike Laurel Creek, the communities joined together into this administrative unit for political and economic reasons; they were neither ethnically nor socio-economically homogeneous. This large sprawling school district includes the entire urban range of socio-economic groups, ranging from a neighborhood which is completely segregated geographically of high-welfare, low-employment blacks, to a residential section of relatively wealthy professional and business people. One end of the district is composed almost entirely of large tracts of inexpensive houses occupied by blue collar workers in the heavy industries that dominate the Ash River landscape. The majority of these residents are white immigrants into the area from the South and southern Midwest. There is a small section of middle-class blacks who own their homes and are teachers, businessmen, and technicians. There are extensive areas of thirty year old stucco homes occupied by white, white-collar workers and retired couples on pensions. (The latter are said to invariably vote against tax increases for education.) In addition, there is another isolated but geographically beautiful area in which the majority of the district's political liberals, professors, and artists live.

All these groups are highly visible and vocal at the crowded school board meetings where their special interests and educational ideologies are passionately (and occasionally violently) presented. Several years before unification of the schools, the Ash River Secondary School District made an attempt to partially desegregate their secondary schools by changing the boundary lines. The Ash River Housing Authority, which administered World War II Federal housing on a segregated basis, plus local real estate policies, which restricted sales to blacks to small, specified areas, had resulted in an almost totally residentially segregated town. The result was that at the time of unification seven of the 48 elementary schools in the district had more than 75% black students and 39 elementary schools had less than 10%. (This was one of the first desegregation moves by a school district in the United States.) Since unification, there have been several attempts at desegregation of the elementary schools, all of which have failed; in the last several years desegregation of the schools has become the battleground for all the disparate elements that make up the district. The schools have become the major focus for the many urban problems that plague Ash River.

Desperate money problems plague the school district. There has been no tax increase voted since 1952; the most recent defeat was in 1969. Maintenance of the schools is strictly on an "emergency" basis. There are no cafeterias serving hot lunches in any of the elementary schools. There are no district supported elementary music programs. There are no district paid librarians in the elementary schools. Remedial reading programs, speech therapy, diagnostic learning clinics, resource teachers, and most vocational education programs over the past few years have either been drastically reduced or eliminated. Each year, class size is increased and the numbers of teachers reduced. There is severe overcrowding in at least ten elementary schools (mostly those that have up to 98% black pupils). In addition, the school district is under "sanctions" by both state and national professional teachers' associations. Teachers are being encouraged not to apply to the district and those in the district are being encouraged to look for jobs outside the district. The results of such sanctions elsewhere (they are used only rarely) has been severe economic penalties for the entire community. Property values continually decline. Commercial enterprises choose to locate elsewhere. Economically well off residents remove their children from the schools. In the case of Ash River, there is the possibility of the withdrawal of various Federal programs, which are at present keeping much of the school system going, if desegration is not forthcoming. (When the present superintendent first agreed to the introduction of Federal funds into the district, he was regarded as "too radical.") The newly-elected school board has come out strongly against "busing" or any other "immediate" desegregation plan, despite the fact that a parent suit has been filed to desegregate the elementary schools on the basis of the Equal Protections Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. (Interestingly, the student body leaders of all the secondary schools in the district were polled on their position on desegregation by busing. They all voted for it.)

The description of the schools in Ash River must be viewed in the context of the above-described community situation.

I observed four schools in Ash River: one Grade 11 at a special school for students who had been sent to this high school from all over the district because of problems (pregnancy, truancy, probation, discipline, etc.); one Grade 7 at the "showcase" school of the district (and the only one with a student population reflecting the racial proportions in the school district); and two Grades 4, one of which was completely racially segregated and the other, within walking distance, that had only fourteen black students.

The central administration were perfectly willing to have me observe in any of their schools since I was willing to let the various principals select the teachers whose classrooms I would observe. (The selection of teachers by the principals in this study turned out to be very useful since they usually selected those who reflected the image that the particular school wanted to project.) Since Ash Creek School District was having so many problems that were public knowledge, they may have felt that research from outside would benefit them.

Arthur Elementary School:

Arthur Elementary School is located in an area isolated from the rest of the town by a large area of railroad tracks. To get to stores or to other of the amenities of city living requires vehicular transportation. The residents are over-whelmingly Negro, in addition to a few other ethnic minorities. Because of its isolation and population, many people comment that it is "like a Southern town." The houses are mostly very small. Some are well kept, some are not, Many parents are unemployed or minimally employed. The city authorities regard it as a problem area. Juvenile crime and school drop-out rates are high. Within this community, the school has been located in a relatively isolated cul de sac which makes it vulnerable to constant weekend vandalism. Many of the teachers at the school believe that the school is a much "safer" place than the community at large. They may be correct, since assaults and fights are frequent. Until this year, educationally interested parents opposed busing their children to other schools despite their overt dissatisfaction with their local school. They said that they wanted to know what was going on in school and that they were fearful of their children being attacked in other (white) schools (which indeed happened at one of the secondary schools later in the school year).

The school itself is undergoing remodeling (with Federal funds) and the sounds of construction activities form a background in the classrooms. By common agreement, this is the "worst school in the District" because of disciplinary problems and the educational handicaps that the children bring to the school.

The district administrator to whom I applied for observation permission accepted my request to observe in their "problem (segregated) school" with the following statement: "Well, all our schools are open to you but there are a few facts I must mention about Arthur School." The facts were that there is a 70% teacher turnover rate each year and the school has had four principals within four years. The new principal ("We think he'll work out just fine. . .") had previous experience in "that kind of school"; presumably knew how to deal with children who were both poor and black.

The principal at Arthur was impersonal, undistinguished physically, and gave an impression of colorlessness. He said the major problems at his school, "besides the usual problems in schools of this kind," were the teachers, who come to Arthur with no experience and leave as fast as they can get tenure or transfer. "They are immature both in age and experience. They often have all kinds of strange ideas about the amount of freedom that teachers have and aren't aware of the rules and regulations of either the district or the state." He added that one teacher continued to argue with him over a policy even after he had showed her that it was in the State Education Code and that he was therefore bound by it. From conversations in the coffee room and observations in two classes in this school, there was little evidence that the teachers acted with any amount of freedom. One young teacher commented that while she did have some ideas that she considered educationally creative, they were not encouraged in this school and she would be leaving as soon as possible.

The principal also felt that the school was subjected to far too much outside interference. The "outsiders" were stated to be the State Legislature, the District School Board, and parents in the community, all of whom, he felt, "should defer to qualified educators who really understand the local problems and issues." He summed up the two main objectives of the school as follows: " . . . other problems come and go but we must always remember our two main objectives, higher achievement for the students and good community relations with the school."

Neither objective is being met at this school. The majority of students have gross reading deficiencies and the community is so hostile to the school, whether because it is a symbol of "white institutions" or because it is failing to provide a reasonable education for the children, that the school is thoroughly vandalized almost every weekend. There is a constant stream of irate parents appearing throughout the school day to complain about various matters. The principal also stated that the major aim in this school is to instill self-discipline in the children. To this end he employed an analogy with Marine Corps boot-training and said that it takes "at least three or four weeks to break the kids in." (During my observation period, the principal took over a class for twenty minutes one day. At the end of the class he pointed out to me that his presence in the classroom, amazingly, had not reduced the children to silence. He said, "You can see how they do not relate to authority.")

The normal day at Arthur School was indeed designed to "break the kids in." All movements of students from one place to another took place in strict lines with no talking allowed. Bells and shrill whistles signaled every transition. Permission to drink water and to go to the toilet was given only at recess and lunch. There was a five minute detention given for those who could not meet this physiological standard. One teacher asked me if I thought that she over-emphasized self-control and whether I thought that she was asking too much of the children. There was a constant stream of commands in the two classrooms I observed: Raise your hand, sit down, put your feet down, be quiet, open your book, pick up your pencil, say please, say thank you, stop talking, get in your seat, don't interrupt, wait your turn, shut up, don't do that, put your feet on the floor, put your hands on the desk, pick that up, put that down, do you want to be sent to the office? In Grade 4, this kind of command seemed to take up the entire school day with the curriculum sandwiched in between. Lessons were rigidly followed from the conventional state texts, questions were discouraged, children were told not to talk to each other (or to the teacher) except for a direct question or answer. Except for Art and Physical Education, children were not allowed out of their seats. The two "problem" children in the class were characterized by the teacher as "simply too immature to be in the class." One sucked his thumb all day, did absolutely nothing else, and was generally ignored by the teacher; the other who was in constant hyperactive movement and very busy with projects of her own unrelated to what was going on in the classroom.

In addition to the constant commandments on "manners," every lesson was used as an opportunity to supply moral admonitions. By the environment she created, the teacher presented schooling as a grim, unrewarding, punitive process, and the students appeared to agree. On each of the three days of observation the children in this class kept in their seats after the bell had rung for periods ranging from three to eight minutes at every recess, at the Physical Education period, at the noon hour, and at school dismissal time. Such detention was standard practice in the school, but it was used a little less consistently by other teachers.

Physical punishment is approved by the Ash River School District. In theory, it is limited to one spank for children in grades 1 through 3. At Arthur School, this type of punishment was supplemented in various ways. There were rumors that worse went on in the principal's office, but I was unable to verify them. One black teacher told me that she used a ruler on the children's hands since she "knew these kinds of kids" and that they had been trained at home to "turn off all verbal commands and directions." Observing how often she became angry at her students, I suspected that only my presence prevented her from hitting the children more often. She never touched the children in communication or pleasure.

The Grade 3 teacher whom I also observed did not "know" her students' backgrounds. As she pointed out, she was white, middle class, and Mid-Western. What she deliberately introduced into her classroom was standards of behavior that were totally alien to the usages in the segregated community in which her students lived. She was quite consciously trying to prepare the students to move out into a white middle-class world. The only child who seemed to elicit a sort of irritated hostility from her was a girl who was very black, with pierced ears, brightly colored clothes, a free and easy social manner, very loud and verbal, and confident and intelligent. I think the teacher perceived her as a "ghetto" child who was confortable with her home community standards in manners and behavior and who responded very little to the teacher's calm but constant admonitions on "correct behavior." It should be noted, however, that this classroom contained a larger number of teaching aids, decorations, and posters than was usual in Arthur School. The teacher had purchased them with her own money and they all exclusively featured white children.

Teacher morale at this school was low, as indicated not only by the consistent high teacher-turnover rate, but also by the minimal facilities provided for teachers, by a kind of bickering and complaining (usually about the students) that went on during recess periods and by the (physical) separation of most of the black and white teachers during lunch periods. The teachers' jobs were in many ways defined as "custodial" and they themselves often made rather bitter jokes about their roles as baby sitters. A black teacher commented, "They ought to pay us double in this school. You have to be mother, father, everything in these schools! You have to teach manners, to teach the kids to say please and to sit down. It takes too much time!" When I asked various teachers waht problems they saw in the school, I often got a general running complaint that started with the students and ended with the parents, including the administration and the total community.

Cleavland Elementary School:

Located within walking distance of Arthur School, residents of this area are of the same socio-economic background as the parents of pupils at Arthur; many of them are from other states. Since they are white, they tend to move to better areas as soon as they become relatively successful. Thus, turnover in the school population is relatively high. Although many of the students are from several different ethnic groups, there are only a dozen black students. The principal said his biggest problem had nothing to do with students or parents (although he found the lack of motivation to learn on the students' part somewhat trying) but with the district administration. Like the principal at Arthur, he felt there was too much interference from "the outside." He would like to see individual schools have much more control: and he personally would like more direct personal control over federal and state projects that come into his school.

The teachers were more direct about the problems they encounter with students. Several complained that, "some are very good students, but very poor citizens." "They are not trained in self-control." They granted that many of the students were very "happy" but they did not regard this as the most significant factor in an educational situation. They made careful distinctions between "children like these and middle-class children."

The school is very efficiently organized into platoons and is known for its departmentalization. The students are organized into ability-groups from in Grade 1 onward.

Mrs. Johnson, the Grade 4 teacher whom I observed, responded to my question about her problems with a comment about one or two individual children who had learning problems of various kinds. She confessed, however, that the Japanese boys in her class bothered her a bit: they seemed over-indulged at home. In observing her, she appeared to treat all the students in essentially the same way.

She said that there was one additional problem: the low-income families that make up most of the parent body tend not to take their children anywhere outside the community. She also observed that they come to the state only for better jobs and have no commitment to, or familiarity with, the state, the region, or the community. Consequently, she felt it was important that she introduce the children to a larger world. She takes them on field trips to places of local interest, empahsizes the history of this state, and climaxes each school year with an intricately pre-planned day-long visit to the State Capitol. She tells the students that this is their state and that its problems are their problems. In line with Mrs. Johnson's earnestness about civic responsibility, there is much emphasis in the classroom on the forms of political processes (see below, "Training for Opinions").

Because of the personal efforts of Mrs. Johnson, this was the only elementary school in the Ash River District that had an advanced science curriculum, i.e., science "kits" devised by a local university, that emphasized actual experimentation and inductive reasoning on the students' part. The teacher had persuaded the school to apply for Federal funds for these science kits.

The observable difference between educational ideologies (often labeled conservative and liberal) that characterized teachers at many of the schools in my sample, was particularly marked at this school. Some form of racial integration was imminent (though it was being vigorously fought in the community). Such integration would immediately affect this school since its pupils were within walking distance of the "ghetto," and sides were being taken. One teacher said that integration would split the faculty immediately. Some of the teachers were actively involved in a teacher-parent committee against integrating the schools.

Monroe Junior High School:

Monroe School is located in a "nice" residential area of pleasant homes. Until 1967, its student body was drawn from the local neighborhood and was therefore 90% white. In an effort to obtain a better "ethnic mix," the district tried free enrollment at Monroe for one year. Since this was not successful, the district began to bus students to the school from at least three different neighborhoods. As a result, Monroe has a student population that proportionately reflects the ethnic and racial composition of the district's school population. The public reason given for the busing was not it sought to achieve integration but, rather, as a solution to the overcrowding at the other Junior High School in the district. It is locally known as a racially mixed school, but of one social stratum. As the former principal said, "Our Negroes are the kind of people that own their own homes."

While the atmosphere, discipline, and style of the school are very different from Polk School in the Laurel Creek District, the school prides itself on using many of the same experimental techniques: team teaching, mixed ability group classrooms, special programs in science, language laboratories, etc. Actually they can only be called experimental in contrast to the other schools in the Ash River District. The choice of innovations is left to the teachers and thus far, for example, only two teachers have chosen to teach classes of mixed-ability children. There is an elaborate system used in the District for grouping children according to their levels of potential and achievement. The reasoning behind this is "that children are happier when they aren't being pressured to produce beyond their potential." Since the district administration has recognized that ability-grouping also results in ethnic segregation, they have advanced all black students by one level in the ability groups whenever possible, during 1968-1969. Although various criteria are used to determine ability placement, such placement is in practice determined almost solely by the individual teacher.

The school building is new, with pleasant colors, and with a large open area surrounding it. The library, rest rooms, and teachers' lounges are comfortable and airy. The school has a considerable amount of material equipment, such as tape recorders and audio-visual equipment. The halls and cafeteria are quiet and well-maintained; the non-teaching staff is friendly and courteous; and there is a general air of order and organization.

The principal of Monroe, a brisk, very direct woman, was in the teachers' coffee room often during the three days I spent in the school. I was informed by a teacher that this was deliberate policy on her part: she was making herself available to teachers for informal discussions. It was this administrator who made the arrangements for my classroom observations. Two teachers told me that they felt Monroe school had the finest administration in the district. Certainly morale among the teachers seemed higher at this school than the three others I observed in Ash River. Two teachers mentioned that the principal was both innovative and supportive of the teachers. In addition, of course, this school is not over-crowded; the physical plant is new and the student body is mostly middle status. There is also a strong PTA, although it includes very few of the black parents.

I observed three teachers (two English classes, one Math class and one History class). There had been a mistake made about what classes I wished to observe. Consequently, I found myself on my first day with an incomplete schedule. The English teacher, who had volunteered for classroom observation, arranged during a coffee break for a Math class and two History classes, in addition to her English classes. The History teacher, who bluntly stated her preference for teaching high-ability level classes if she was going to teach at all, permitted me to observe her low-ability History class for only one day. When I arrived on the second day, the principal called me into her office and told me that the history teacher had requested that I visit only her high-ability class for the two remaining days because "any change in routine disturbs the low-ability students." The principal added that the observation arrangements should not have been made with the other teachers on such short notice; it went against the district's ten year policy of no observations without previous notice. Presumably by way of consolation, the principal gave me permission to go through the files on school and district policy in her office.

Perhaps the history teacher genuinely felt I disturbed the class although I saw no evidence of such disturbance. It is true that there was an entirely different tone to her two classrooms. It appeared to me that the difference had to do with the teacher's attitude toward the "bright and dull" students. She spent much more time on keeping the students quiet in the "dull" class although they seemed to be no noisier than in the other class. I noted in my observations that her tone to the "dull" class seemed condescending; she used very simple language, gave many directions, asked no questions, and kept the class occupied with homework and a film during the entire class period.

The Math teacher had been teaching in the Ash River District for about sixteen years and seemed to have lost none of his enthusiasm. A sample of the classroom during a quiz on the second day will give the tone of his classroom:

12:20. When the students come in the assignment is on the board: Practice Base 5 Quiz #6 (10 problems) (Six practice problems are on the board.)

The teacher verbally outlines the content of the period.

One student is sitting at the teacher's desk in front of the room; the teacher is walking about giving directions. The students first work the problems separately at their desks. Then they work together asking each other for help. Teacher walks around giving help also and making joking comments to the students. Teacher then works each of the problems out on the board in an abbreviated form. Students ask questions about how he got answers; one student asks about a different method to do the same thing.

Teacher: "Yeah, you do have a choice in the matter."

Teacher: "One last question; then insecurities or not, we're going to have to see what we can do. Quiet down, please. Calm down. Be prepared to make a mistake or two. You can make it up."

Student asks a question (Teacher answered every question he was asked in the three days I observed his class.).

Teacher: "It's all right to think in base 5 and then convert but for this [test] use base 5 symbols. You can do your work on scratch paper and just put the answers on the test paper."

Students ask more questions, each of which Teacher answers.

Teacher: "No talking at all please during quiz. Be sure you're turned around mentally and physically."

Boy askes to borrow a pencil. Teacher takes the boy's sweater for security, explaining that he never remembers to get a pencil back unless he has something to remind him.

Students start working on test. Teacher moves around the room answering questions. Teacher says to one student: "No fair using 9's; go back and think it through. Come on, no nines."

Most of the students are working very hard and quietly. Teacher walking around helping where students have their hand raised.

Teacher: "If you finish early, your time is your own."

Boy comes up to Teacher for help.

Teacher: "You're shortcircuiting; I have to go there and there and there first" (pointing to hands that are raised).

Teacher tells students not to chat so he won't have to discriminate between legitimate and illegitimate conversations. Boy wants to check his multiplication by division. Teacher tells him that gives more chance to make mistakes: it is better to work the problem over again. Teacher tells them they have only a few minutes left and adds that they will turn the papers in at the last possible moment. He quiets a few pupils by gestures, "Ssh. . ." and "Please . . ." and at the last possible minute collects the papers. He adds: "Check if there is anything of a throw-away nature on the floor. Grab it and I'll see you tomorrow." Class cheerfully leaves.

The following is an example of student/teacher relations in one of the English classes on the first day:

10:38. The bell rings. Teacher stands at a podium and addresses class in low, calm voice.

Teacher: "You have a choice today. First of all sit in your assigned seats so I don't mark you absent. (She waits for absolute quiet.) Please indicate by raising your hand, how many of you would like to try small group work today. Those who think they cannot work in small groups need not go into a group. Come and see me." (She gives further instructions on assignments to groups, reads names for each group and checks that students understand the assignment which is to present assigned Greek myths in a skit form.)

10:44 Students move quietly into their groups. Three boys have decided they do not want to participate. They come to Teacher's desk and she gives them book assignments to work at their desks.

Teacher moves from group to group discussing their plays, and re-adjusting group membership to make up for the three boys who are not participating. These three are reading at their desks.

11:09. Teacher has been moving quietly around the groups, answering questions, etc. Two of the boys are still reading. Boy 3 is getting restless, starts moving, yawning, looking around the room, finally puts his head down on his desk.

11:13. Teacher says to Boy 3, "Turn around, sit up and read" (in a low voice). She follows this by going over to his desk and talking to him. She also speaks to each of the other two boys at their desks.

11:15. One of the boys at the desk has been casting covert glances at what one of the groups is doing. He is now openly watching them with a fascinated and amused expression on his face. The rehearsing group is very animated and obviously having a good time.

11:19. Teacher tells the watching boy to read his book, in a polite voice.

11:24. Teacher tells the boy who has been reading steadily throughout the hour to put his book away (in a very soft voice) and compliments the class on how their rehearsals are progressing. End of class.

Before class began on the second day, the teacher told me that one of the three boys who did not want to participate is classed in a very low-ability group (lowest next to retarded). She said that in her opinion the classification is entirely wrong. She showed me a paper of his which is competent work.

10:38. Teacher: "Will you be quiet please, right now." (The class gets quiet.) "We have three boys we can add to the dramatic groups." (She does not elaborate further, but asks two of the boys who refused yesterday to participate, plus a new arrival, to come to her desk.)

10:41. She talks to them quietly and assigns them to groups. One of the boys apparently is regarded by the class as something of a trouble-maker. Teacher tells him he can stay in a group if he behaves. As he joins the group, the other members say to him, "O.K., now. You behave!"

10:43. As Teacher walks by me I ask her how she got the two boys to change their mind. She said she asked them unobtrusively, at the end of the period on the previous day, if they would like to change their minds. She figured they could see how much fun it was. Two of them immediately did change their minds. The third boy (who had read steadily through the period) refused, saying that if he had wanted to do that he would have siad so at the beginning. Teacher said to me that she would try him again in a little while because maybe "he just couldn't back down."

10:46. Teacher came up and happily told me that she had just asked the thrid boy if he would like to join a group and he said, yes.

This teacher had a master's degree, was one of the two teachers in the school who had chosen to work with non-ability grouped classes; she was also a member of the Human Relations Council and the more militant of the teachers' unions. She wore peace symbols for earrings.

Fillmore High School:

Fillmore High School's students are accepted only on the basis of referral from the regular high schools in the Ash River district. The student's ages are from 15 through 21. The reasons for referral range from pregnancy to truancy. (The data on reasons for referral for all students at Fillmore for the year 1968-69 were made available to me by the vice-principal at the urging of a Special Services consultant and are summarized at the end of this section.)

The student population is slightly less than 50% black, almost double the proportions of blacks in the district's total student population; a few were from two ethnic minorities. The school buildings are barracks-like wooden structures located in a quiet area of inexpensive homes and light industry. "The only building with class," one teacher stated, is a library recently built with Federal funds. Classes are small compared to the average in other schools; attendance is erratic and the students give an impression of greater physical and social maturity than is usual in secondary schools. Students attend classes only three hours a day, during either morning or afternoon sessions. Although I was told that about 50% of the students work part or full time at regular jobs, only 13% of the student body were issued work permits in 1968-69. Students theoretically stay at Fillmore until they reach the minimum age for leaving school, which is 18, or until they get a High School credential. In practice, students are often retained after age 18 if they wish (more than 25% enrolled 1968-69 are 18 or over). Some are dropped for very poor attendance before 18. In 1968-69 no students were dropped from Fillmore High School although there were four one-semester suspensions. If students cannot succeed at Fillmore, it normally means the end of their formal education. Good attendance and fair grades can earn re-transferral into the regular high schools. Roughly a third of graduating Fillmore students apply for higher education. The majority of these go to vocational programs at a local two year college.

There is no Vocational Education program at the school; consequently, there is no job training (about .05 of the students are enrolled in a school-approved work experience program). The most popular courses with students are the business courses, Home Economics, Shop, and Art. Since many of the female students are pregnant or are already mothers, much emphasis is placed on simple child care. A course officially called Sociology is actually a course in child care and the family conducted by the school nurse. There is little emphasis on academic subjects at Fillmore. Classwork is primarily rote learning.

The most noticeable characteristic of the school is the "hang loose" atmosphere. The school has an unwritten contract with the students (acknowledged by the administration in conversation): if the students will operate within certain broad behavioral limits, the school will apply no academic or social pressure. As one counselor pointed out, there are no sanctions that can be applied against these students except dismissal. Students who come to school drunk or drugged or disruptive are asked by the staff to stay out of school until they feel they can cope better.

If their behavior is relatively quiet, conditions that would result in suspension in the regular schools are by mutual agreement ignored. Students are graded almost entirely on attendance, 15 days of class attendance being equivalent to one credit. As one teacher commented, "We don't pretend to give an education here." There are many popular magazines in the classrooms. Most texts are paperbacks because the loss rate is so high.

The majority of teachers and staff seem to be at Fillmore because they, too, are drop-outs from the regular high schools. Their relations with the students are generally amiable, if not sometimes condescending. The most common relationship that I observed between students and teachers was an almost standardized joking relationship.

The school has very close relations with the probation and juvenile departments and the police (the latter has a staff member who acts as a liaison with these institutions). The school's relationship with the district is also in the form of an unwritten contract: you leave us alone and we won't ask for anything. In my sample this school is closest to Porter County Custodial School in that neither or these institutions made great efforts to follow the formal curriculum and scheduling of the State Education Code. Fillmore's function is to keep young people off the streets a few hours a day, and hopefully to award a high school certificate so that a student will not be handicapped in the job market by its absence.

Since discussion was not encouraged in Fillmore classrooms, and teachers often do not teach, the majority of my classroom observations record students sitting at their desks doing written assignments. I heard two lectures only. The core of one is quoted in the chapter on "Training for Opinions." The following is from a Biology class, one of the "academic" subjects, on the first day:

12:25. A dumpy little middle-aged lady is going to teach this class the rest of the semester. I introduce myself and she explains that yesterday they had a movie on tobacco and the body. She shows me the text book and the notes left for her use by the regular teacher who is substituting as a counselor for the rest of the semester. (The counselor he is replacing is acting principal, the regular principal is involved in working on some kind of project involving Federal funds and jobs for students.)

On the board is written a long list (covering three blackboards) of definitions labeled "Drug Jargon." Besides the regular text, which is Modern Health, the teacher shows me two resource paperbacks for the teachers' use: Drug Abuse and Drug Abuse: A Manual for Law Enforcement Officers. There are nine students in the class. The teacher tells them to copy the definitions from the board. They all silently begin copying. There is no talking at all. The teacher sits at a desk in the back of the room.

12:36. Two boys come in and speak to the teacher. One goes around and whispers to several of the boys in the class. The other sits down and begins copying the definitions.

The boy who has been whispering goes out. Another boy comes in. As they each report to the teacher she checks their name off on a list.

12:39. Two more boys come in. Teacher asks their names and checks them on list.

12:44. All the students are silently copying from the board. Teacher is sitting at her desk.

12:45. Girl comes in and leaves again. A boy returns.

12:47. Some low conversation. Teacher walks down the aisle from front to back with a fixed smile, occasionally looking over a student's shoulder. They ignore her.

12:54. Boy comes back in and again carries on whispered conversation with several students, separately. Teacher ignores him.

12:56. Door opens. Female voice says from outside, "Stop opening that door." The door shuts.

Teacher walks to front of room. "Any questions class?"

Boy: "Yeah. Where do those terms come from?"

Teacher: "Just used by people to refer to various drugs. For example, 'bennies' . . . a rather dangerous drug." She gives a semi-technical explanation of this class of drugs.

Teacher asks if there are any questions on the first five drugs listed. No questions.

Teacher: "Goof balls are real trouble. Bennies are used by truck drivers and students, to cram, for example. Goof balls are very dangerous."

Boy: "Yeah, if you drink."

1:00. Teacher: "I don't believe we have all the names for marijuana here."

Several boys (in unison): "Yeah!"

Teacher excuses herself and goes to back of room where another student is waiting. The boys start a low conversation among themselves which they continue as she comes back and starts to talk again.

Teacher says that the word "contact" confused her. She thought it would be making a connection with a drug supplier. Several boys start to explain "contact" to her. They are putting her on.

Boy: (criticizing a definition on the board): "Speed is not heroin and morphine."

Teacher: "It's not?" (She acts genuinely surprised and flustered.)

Boy: "No, it's crystals."

Teacher reads aloud from paperback on drug abuse, commenting that, "It's right here in the book."

Two boys: "That's not right."

Teacher: "Well, we'll just leave it that way for now." (She is disturbed.) "I was going to give one example . . ."

1:04. A girl comes in as she is talking. Teacher gives example of a girl who got a prescription for amphetamines. It is a sad story. The girl likes the feeling; she gets pills illegally; she goes to marijuana; the inevitably to heroin at age 19. She becomes a prostitute to support her habit; then in five years commits herself to a rehabilitation program. The girl's message to young people is, "Don't begin." This moral tale is accompanied by murmurs from the class. Teacher raises her voice slightly and finishes her story. Then she harks back to the earlier criticisms of the jargon by the class (which is still bothering her) and tells the class firmly that she got the expressions from the regular teacher and he got them from books!

1:07. Teacher now reads a story from the book about a "glue sniffer" who ended up bashing her father, mother, and brother. (Three of the students are exchanging mocking looks.)

1:10. Teacher continues to read the story to the class and concludes with the moral, "He doesn't do well in school." The she adds, "And there probably is a local ordinance he has broken." (I think the class is being extraordinarily polite.)

Teacher: "Now on sniffing glue, some people have sniffed 15-20 tubes a day."

Two boys: "Hey, that's a lot!"

1:15. Bell rings. Class leaves.

Summary of Referral Data
from
Fillmore High School

More than 500 students (slightly more males than females) were referred to Fillmore from the regular academic secondary schools in the Ash River District during the 1968-1969 school year. (Of these students, about 30% did not finally attend the school. Presumably the majority of these students are permanently out of the public school system.) The official reason given for over half these referrals fell into two categories: academic failure (29%), and attendance problems (23%) including habitual truancy and part time attendance, for which there is no provision in the regular schools (except for certain kinds of work experience which are accepted for academic credits).

In-school behavior and discipline problems account for another 11% (plus an additional 5% who are referred from state and county agencies; presumably they are under the jurisdiction of these agencies because of previous delinquent behavior.)

Since the regular schools do not allow girls who become pregnant or married to continue their studies, another 13% are referred for these reasons. The rest of the referrals are at the request of the student or his parents (with no specific reason given) or no reason at all is listed on the referral (19%).

More than half of the referrals came from two of the six high schools in Ash River. Slightly more than 50% were students from ethnic minorities, primarily black. This represents twice the percentage of black students enrolled in the Ash River school system.

The largest number of referrals from a junior high school were from the school to which graduates of Arthur Elementary School go (Monroe Junior High School, where I conducted observations in Ash River, had no referrals to Fillmore).

Cedar Point School District

Cedar Point is a cosmopolitan city with a great diversity of racial and cultural groups. Light industry and a university are the major economic resources of the area and there are a large number of professional and business people in the city, as well as retired people, young people and students; there is also a residentially segregated area with many residents whose educational and social mobility have been severely limited. The racial distribution in the student body is about 51% white, 40% black, 9% Oriental and Other. The entire school district has been integrated with two-way "busing" at the elementary level, which began recently. Although this move was opposed by a sizeable minority of the community, it can be assumed that the presence of the university --which has a strong orientation toward national education policies-- has decisively affected the attitudes of the community and of the educational system.

My initial request to conduct research in this district was rejected on the grounds that the district was "over-researched" (which, in a sense, was true). A letter was written to the district pointing out the importance of this research, judged by the amount of federal funding involved in the grant. The presumption was that this particular school district would be responsive to reminders of its relation to the national educational system. The tactic succeeded. However, there were additional difficulties. At the junior high school in this district I was not allowed to do the routine taping that was permitted in all other schools in my sample. The reason given was that parents objected to tape recordings. This decision was made at the school but was affirmed at the dissrict office. It was probably related to the occurrence of racial disturbances at this school the previous year. In Taft Elementary School, the classroom observations were terminated after one and one-half days, as has been previously mentioned, at the request of the teacher who was under stress for personal reasons. Although a request was subsequently made to the district office for permission to observe another Grade 4, no answer was received by the end of the school year. Presumably, the problems encountered in this district are related to the recent integration of the elementary schools and the resultant ubiquitous presence in the classrooms of evaluators, observers, and researchers. The teaching staff and the administration are being closely observed by groups with their own special local interests; these are not always sympathetic. The result, at least with some members of the educational system, was a certain wariness or defensiveness.

The administrator at the district office who made the initial arrangements for me in setting up my schedule of observations stated that Cedar Point was the best school system in the United States because it was open to new ideas. When I mentioned a pending Federal court case concerned with the distribution of state educational funds to all school districts equally, he was strongly opposed to the idea on the grounds that it would reduce quality education in "good" systems like Cedar Point. (The same argument was stated by a school board member at a public meeting in the Pine Grove district.)

Cedar Grove is committed to community participation in educational planning. There are scores of members of the community involved in the educational system: PTA groups, Citizens Committees, Study Committees, Parent Education, Community Resource volunteers, paid aides in the schools, and the like. The Cedar Grove School Board does not encourage the intrusion of local interest groups into the area of educational policy. The statements of the philosophy of the Cedar Point School Board refer to national interests, diversity of cultures in the world, world markets, new frontiers and man's cultural heritage.

Two studies, one done in 1959 and the other in 1962, provided the basic recommendations resulting in the recent integration of the schools. Both were conducted by groups which have national affiliations, the NAACP and CORE. In addition, policy recommendations in the last several years have strongly stressed cooperation (including joint staffing) between the Cedar Poing District and the nationally oriented university. They include a revision of state educational policies to provide more educational funding and much less state involvement in text books, requirements, and curriculum; they also include the elimination of the requirement for state approval in programs in which federal funds do not require matching funds from the state.

Taft Elementary School:

Taft School looks rather like an old fashioned factory. The impression is enhanced by the presence of 950 fourth, fifth, and sixth graders gathered together in cramped grounds. Attempts have been made to alleviate the factory feeling; there is a wall-to-wall carpeting in the new bungalows that line part of the asphalted school yard and children's art is lavishly displayed in the halls and offices of the main building.

The classroom which I observed presented a particular phenomenon that I had not encountered previously, although it may be common. My first impression of the physical setting was that this was a classroom designed to encourage the creative participation of children in their schooling. Although the desks were conventionally arranged in rows and the room was crowded, there was a section with chairs arranged in a circle around a tape recorder provided with individual earphones. There was a large box of paperback books, and another box of library books, with a sign saying, "Read a book when you have finished your work." There was a TV set, an easel for painting, and a puppet theatre in one corner. The walls were covered with children's art work and signs designating special areas and projects: Teacher's Corner, Class Government and Class Helpers, "What Must I Do Now," "A Committee Must. . .," "How Tall Are You," "Happiness Is Doing My Best Work" (a board covered with spelling papers and original stories), and "Reading Is The Key" (tissue-paper collages and illustrated stories by the students). In addition, there was a large green plant, a projector, several decorative Oriental posters, and a long row of pictures of famous Negroes above the window. There was also a table with piles of dittoed work sheets. The over-all impression was an active, rich environment designed to stimulate and elicit participation from the students.

The following is from my observation notes after recess on the first day (recess over 10:10):

10:09. Practice - Teacher (who is Oriental) is writing directions on the board: "Put away reading books and workbooks. Take out Roberts, page 35. Finish Homophone paper." The Master Teacher of the class is black.

> Teacher (outside): "Step out of line! If you are talking you are automatically on the end!"

10:10 Kids file in and sit talking in low voices.

> Practice Teacher: "Find out if you are one of the guilty ones who left a folder on your desk. If you did, put it away and take out your Roberts."

She passes back papers by standing at front and calling names out loud. A boy echoes her. The teacher, who is standing at back, immediately lights on him: "If you're going to stay, you're going to be quiet."

Practice Teacher: "I'm waiting for R and C" (to be quiet). Lesson on homophones conducted by Practice Teacher. Helper (Parent Aide) is sitting in a chair listening. Teacher standing at back of room watching. (She never smiles.) Teacher moves desk of a boy who is talking to the back of the room and puts him in it, physically.

Or after lunch:

12:27. Practice Teacher is calling names to get students to quiet down; as she calls name she points to the directions written on the board earlier.

Practice Teacher: "I'm sorry, I'm talking. Let's not have interruptions." She goes over the directions written on the board. Teacher is back at her desk (in back of room).

Practice Teacher: "I like the way Dolly is doing; I'm waiting for Jerry; I'm waiting for Douglas. I'm waiting for Pat. I'm waiting for Stevie. Page 35." (R. is waving his hand. Practice Teacher is going to re-explain homophones.)

Practice Teacher: "Is it important, Richard?"

R.: "I just want to ask you something."

Practice Teacher: "Is it important or can it wait?"

R.: "It can wait."

The Practice Teacher explains the lesson, passes out paper; the students all do work at the desks. Two boys have an argument over a pencil and it is confiscated and put in the Teacher's desk because they were talking. Four names are put on board under "Behavior Not Good," for talking or being out of their seats. Practice Teacher tells them to hand in their papers whether they are done or not. "You don't have to finish; I just wanted you to understand homophones." At 1:11 Practice Teacher tells them to put everything away and they will play Simon Says.

Practice Teacher: "We're waiting for ____, ____, ____, ____, ____; Lisa has been very nice. Lisa has been very quiet, so I'll ask her to lead us in Simon Says."

While students play this game (with admonitions from Practice Teacher about being quiet) Teacher and Practice Teacher are setting up screen for a film (from telephone company). The screen collapses with a bang. The students laugh. The Teacher has students put heads down on desks (a frequently used method to quiet the class) and says: "I want to ask you something. Do you think it's really funny when the teacher has problems?" Teacher then spends two minutes talking about kindness and understanding, trying to make the class feel guilty. From 1:22 to 1:35, Teacher and Practice Teacher struggle with projector. At 1:35 film starts. It is upside down and backwards. At 1:42 when Teacher has decided to show film strip instead and is still struggling with projector, she gets irritated with the restless class.

Teacher: "Some people are being just a little bit rude, a little impatient. I think we've been pretty patient with you, now we want you to be patient with us."

At 1:43 a film strip is shown on how to use a telephone. By 2:20 the Teacher has tried to show the film again, but has not been able to make it work; she has sent one boy out of class, scolded five others and the entire class is restless, bored and irritable. Finally Teacher gives then a spelling test.

This is in marked contrast to the intesively creative physical atmosphere of the classroom. The teaching situation was one that can be designated as an over-structured, non-participation situation. One could ask, why all the equipment in a classroom that is conducted in such an autocratic, condescending, and unstimulating manner? This was a Master Teacher. Master Teachers are conventionally selected from among those teachers who are regarded as competent in using the techniques and materials approved of and taught in the Teacher Education courses. I received the impression that the materials in the classroom were little more than the "correct" materials the teacher had learned about in her training for a teaching career.

Taft School

Grade 4

8:30	Opening Exercises (no pledge) Film strips/movies
9:15	Math
10:00	Recess
10:10	Science
11:00	Reading
11:40	Lunch
12:25	Language Arts (English)
1:10	Social Studies
1:55	Physical Education
2:30	Dismissal

Tyler Junior High School:

The teachers at Tyler made the same complaint as at Taft, i.e., too many students were gathered together in one place. Again the teacher had a carefully structured program; the teaching method was question-and-answer; and here also the teacher became quite ruffled when the schedule was disturbed. The major problems at this school according to the teachers (the vice-principal did not answer this question) were that the students were consistently absent from school and individual classes; they also complained that there were too few rules and that they were not fully enforced. In addition, I heard numerous complaints that the students "expect the teachers to be like the TV performers they watch all the time," and "The social climate of our times tells the kids it's all right for them to turn off." Five teachers commented that many students were bored. They did not ascribe it to the quality of teaching or to the educational situation but to lacks in the students themselves. At a student-run assembly that I attended, one of the topics of complaint by the students was that they "cut" classes because the classes were not interesting; that they were being taught like six year olds; and that it did no good to complain to a teacher since the teachers' response was likely to be a low grade.

The teacher whom I observed pointed out that students like rules, they like to know what they are supposed to do and how they are supposed to behave. Hence, she "sets limits." For example, she always told the students what to do; she did not ask them what they wanted to do. In her classes there was a strong emphasis on good classroom behavior. and she avoided controversial issues or prolonged discussion on any subject.

In this school I was directed to a full day of Geography classes with the same teacher. The classes in this department were carefully mixed ethnically and were not ability-grouped. The curriculum was standard. This teacher had various kinds of ditto sheets at several levels of difficulty so that there were always lessons that students of every ability could successfully complete (except for two boys with pronounced reading problems, to whom the teacher gave a lot of individual help). The teacher pointed out that she had a lot of "problem" children in her class since she did not fight with the students as some of the teachers did and that students with behavior problems were comfortable in her class because she set limits.

This teacher was an attractive white, well educated woman in early middle age with a pronounced southern accent. Her manner was firm but patient and equable. She commented to me that a number of the black students have told her that "you talk just like my Mama." She attributes this both to her accent and to her firm, no-nonsense style.

This school, like the others in Cedar Point, has a large main building and many additional bungalows of wood. The school is located in a middle status residential neighborhood near a busy street carrying crosstown traffic. The school boundaries which were changed two years ago to desegregate the junior high schools, include residential areas that range from poor to well-to-do and include every ethnic and racial group in the city. Many of the teachers and some of the administrators were retained from the period when the school was 98% white and included a majority of children from the professional class in Cedar Point. There have been some adjustment problems. The new principal, who is black and in his mid-forties, appeared to spend a good deal of time moving about the building, talking to students. The former white principal resigned after instances of racial violence in the school, which had taken place prior to desegregation.

Buchanan High School:

Buchanan is physically a mixture of old stone buildings and new structures of various materials and size. It is the only high school in Cedar Point, and it is unusual for a city of this size to have only one high school. There have been many proposals to build a second high school, but until the schools were integrated many people feared that the addition of a second high school would automatically result in de facto segregation. Buchanan has grades 10-12, and it is directly adjacent to the downtown business area of Cedar Point. Fortunately, the school is also adjacent to a small city park which is treated by the students as part of the campus before and after school and also during lunch.

Ability grouping is being phased out of the district; this will be completed in the next several years, and it continues in many departments in the secondary schools. Consequently, classes can be nearly all white or all black (e.g., four whites in an English class, three blacks in a History class). There is considerable tension in the school between black and white students, particularly girls, which is probably exacerbated by the ability grouping which separates the racial groups.

Although Buchanan has an excellent educational reputation, it rests almost entirely on its academic program. Several administrators in the district feel that there is over-emphasis on the academic program (and consequently on college-bound students). Although various publications of the district maintain that at least 80% of Buchanan graduates continue their education, a brief check reveals that there is a very high dropout rate for those students going on to at least one of the local two year collages. There are relatively few job training programs despite some vigorous efforts on the part of the school. Resistance comes from business, industry, and the unions, most of whom prefer to wait until the students graduate and to recruit the best of the non-college bound students for their own training programs. The counseling system, which is also academically orientated, has been inadequate in dealing with non-college bound students.

Many of the teachers state that both teachers and students assume that the students do not like high school. Students at Buchanan, perhaps influenced by the activist student model associated with the local university, are very active in protesting and and dissenting on issues that range from the Viet Nam war to more student involvement in school policy. Such dissent is tolerated fairly well by the administration, who are among the growing number of school administrators who convey the impression of managing to keep barely one step ahead of the students.

One counselor observed that a great source of student dissatisfaction is the lack of adequate channels by which the students can communicate their criticisms of the system without eliciting punitive reactions. Some of the more militant student groups, such as the Black Student Union, apply constant pressure to keep channels open for criticism.

Several administrators stated that now that racial integration had been achieved in the district they could concentrate on improving the curriculum and the structure of the school day, and introduce innovative programs. Partly through the Buchanan School emphasis on the academic, they tend to compare themselves not so much with high schools in adjacent districts, but with high schools on a national level in terms of college preparation. The academic requirements that are used for a model are those for admission to the nationally known university in Cedar Point. In answer to a parent question about admission requirements for Ivy League schools, a counselor said that if students could meet the requirements of the local university they were pretty safe for most in the United States. (This same counselor said that "not everybody should go to college," but when asked for specific suggestions of what undecided or uninterested students should do, he could only suggest taking a battery of Vocational Interests tests at a local college -- at a cost of $75.00.)

Wilson Private School:

The majority of the students in this school are children of professionals, most of them employed by the major univerisity in this area. Their reasons for sending their children to this school vary from "getting a head start on college" to "the school and teachers do not conflict with my ideology." Probably the commonest reason is the small class size (maximum 18) so that the children get individual attention. The excellent programs after and before school are also a very important point for the many mothers who are professionals holding full time jobs. Money to run the school comes directly from tuition fees.

The curriculum varies with the individual teacher and from day to day, although the school does eventually instruct the students in all the areas they will need to continue in the public school system at the Grade 7 level. They also use experimental programs in Science and Math which originate in the local university. The requirements for teachers are a B. A., not a teaching credential, and the teachers tend to be social and/or political "radicals." The school is very loosely structured. Ages and grade levels are mixed and children progress at their own speeds. The students are encouraged to read and write voluminously. In many classes students write about their activities and ideas every day and these stories and essays are immediately duplicated for the entire class. There are many field trips, including overnight camping trips and visits to places of interest in the local metropolitan area; frequently a professional parent (as well as mother helpers) joins a group to explain what they are seeing, e.g., a zoologist on a trip to the zoo. Many parents come to the school to use their special skills, e.g., a half-day demonstration by a parent-artist, in which the students from two classes made and fired a special kind of pottery.

There is a school song, a school newspaper assembled entirely by Grades 5-6 but contributed to by every class, a weekly assembly where the program is planned by the students and various other devices to encourage an identification by the students with the school. Although students are given the standard state tests in Grade 6 for passing to the public schools and are also given Stanford Binet's and others, these do not seem to be taken very seriously by students or teachers. No grades are given. Teachers have individual conferences with parents whenever one or the other wishes it. Teachers often write letters at the end of the school year evaluating the individual student's progress. With rare exceptions the teachers, the director, the secretary, the custodians, and visiting parents are called by their first name. There is emphasis on Wilson as a cooperative school. Parents contribute various services to the school in an unorganized way and feel free to visit, comment and complain. An elected parent Board of Directors runs the school and hires the director.

The scheduled curriculum may be interrupted at any time for unusual events, such as distinguished visitors.

The former director tried to involve the students in issues of community interest (as well as in national and international issues) and the children contribute money to such causes as Biafran Relief. There is a scholarship program which ensures the enrollment of a few students each year whose parents have no money for private schools. The school from its inception has always been ethnically and racially mixed. However, the majority of parents have always been professional and college educated.

There is absolutely no physical punishment used at the school. Children who are disturbing the classroom are dealt with by their peers, by talking it out in the class, by private discussions with the teacher, by being sent out to play, to the office to rest, or sometimes home if the teacher thinks they are very disturbed. Any student who has a complaint can go directly to the teacher or to the director at any time.

Despite the fact that the main school building is constructed with sliding walls, no team teaching has been developed. Each teacher tends to go in his room, close the door and teach as he chooses. A man who was director for only one year (and was subsequently asked to resign) tried to institute a much closer check over what went on in the classrooms, devise a way to evaluate teachers, and institute new rules about tardianess, etc. The teachers strongly objected to these measures, saying they preferred to deal directly with parents on such issues as persistent tardiness or other potentially disruptive matters as well as parent dissatisfaction; it was also felt by many parents that the director had overstepped the bounds of his duties. The current director is a former teacher at the school who has the respect of both teachers and parents.

Both because of the students' background and because of the style of the school and of the community of Cedar Point, the children give an impression of considerable sophistication. The major problem they seem to encounter when they move into the public school system (particularly if they have attended Grades 1-6 at Wilson) stems from their training in free discussion and active participation in the school day. As a public school teacher commented, "They have no respect for authority at all." A graduate of Wilson School after her first week in a Cedar Point public school Grade 7, commented, "That's sure a funny school; they talk at you all day long." Most graduates of Wilson say that they enjoy the larger social scene and variety of people in the public schools, particularly the girls; there are always more boys than girls at Wilson.

Children are accepted at the school by the director in consultation with the teacher on the basis of sex ratio, ethnic and racial balance, and parents' reasons for wanting to enroll their children. The latter information is always elicited in a personal interview and a visit to the school by parents and the child is required. In recent years there has been a waiting list for admittance to the school. IQ is not a criterion for admittance. Some children with emotional problems are admitted if the teacher and the director feel they will benefit from the school, as are children with various discipline problems that seem to be related to education.

There is a great deal of social interaction between the students both within the classroom and in constant home visiting.

Wilson School occupies three small corner buildings several blocks from the business district of Cedar Point. Most children live in Cedar Point, although there are some from adjacent communities.

The classrooms are messy, full of projects in various stages of completion, noisy, and constantly busy. Several rooms have a place for students to retreat, such as large cardboard boxes or sheltered corners. Foreign languages are taught beginning in Grade 1 (usually by a native-speaker hired on a part-time basis), and music is taught by a professional parent-teacher on a part-time basis. Drama and art are taught in every class by class teachers. There is a great deal of emphasis in the curriculum and in school festivities and holidays on other countries and ethnic and racial groups, including those in the United States. Wilson does, however, follow the Cedar Point School District holiday schedule.

All students are strongly encouraged at all times to express their feeling, ideas, and opinions on every area of life.

Jefferson School District

Jefferson is the only remaining rural, non-unified school within the limits of the two counties included in my sample. It is a two room, two-teacher school located approximately 50 miles from the metropolitan center and ten miles from a town which is a service center for the local farmers and contains the nearest high school. The classrooms are divided into kindergarten through Grade 4, and Grades 5 through 8. I observed only the latter as the teacher of the first group did not wish an observer in her room.

The schoolhouse is located on a dirt country road in a grove of trees. Besides the two classrooms, it has a kitchen and a large playground utilized particularly for ball games. It is a slightly contemporized (electricity, telephone, and indoor toilets) version of the country schoolhouse which was long familiar in the United States educational scene. The students are picked up by a school bus, whose driver also acts as general handy man, Physical Education teacher, bookkeeper, clerk, and purveyor of information and gossip among school board members, parents and teachers.

The 35 students in the school are almost equally divided between the children of white owners or foremen on local farms and the children of the ethnic minority who work as laborers on these farms. The local school board is composed of three farm owners, two of whom were educated at Jefferson School. The board interests itself in the minutest detail of the school day. They are equally concerned with curriculum and student behavior. For example, one member of the school board appeared at the school one morning because he had "heard that one of the students isn't learning anything." (The rumor was traced to a comment made by a student on the school bus, which was subsequently reported by the bus driver to the school board member.) On another occasion, when the teacher of the older students was absent for a day and the K-4 teacher was handling the whole school, some misbehavior on the part of several older boys led the teacher to call a school board member who came and removed the students in question. They were taken to their parents, farm employees, who were mortified; one father beat his son severely and threatened to turn him over to the juvenile authorities.

The parents have several concerns: first, that their children get through school (i.e., Grade 8); second, that they have sufficient homework to "keep them busy"; and third, that they "mind the teacher." Parents are given detailed written and verbal accounts of their children's scholastic progress and behavior.

The teacher whom I observed had a rural family background similar to the parents of Jefferson District. She had come to teachinglate, had lived in a number of states, and had experienced various personal and social vicissitudes that had resulted in a somewhat more sophisticated view of schooling than that held by the parents and board of Jefferson District. She was under severe criticism for introducing too many frills into schooling (particularly art and an abortive attempt at student government) and was fired at the end of the 1968-1969 school year. The reason given by the board was that she "lived too far away and couldn't be contacted easily" (she commuted from the city). The board wished to replace her with a local teacher, whose commitment would be to the values and view of schooling held by the local parents.

Interestingly, both this teacher (despite her "unconventional" views on schooling) and the K-4 teacher (who was quite authoritarian) defined their major classroom problem in terms of establishing authority over the students, particularly the boys. Use of "bad langauge" was a focus for this concern.

Jefferson followed the recommended curriculum of the state in detail. A large part of the actual instruction in the 5-8 classroom was carried out by the older students who tutored the younger students and tested them in spelling, math and other subjects.

9:58. Teacher: "Time for your spelling groups now." Teacher asks a girl why she was talking to a boy during the preceding "quiet work" period. Girl points out that she has been in charge of helping him with his math. Teacher apologizes.

Teacher: "Jim, you give the fifth graders a test. Jean you give the sixth graders a test and then we'll have someone give you and Dan a test."

Fifth and sixth graders group in different parts of the room for their tests. Teacher tells two girls they can study together. Teacher tells Jack to give a test.

Jack: "Hey, I'm too busy, man, to give a test today. Let Nina do it, she wants to."

Teacher insists that Jack give the test. They argue a few minutes.

Teacher (giving up): "Do we have anyone free?"

Student: "You!"

Teacher: "You're right. I'm going to have to give one of these tests."

Teacher gives sixth graders a spelling test.

In many cases, the younger and older students were siblings. The teachers used the authority of older siblings to control some children. Several "families" had reputations that were often automatically transfered to new members of the family as they came into the school.

I saw no discrimination on the basis of ethnic group in the classroom I was observing, but this is not necessarily a reflection of local attitudes. This teacher had been twice married to members of an ethnic minority and she said that her children had experienced discrimination in their own schooling. Since the ethnic minority children in the school were also the children of the laborers on the farm, and thus combined ethnicity with a class distinction, their status with other teachers would probably have been inferior. It was stated that most of the ethnic minority children would probably not complete high school.

Although there was nothing material in the school that would suggest it, this district, because of its low enrollment, was the richest in the county in terms of tax support per child. The major problem that the school board perceived was the struggle to keep sufficient enrollment to legally maintain their single school as an independent educational unit, so that they could continue the kind of education desired by the parents.

Laurel Creek School District

Located approximately 30 miles from the metropolitan center of the area, Laurel Creek Unified School District came into existence only a few years ago. The unification joined together for administrative purposes a number of small, pleasant towns surrounded by an increasingly dense number of "bedroom communities" occupied by people who commute to the cities to work. The number of these developments have quadrupled since unification of the school district. (At the time of this study four new sub-divisions were in various stages of construction.) The residents of these $25-40,000 homes are families who are overwhelmingly white, middle to upper-middle in socio-economic status, and nominally Protestant. People say they buy homes in the area because of the "good educational system" as well as for the pleasant climate and beautiful physical setting. A school administrator pointed out that it has become a standard local joke that when residents say they moved to the area for "fresh air," they mean they moved to get away from problems of the urban area, including the high concentration of ethnic and racial minority children in the urban schools.

A sizeable number of the residents are college-educated and are intensely interested in their children's education. They worry not so much about their children getting into college (although most parents assume that this is what their children will want to do) but over their children's "individual development." One of the district psychologists said that what parents in Laurel Creek essentially want to know when they "judge" a school is, "What kind of person are you going to make out of my brat? Someone as good as me?" A principal in the district who had come from a much poorer area said that it seemed to him that the more money the parents had, the greater their anxiety about their children. He described the anxious mothers as "coffee-klatching" with each other in the morning and then coming to the school in the afternoon to discuss with him whatever they had become wrought up about during the morning.

As more and cheaper sub-divisions are being built, there is an increased influx of families with elementary age children who are straining the physical and financial facilities of the school district. Money for the schools is a constant topic of conversation, particularly among the older home owners. The lack of any taxable industry in the area puts the tax burden squarely on residential property owners. (Four out of seven increased tax rate proposals failed in school districts in Porter County this year, including Laurel Creek School District.) In Laurel Creek the concern with money is reflected in considerable penny-pinching on the part of the school board. For example, a high school with such amenities as a swimming pool, carpeted library, kiln for pottery, and with a student body, the majority of whom drive their own cars or motor scooters to school, suffers from inadequate care of the grounds and buildings. In general, however, Laurel Creek is still a district where the parents want a "good" education for their children and are able and willing to pay for it.

When the district unified, they hired one of the "new breed" of educators as their superintendent. This "breed" is an individual (almost invariably a man) who is well educated, experimental, innovative, and who is interested in and good at obtaining Federal funds. Laurel Creek was the only district in which I had a personal interview with the superintendent; this was in the process of getting permission to observe in the schools. For an hour the superintendent discussed the role of schools as "change agents" in United States society and their major goal as creating a democratic society; he spoke of innovations already introduced and in preparation in the school district; he was enthused about the intelligence, social concern and commitment of today's young people; and he expressed concern over the reluctance of many parents to accept change in their children.

When I asked my usual question about what educational problems there were in this school district, the superintendent said that the only real problem was the inability of many of the adults in the community to accept and understand the social changes occurring in United States society, particularly as they were reflected in this generation of students. For example, during the previous year the district had sponsored an all-day program in which some black militants from nearby city schools had been asked to participate. Some parents had been disturbed by this and by other situations in which they felt there had been a coalition between the students and the school staffs in opposition to the values held by the parents. (A recent survey conducted by a popular mass magazine reported that there seems to be a loose coalition between students and teachers, which is nationwide, in opposition to attitudes held by parents and, in many cases, school administrations.)

The superintendent also said that he felt true educational innovation could only take place through Federal educational policies. He added that the government seemed commited to a "balancing theory," in which money given to programs of innovation and change was balanced by the same amount of money to programs that maintained the status quo.

The school board that hired this superintendent included several college-educated, young, professional people. A new board elected in 1968 had a majority of older businessmen and housewives whose platform was to ease the tax burden on local residents. Although Laurel Creek District, in the space of a few years, had gained a widespread reputation as an innovative school system that attracted creative young teachers from all over the state (the district consistently had far more applications for teaching positions than it had available jobs), the superintendent's policies resulted in his forced resignation in 1969. Subsequently, the contracts of a number of the younger, more radical teachers were not renewed. The new superintendent has the reputation of an "educationally sound" man, in the words of the newly elected board.

It should be noted that in Laurel Creek, as in many suburban school districts, more than half of the teaching staff commuted from the city, since they either could not afford to or did not choose to live in the district. As several teachers pointed out, their affiliation was with the school system itself, not with the local community. Since school boards in all the districts in my sample were composed of elected laymen from the local communities, their policies often reflected the interests and values of the local power structure. The interests and policies of superintendents and their staffs, particularly if they have no strong local ties through residence, may be in conflict with such local interests.

(During the year of my observations four districts in my sample hired new superintendents. Although they all advertised on a national scale, three hired superintendents from their own state and one from the state immediately adjacent.)

Laurel Creek School District is of particular interest because in my sample of schools it was at one end of a continuum based on "openness" to national educational policies. The superintendent's stated educational goal was to educate students to participate in a democratic society conceived of in national terms.

This national, rather than local, commitment was reflected in the high school classrooms of the district in which teachers and students spent a great deal of time discussing such subjects as the development of nations. The following is a class assignment for a United States History course at Lincoln High School (not part of the standard text book assignments).

> Given: A country that is not developed in any way, but has great potentials because of an abundance of natural resources. What factors or characteristics are needed to develop this country into a strong economic power?
>
> Consider: The people; the philosophy of government; the labor force; type of economy; other influences.
>
> What are the consequences of the government philosophy?
> What happens to the laborers in this country?
> Are social classes formed?
> Is everyone in the nation satisfied that it has developed into an economic power?
> If one can use the term "human cost," what is the cost of this development?
> Are the actions of the government important? etc.

With the recent coalition, reflected by the current school board, between the older, more affluent tax-concerned residents and the latest arrivals in the less expensive sub-divisions, who are not college-educated and who regard the schools as providing the means for upward mobility and training for professions, educational policy in the district may shift towards a more locally oriented approach.

Hoover Elementary School

Hoover Elementary School (Kindergarten through Grade 6) is located in one of the older sections of Laurel Creek School District. Many of the homes in this area occupy half-acre lots, have swimming pools, and provide stabling for the children's horses. The school has low, attractive buildings, excellent physical equipment and is surrounded by low hills and lush vegetation. Many of the students have grown up with each other, have been in school together since kindergarten, and have brothers and sisters who have completed the elementary grades in this school. This ease and familiarity of long acquaintance is reflected in the classroom. The Grade 4 I observed here had more consistent interaction between students than any other in my sample. When activities became too noisy, it was more often the students than the teacher who quieted the class. The teacher mentioned (and my observations confirmed it) that the students offered a great deal of "constructive criticism" to each other. The one non-white child in the class was a refugee from Hong Kong who had been adopted by a local family. The teacher said the class felt that they had been responsible for her learning to read and were very proud of her. She was somewhat more outspoken and aggressive than the other girls and when she got in an argument, which she did rather frequently, the teacher did not intervene. Such arguments were almost invariably settled by the intervention of a third student.

The Grade 4 teacher referred to her students as "ivory tower children." She admitted that she herself had originally moved to this area so that her children could benefit from the "good life" although she now felt it was too narrow. She stated that, "the life style experienced by the students renders them incapable of understanding many current United States problems, like Negroes." The principal commented that they "were blessed" in this district (he had been previously principal of a school that had many children of migrant workers). One of the few (and new) black teachers in the district said the children in this district know nothing about any world except their own and illustrated this comment with an anecdote about one Grade 3 boy who refused to believe that this teacher did not have two cars and a swimming pool "like everyone else."

This district has specialists in art, music, and science who come twice a week to each elementary school. In addition, Spanish and French Conversation are taught in Grade 6. In this classroom (and in the Grade 7 I observed in this same district) there is much more art work than is regularly scheduled.

The striking thing about the Grade 4 classroom was the amount of movement and participation, physically and verbally, by almost every student in every lesson during the school day. They sang; they pasted leaves and grew plants for science; they drew, painted and sculpted; they made maps for geography; they wrote stories and poems and read them aloud for English; they did "time tests" and worked problems on the board and played verbal number games for arithmetic; they had spelling bees and acted out costumed stories from their reading; and, always, they asked questions and made comments and criticized and praised their own work, the teachers, and their classmates. Of all the public schools I observed, it was only in this classroom that there was room for questions, definitions and discussion during a spelling test. This was also one of the schools in which the training of the students for participation in United States political forms was constant. The students were forever "voting on alternatives." And the teacher invariably followed the results of the vote.

As the teacher said, "Many of the parents of these children are second-generation college people. These children have already been trained before they start school." The teacher herself had received her training at a Mid-Western private college noted for its education department.

Was her classroom unique in this school? The teacher voluntarily ranked her classroom in terms of "looseness" (by which she meant amount of student participation and noise level allowed) by saying that some of the older teachers, particularly one man, ran a very tight classroom, but that some of the younger, newer teachers ran a much looser one than she did.

The problems listed by the principal of Hoover School were the over-concern of some parents about their child's individual development, the possible effects on education of the newly conservative school board, and the general isolation of the area from contemporary problems. However, it must be remembered that while teachers and administrators gave lip service to the idea that the children and their parents were too isolated from contemporary life, the school personnel also enjoy the benefits of this isolation from urban problems.

The model for relationships within this school was a "family affair." The principal and a number of the teachers had set up an actual joking situation in which the principal was called Father, a young, pretty teacher was Daughter, and the most rigid teacher, an older conservative man, instead of being criticized for his somewhat rigid ideas (e.g., in reference to a possibly brain-damaged student who was a serious behavior problem and who had not yet had professional diagonsis: "Lock him up where he isn't a danger to anyone.") was called Grandfather. His opinions were treated affably as the "normal" rigidity of an "older generation," to be tolerated, but not taken particularly seriously. This "family" relationship extended to the principal settling many classroom problems of individual teachers openly in the coffee room (in from of me, who was treated as perhaps a visiting remote cousin, since I had displayed interest in "the family"). This family style also included "the children," who were treated as bright, essentially good children who needed a firm parental hand occasionally and a lot of parental indulgence. During my first interview with the principal, which was held in the coffee room, a young teacher presented a problem of a brother and sister in the same classroom. This situation was regarded as "potentially disruptive" because the siblings were bringing into the classroom behavior associated with their "outside" family, and interfering with the formation of their school family.

The following is a sample of my protocols from my first day of observations at Hoover.

10:20. Recess has just ended and students are coming back in the room. Teacher tells individual children, by name, to sit down. "Recess is over."

Teacher: "Any Reports?" (Science reports.)

Class: "Yes, Yes!" (eagerly)

Teacher checks who has not yet given their report.

Teacher: "I'd like you to be courteous listeners. We always learn something interesting."

Boy stands in front of class and reads a report on "Science and Space." He has included a bibliography.

Teacher: "Very nice report, Jim!"

Girl reads a report on "Kangaroos." When she finishes class makes comments on the size of kangaroos. So does the teacher. The girl has illustrated her report with a picture of a kangaroo that her mother has duplicated from a library book.

Girl reads a report on "Butterflies."

(While the reports are being read, some students are quietly working on paper-mache candlesticks. Some are working on pictures made with tissue-paper and paste. Several are working on lessons. All of them also seem to be listening to the reports and occasionally comment.)

Teacher talks to class about the due-date for the reports. A boy asks if they have to read them in front of the class.

Teacher says no, but they have to be written.

(I note here in my protocols that the students ask questions without raising their hands, sharpen pencils, go to the bathroom, get drinks, and wash their desks--all without having to ask the teacher's permission.)

10:30. The class gets out their spelling books for their new words. Teacher says that the sentences using the new words in the book are so crazy that she thinks the class should make up their own. For the next 16 minutes they make up sentences. Teacher does not try to restructure the sentences even when they are awkward. She leaves them in the form suggested by the students. As the students are copying from the board the sentences they have made up, Teacher hangs up some story-pictures the students have completed. She discusses the pictures with several students in the first row and says, "Oh, I think they're just terrific! Amazing that you can see so many things."

10:48. Teacher asks class, "Is anyone going to plant any ankle-grabbers" (a plant)? Six girls immediately volunteer.

Teacher says to class, "Mr. R. (the special district Science teacher who comes to the class twice a week) suggests we take three pots of plants of similar height; leave one plain, cover one with a plastic bag and one with a paper bag and see what happens." (Teacher is at a table covered with potted plants which the class is growing for science.) She asks people to volunteer their plants for this experiment. Several immediately offer theirs. The class then turns to their English lesson.

Polk Junior High School:

Like all the schools I saw in the Laurel Creek District, Polk School was located in a physically beautiful setting. It stood on a knoll surrounded by meadows, at the end of a country road. Although the classrooms were somewhat cramped and overcrowded, in the Grade 7 that I observed, maximum classroom flexibility was achieved by a continuous rearrangement of the seats for various activities. The room was carpeted and many lessons were held with the children sitting on the rug. Students were also permitted to lie on the rug to study. In addition, the room had a large old sofa and two armchairs which were used by the children and sometimes the teacher throughout the day. The walls were covered with the students' latest projects.

The teacher was superb. She was young, beautiful, intelligent, and warm with all her students. She was constantly trying new ways of teaching and new curricula: because she believed her students lacked awareness of themselves and of others, she had devised various methods to increase communication between herself and the students and between the students. For example, any member of the class, including the teacher, could call for a "ticket discussion" when they had a subject or a problem they wanted discussed. In these sessions each person had a designated number of tickets, each one good for a minute of conversation. When everybody was out of tickets the discussion was terminated.

In this school, there was an emphasis on communication. When I asked the principal what he felt were the problems in his school and in the district, he answered that there was a lack of communication among teachers, students, administrators, and parents. He said, "Nobody really knows what anyone else is doing; what the teachers are doing is not coordinated; nobody really knows why things are being done the way they are." I was not only invited to join a staff meeting in this school, but was also invited to participate in a day long in-service program set up by the teachers of Hoover to discuss their own educational philosophies.

Although the teachers in the school differed on many issues (e.g., whether junior high school was simply a "holding operation" because students at this age are so self- and socially-centered, or whether these interests could be utilized to make students aware of social problems and social ethics), they were agreed on several points. They felt that the students and their parents were over-protected from the problems of United States society. They felt the parents were reluctant to accept change. As one teacher commented, "Their parents were low man on the totem pole when they were young. Finally got a chance to be at the top, and now the rules are changing. Unbearable!" One teacher noted that people are really silly about accepting change. He said that when he was in high school during World War II, he was suspended because his hair was cut too short, "like a German." His son, who goes to school in a neighboring district had just been suspended because his hair was too long, "like a hippy."

The following example is from Grade 7 at Polk School, during my second day there.

10:54. After recess the class is discussing with the teacher the details of the courtroom trial that they are holding the next day in their class. A student raises the problem of how they are going to be graded on this project. (The members of the class are acting as lawyers, jury, witnesses, and the like. They have been working very hard on this project.)

Girl: "You don't have to grade on this."

Class discusses this; some want grades, some don't. They make various comments:

> "Does everything we do have to be graded?"
> "It's a project; we're learning so much."
> "I don't know that I'm doing a good job, but I'm learning something."

One of the students who has passed her "bar exams" to be one of the lawyers comments that her father has complained that she had been working so hard (for her bar exams) and wasn't even going to get a grade.

10:58. The teacher, who has been listening without comment, says, "Why don't we take this one at a time? I think this is an important discussion."

A girl suggests that the "judge" (a local lawyer who is going to act as trial judge) should give his opinion on their performance.

Teacher: "Jury, what could be used as an evaluation? On what should I evaluate you? Does anybody on the jury want a grade?"

Several students point out that the jury will be working very hard during the trial.

Teacher then says that they have mentioned at one time or another three adults who should evaluate them: herself, her sister (a teacher who is helping with the trial), and the judge. Teacher asks, "Anybody else?"

A student points to me. Teacher says, "First we ask her; then you have to know what kind of evaluation." Teacher writes on board:

1. Some want an evaluation
2. Everyone should be evaluated
3. Basis: participation, effort

Teacher: "Anything else?"

Girl: "Attention."

Teacher: "What's evidence of paying attention?"

Girl: "They know what they are talking about." Teacher adds this to board list.

Teacher points out that she can't judge someone's opinion. Student points out that she can evaluate how well they support their opinion.

Teacher: "Who doesn't care about evaluation, just doing it?" She writes four names on the board.

Student: "I think I'll do a better job just doing it for myself, not a grade."

Student: "I just enjoy doing its; I don't want a grade."

Student: "When I work for a grade, I feel pressured."

Now other students are saying that they don't want to be evaluated either.

Teacher: "Who wants definitely to be evaluated?"

As students raise their hands and she names them, more and more hands go up until the majority of the class votes to be evaluated.

Teacher: "I want to give an honest opinion. I don't know whether I want to evaluate you or not. I'm going to consider this and give you my opinion. What about the other adults you've handed this bag? Better find out whether they want to evaluate you."

Teacher: "Maybe you should evaluate each other; for example, how good were the witnesses."

Some discussion followed but it got more and more lackadaisical.

Teacher: "John, what's happening? You've lost interest in our discussion?"

John: "I'm listening."

Teacher: "That isn't what I asked."

John: "Well, I don't care about grades."

Student: "It doesn't really matter."

Student: "It's boring."

Teacher: "You want to be graded, but you want someone else to do the evaluating. You don't want to be involved?"

Class: "Yeah . . . yes . . . yes."

Student: "They think you should make the decision."

Teacher: "All right, I'll grade everybody on how clean their shoes are court day."

Student: "What's that got to do with it?"

Girl: "You gave her the decision." Class discusses the irrelevance of clean shoes as a criterion.

Student (to teacher): "If you don't want to do it, just tell us. You're making us sound stupid."

Student: "Have everybody grade themselves."

Girl: "We can all grade each other." She suggests they have a discussion the next day after court for those that want an evaluation.

Teacher (summing up): "That is the first concrete suggestion offered."

Teacher then leads a brief discussion that concludes that the judge can best evaluate courtroom behavior, then yourself, then your classmates. She writes this on board. They then decide to all think about this and discuss it again at a later date. Class proceeds to another topic.

Lincoln High School:

Lincoln School is still in the process of construction. It is the newest high school in the district and is built in a very modern modular style with sliding doors so that classrooms can be joined. It is located in a rural setting surrounded by fields and trees. It is regarded as the experimental high school, partly because of the physical structure, partly because the staff contains an unusual number of innovative teachers. Game simulation theory is being used in several classes; students are writing and printing their own poetry; a film is being made by one class, and so forth.

One History teacher voluntarily described what kind of training for higher education the students at Lincoln are receiving. He said he never lectures more than 20 minutes to a class; therefore, he is not training students for college lecture-and-note-taking classes. Instead, he pointed out that they are encouraged to discuss alternative ideas and are thus being trained for graduate-type seminar classes. This observation is confirmed by other aspects of the Lincoln curriculum. The students are assigned an unusual number of individual projects, independent research, and analytic papers. This teacher also told his class, referring to a scheduled exam for the next week, "No exam should be two hours long." He also stated, "There can't be any right or wrong answer, naturally. In my course we cover ideas, not battles." The teacher also discussed the Scholastic Aptitude Test with his class (half of whom said they planned on going to college). He said that the Scholastic Aptitude Tests had a much more "factual orientation" than the students' classes at Lincoln. Referring to the Scholastic Aptitude Tests, he said, "I think they are a little unrealistic." He pointed out that many areas of History that were considered very important in his class, like immigration and Negro History, would probably not even be mentioned in the Scholastic Aptitude Tests. He suggested that students who were planning on taking the Scholastic Aptitude Tests should read through the basic text (which was being used as supplementary reading in the class). He concluded by pointing out that it was a fact that the Scholastic Aptitude Tests plus their grade point average would determine "where you are going to school."

The student body at this school includes two minority students (on special programs) and a few children from a less affluent area at one end of the school district. More typical is the student who participated in this overheard conversation:

Teacher: "Hey, I heard you got in an accident. How's your car?"

Student: "Which one?"

The teachers and administrators had a number of complaints about the students (and the community). One standard complaint (repeated in every school in the district), as mentioned earlier, was that the students had too little knowledge and experience in "the real world," and that their parents tended to be "up-tight and over-protective." One teacher told his class that they were not going to have their "liberal attitudes" (which they had been expressing) tested until they left the Laurel Creek area, since they had neither Negro nor urban problems. I heard several teacher complaints that the school "specializes in permissiveness but not democracy" and that the students are taught an extreme form of relativism that makes them incapable of judging their own work or anyone else's. In addition, this school has many of the same "problems" which characterize college campuses currently (as do many other high schools), i.e., student complaints on the draft, the war in Viet Nam, the prevalence of marijuana smoking, tension over hair length and dress styles; and student demands to have some part in determining policies that directly affect them.

Mapleton School District

Mapelton is geographically isolated despite its location only 20 miles from a major metropolitan area. It is surrounded by hills and bypassed by major highways. Mapelton used to be a "company town," dominated by one major industry. Although many of the residents in the area now commute to the cities to work, Mapleton is in many ways still a small town. For example, adults in the community are very involved with the high school football team. The school personnel do not feel the problems they have are those of the city, but rather those characteristic of small towns; e.g., gossip, de facto segregation on the basis of class (the "other-side-of-the-tracks" syndrome characteristic of United States small towns), and parochialsim on the part of both parents and children. Elementary schools in the district are labled as "good" or "bad" on the basis of neighborhood location.

Although the entire district is characterized by the residents and the school personnel as "solid working class" (skilled union workers) there is one rather well-to-do subdivision with the children from this neighborhood being automatically defined as college-bound by the schools. The children from the poorest section of town come into junior high school with the lowest reading scores. All children are ability grouped as soon as they enter Grade 7, and the teachers say that the elementary school they come from can be accurately predicted on the basis of the ability groups into which the kids are placed. The ability grouping strongly affects the students' self-definition. One teacher quoted the following overheard remark by one of her students: "I'm an Above-Average but not a *Super* Above-Average."

All the schools in this district were built with district, not state or Federal, funds. While the district is happy to use Federal funds there is strong resistance to state control. One administrator pointed out that the local schools in this district have never paid much attention to state requirements that they did not consider appropriate to their local situation. When asked about his response to an educational reform bill that had been passed giving the local district greater controls over curriculum, he commented, "Text books are the key anyway [for control] and that hasn't been changed; they are still provided by and prescribed by the state." An example of the resistance to state requirements is the arrangement made by one school principal for teachers of the district's classes for retarded children (which are located at his school) to teach less hours than the state minimum.

One principal of an elementary school felt that a particular district school administrator interfered too much with curriculum choices made by individual schools. A young teacher at the junior high school (who was very concerned with new curriculum, new teaching methods and programs) pointed out that this particular administrator had been hired and retained by the district because he had both experience and skill in the technical process of writing proposals for Federal funds, his other deficiencies notwithstanding.

This is in marked contrast to a conversation in Cleavland School in Ash River, where there was a stated preference by at least one teacher and one principal for using state rather than Federal funds, because of the "conditions" that accompanied the use of Federal monies, i.e., ethnic and racial desegregation. Although the State Office of Education has taken a positive position on desegregation, such conditions are not, in practice, tied to the use of state educational funds. Mapleton School District has not yet experienced a problem of ethnic segregation, but only class segregation, which is not involved in Federal funding.

Mapleton is an interesting example of a school district where local special interests are, at least now, less threatened by Federal policies than by state policies. Local special interests in Ash River, by contrast, are perceived as being threatened by both the state and the Federal policies, but less by state than Federal (Cf. Arthur School, Ash River District.)

Hayes Elementary School:

This school, according to the principal, has a "pure working class" population. He feels that Hayes School exemplifies the community image of Mapleton. The school is isolated in a working class tract of individual homes, but also buses children into it from a Federally subsidized housing area. There are many welfare parents in the Federal housing, mostly mothers with children, whose former husbands were of the same working class background as the tract residents. The majority of the teachers in this school are socially slightly above the parents of their students. They grew up in this or very similar areas and received their teacher training at local state colleges. They act as models of upward mobility for the students. They tend to be politically conservative, non-innovative in teaching, confine themselves to the basic textbooks, and are very orderly and disciplined in the classroom.

The principal stated that the biggest problem in his school had nothing to do with students, teachers or parents, but rather to keep the district office from disturbing the situation by imposing generalized changes onto local school situations. One minor problem is the large number of parents who are members of fundamentalist religious groups which have meetings at night during the week. The result is that some students come to school very tired in the mornings. Also, some of these religious parents will not allow their children to be given any medication for illnesses because it is against their beliefs. The schools in this district had released school time for religious instruction until four years ago, when it was changed to after-school religious training. There have been no complaints from these parents about teaching their children Science.

There is no active Parent Teachers Association, according to the principal, because there are no problems for parents to consider. Although some parents have been acting as lunchtime aides, this will not be done after 1968-1969 since the principal feels that the parents do not handle the students correctly and the lunch-time mistakes spill over into the rest of the school day. This principal concerns himself with problems in the neighborhood that may be affecting the school performance of the students. He states that he is maintaining a school of high quality that is giving the children the best education available in terms of the mobility aspirations of the local parents. In this he is probably correct, since the comments by parents indicate that they regard him as autocratic but think "he runs a good school." One of the key operating principles of this school is the consistent maintenance of a low-key, relaxed atmosphere. Experimentation in education is encouraged as long as it is not at the expense of this desired atmosphere. The teachers are instructed to set firm standards at the beginning of the year so that the students know exactly what is expected of them, particularly in terms of behavior. "Self-restraint, self-control, and self-discipline are what Americans have traditionally relied upon," the principal asserts.

Physical punishment is used in this school when it is considered appropriate, e.g., "a little corporal punishment to help them want to control their behavior." "Problem students" are defined as those who come to the school (usually from other communities) with "conflicts, aggressive feelings, and poor relationships with others." There was no indication that these students were perceived as members of any particular ethnic group.

At this school I had the unique opportunity of being personally escorted by the principal to each classroom to observe a few minutes of the normal routine. The teachers were not forewarned and were apparently accustomed to frequent classroom visits. The principal's stated reason for this tour was that he wanted me to see that the serene, ordered, and low-keyed atmosphere of the classroom I had been observing was not due to the particular excellence of the teacher, but was a reflection of deliberate standards maintained throughout the school. He said that the educational philosophy and policies of this school had been carefully thought out and applied and that he was prepared to justify them in detail.

One educational policy of the school of particular interest was in relation to interaction among students and between students and teachers. Since the entire school day was highly structured, including time outside of the classroom, the only time when the students could freely interact with each other was when they went to the bathroom. This was quite deliberate on the part of the school. A conscious effort was made to substitute a school-devised social order for "the natural pecking order." In line with this, the major criteria used to assign students to classrooms for the next year was on the basis of which were the most desirable combinations of students in terms of anticipated behavior. Correlated with this was the one criticism the principal made of an individual teacher. The principal was concerned because every time he observed this teacher's classroom in passing (a minimum of once a day), she was working at her desk and the students were working at their seats. He said, "She is not doing enough teaching. There is not enough interchange going on between teacher and students."

Madison Junior High School:

This school has grades 7-8 for the entire Mapleton District. The buildings are being completely remodeled, since they no longer meet the safety codes of the county. Therefore, school was being held in split sessions and classes were doubling up in large rooms. The school was definitely overcrowded. There are many students who are members of a number of "old" ethnic groups in this school but only eight Negroes.

All classes are ability grouped and departmentalized. The teachers emphasize that one of the problems of the community is that there are strong class distinctions reflected in the ability grouping. They say that the problems here are all "small town" problems, not urban or suburban. The parents and children are parochial and students reflect the narrowness and lack of knowledge of the greater world typical of a small town. Most of the teachers live in the local area and share the values of the local community. The principal pointed out that while he would welcome teaching innovations (and he has hired several non-local, experimental young teachers), the majority of his teachers do not want any curriculum changes. This principal had suggested three-hour teaching blocks, as are common in the Laurel Creek District, but the teachers by and large were uninterested in this. He assigned me the teachers that represented what he wanted, rather than those typical of the teaching staff.

The principal said that he had two major problems, the first being excessive gossip and rumors in the community. Anything that goes on in the schools in Mapleton is regarded as a matter for community comment and gossip. The second is that many of the teachers did not follow district policy concerning physical punishment. The school board directives are explicit about the controlled conditions for corporal punishment but many of the teachers feel that physical punishment is a legitimate form of discipline, and use it. (This is done at Hayes, but only by the principal.) Unless a parent complains, the principal feels he has no way to be sure that the teachers are not using this form of punishment. While school board policy states that physical punishment is to be administered only by the principal or vice principal, it also leaves it open for a teacher to use physical means to restrain or remove a pupil and, informally, when it is necessary to "save face" in front of a class.

All the Grade 7 Geography classes that I observed were taught by one innovative teacher. That he was not representative of the other teachers is indicated by the principal's remark that many of the other teachers were "shocked" by the seating arrangements in the Geography teacher's classroom (horseshoe arrangement). "They don't want him to stop that arrangement actually, but they do wonder what education is coming to." This teacher said that he wants to try team teaching but that none of the other Geography teachers were interested. They were "still teaching names of rivers and dates." In the coffee room, I heard a number of teachers complaining about their "slow students," while this teacher essentially treated all his classes the same. The main difference in his approach to different ability groupings was that he gave individual attention to the students who were having more difficulty. All ability groups had discussion in the classroom.

In the classes that I observed, the students were encouraged to "vote" on various matters. The teacher pointed out to me that he did not ask for a vote on any matter on which he could not honestly abide by the class' decision. It had to be a legitimate problem that concerned the class, not a vote on what he was teaching. I observed one classroom vote, in which the students were asked to vote on whether the class should ask questions of students who were illustrating a lesson on the overhead projector in front of the class. The teacher accepted the resulting majority opinion without question.

Another teacher talked to me about her Special Class (low IQ); she commented that all she could really do was focus on teaching them to read. Then she commented that she realized that she was teaching them to help them get through school and perhaps to give them an image of themselves as "people who can read," rather than to help them live better or to help them get jobs.

The above comment is more insightful than those of many teachers, but students are aware that most education is defined as "getting through school." The following paraphrased comments are from students (at various schools):

A high school student told an administrator that, as far as she could tell, in Kindergarten they taught you what you need for Grade 1, in Grade 1 for Grade 2, and so forth all the way through, however far you go; and then you went out and learned yourself about how to live. Education was not in her view in any way related to learning about life.

Another high school student (at Fillmore High School) said that he couldn't understand why they had to study History at all. You started in Grade 7 with the discovery of America, then went step by step until just before you graduated you were almost up to the present. Then you were out of high school and didn't know anything about the present world.

A graduating college student wrote the following on a final exam:

> "I went through grammar school, so I could go to high school; I went through high school, so I could go to college; I went through college to enable me to make enough money to stay in the middle-class system."

The above-mentioned teacher at Madison also commented that education (in our society in general and particularly in Mapleton) was still emphasizing the old agrarian values of thrift and hard work for their own sake and these values did not seem applicable to our modern society. She then added glumly that as far as she knew, all societies that got away from these agrarian values seemed to collapse, "like Rome."

Pine Grove School District

Pine Grove is a community surrounded by two cities, that retains its legal autonomy, including a fire department, a police force, and a separate school system. It is a well-to-do, older, stable, urban enclave. The vast majority of the homes are large and well kept; the residents are business executives and well paid professionals. (Tennis and golf are taught in Physical Education, particularly to girls, because "this is what their mothers play.") Many of the residents appear regularly in the society pages of the local city newspapers. 85%-95% of the Pine Grove children go directly to college, the majority to four-year colleges. Their Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, IQ, and reading achievement tests are well above the national norms. The majority of the students take part in the family-chosen religious activities, and they want more sport facilities and more social events. As a member of a community education committee stated at the end of a survey of students, "We came to the conclusion that our students are bright, have assimilated their education, the great majority enter college, and they like their school system."

Teachers commented that when they criticize their students for not studying hard enough, a common response is that the students "know they are going to make it, so why sweat it?" Parents take an interest in every curriculum change, but as a principal commented, they are also intelligent enough to understand the explanations they are given to justify such changes. One problem, mentioned numerous times by teachers, was that parents in Pine Grove find it very difficulty to admit that their children have problems on any level; educationally, physically, or psychologically. The parents emphasize competition for success. As a teacher commented, "By the time they get to school they are in some ways hard to teach because their records are spinning so fast." The students give the impression of being both very worldly and yet very narrow. They constantly test their teachers, reflecting a parental attitude in this district that teachers are rather socially inferior. Parental competitiveness and the attitude that teachers are socially inferior were illustrated by the attempt of one parent to bribe a teacher to raise his child's grades. (This is not a common practice, since its inutility is clear; Pine Grove students are given achievement and IQ tests every two years and their ranking is clear in the subsequent ability grouping.)

My notes on a conversation at a school board meeting indicate some of the attitudes of the board and the community at large towards teachers:

"The board this evening is considering the procedure to be followed in advertising for and selecting a new superintendent (the incumbent is retiring after many years in the Pine Grove District). The Board has asked for advice from M. O., a university professional educator. A board member asks Mr. O. how one makes up a statement of what the district wants in applicants for the position.

Mr. O.: "It's done many ways (including) . . .teachers make suggestions on the kind of educational program they would like the superintendent to be familiar with, the kind of person they want."

"After a long discussion on who writes the brochure and what should be included in it, interspersed with a good deal of joking as they try to plan extra board meetings that do not interfere with business trips abroad and vacations planned by board members, the board decide that all community and teacher views on the qualifications desired in a superintendent should be submitted to the board by the end of the month in order to be considered (this is the 10th of the month). In the audience, a young man, who is the representative of the teachers' association, raises his hand and comments:

Teacher: "That puts them on the spot. A lot of pressure here; that's a short time for the teachers."

Board Member: "Put them on the spot. Nothing like pressure to get things done."

Board Member 2: "If they want a voice . . ."

Board Member 3: "Makes them work harder."

Mr. O.: "The teachers have an exceptional opportunity. Not too many boards invite the staff to make suggestions. I'm sure D. (retiring superintendent) will read them with interest." (Superintendent and board members laugh.)

Later Mr. O. adds that he has offered to meet with the teacher group to 'help them decide' what they want in a superintendent."

The parents have a great deal of concern about such social items as dress regulations for the students. The girls are supposed to wear uniforms in high school, a regulation ostensibly introduced to reduce dress competition among the female students. The major subject of several board meetings this year was a revision to tighten up the dress regulations. (The girls had been rolling up skirt-bands to make miniskirts.) The following is a sample of one such discussion:

Board Member: (referring to last year's additions to the dress regulations): "What plans do the principals have for enforcement? What are the mechanics of enforcement? I would like to know the plans. They must be enforced."

Board Member 2: "We've been deficient in not spelling these areas out. It's unfortunate they have to be spelled out so specifically to get common sense applications."

Member of the audience: "Has it ever been tried to let the students control the grooming regulations? Why put the burden on the principals?"

Board Member: "We are asking the staff only to ensure that dress in school is not *daring* and *distracting*."

Board Member 2: "They have to be well groomed when they leave home. Initial pouncing should be done by the parents."

Member of the audience (in a low voice): "By the students."

As I left the meeting I heard the member of the audience who had been suggesting student control of the dress regulations say to a companion, " . . . and it certainly *was* distracting, if nothing *worse*." By the end of 1968-1969 grooming and dress regulations for girls had once again been made more strict.

There is some disagreement in the community about the kind of education they want. In 1969, many committees spent several months devising a new educational policy for the district. At the public meeting called to discuss the reports of the various committees, a petition signed by 500 dissenting residents of the community was presented to the school board. This petition, in a vein familiar in the last few years in many areas of United States life, and particularly in relation to education, called for an emphasis on discipline, a "hard-core" curriculum with no frills, released time for religious training, and increased training in manners, morals and ethics. This was a minority opinion, at least in the view of the school board. The following discussion took place after the presentation of the appointed committees' reports on educational philosophy.

Audience: "What philosophy does this replace?"

Board: "Two years ago a formal statement of philosophy was developed, mostly within the school . . . not a wide enough base of discussion and examination. Before that there was an unwritten, although academically oriented, philosophy."

High School Student: (to committee on ethics): "What if a teacher says something different to what's been taught at home or in church? Like a belief in God versus a Biology teacher teaching evolution?"

Ethics Committee: "It's the intent that counts. Teacher should give a balanced presentation and state that variances of community norms are that, and give the other side." (In a side appeal to the leader, a medical doctor, of the dissenting group, he adds, "As a medical man, you feel obliged to tell patients alternatives.")

Audience 2: "I want to speak to the question of strongly held beliefs. If we have reared our children properly, we shouldn't be worried about what one teacher can teach our child. Our family institutions should be strong enough to resist some intellectual gadfly."

A woman in the audience asked for clarification of a point in the report of the educational aims committee. The chairman quoted Whitehead as an answer. A man made a comment about the emphasis on academic preparation. A committee chairman replied: "We must emphasize academic preparation because that is what the majority of our students require. But we should not neglect the child who is not going to go to college who we must also educate."

Woman in Audience: (who identifies herself as a graduate of Pine Grove who went on to a large university): "What we need is independent thinking. I found myself in an over-sheltered position. Our students need to know this today."

Man: "The main point has been made about students who will not go on to college. What about non-college students who don't learn critical thinking and are sheltered in the home. They are sitting ducks for the first propaganda that appeals to the senses, not to the mind. They have no place to get this/ critical sense/ except in high school."

Board Member: "The committee has already dealt with this in the preamble."

Board Member 2: "Not everybody will go to college, but within ten years, by a recent government survey, a college or junior college degree will be a minimum requirement. It's no favor to give people trade orientation in high school." /_Refers to a discussion on obsolete jobs that he had brought up at last meeting./ "Academics should give you tools to keep education and give flexibility for jobs too."

Man: "We all know this is statistically true, but there are children who cannot or will not go to college. We then ignore these? Our society cannot afford to deny anyone education."

This discussion was terminated (and the question left unanswered) by a board member who spoke about how the need to "provide education in thoughtful citizenship. We're seeing a lot of unthoughtful citizenship in _______ and other places." (She named a town where there has been recent college student dissent.) The meeting turned to other problems.

At a previous meeting where a parent had brought up the problem of "slow learners" and appropriate subject matter in the curriculum, the board dealt with it by pointing out that less than 5% of Pine Grove students fell into this category, that vocational courses were often worthless except as babysitting, and that, "We have to spend the tax dollar for as many children as possible. 4.8% is quite a small proportion." This subject was then dismissed.

The above samples from school board meetings are a fair example of the educational attitudes of Pine Grove.

Approximately half the teachers in the district live in Pine Grove. Many of them are from other states and other regions of the United States. The reason is the same as at Ash River: both districts hire wives of graduate students at the colleges in the cities, retaining them for only a few years. Ash River follows this policy because their pay scale and working conditions are so inferior that they have difficulty retaining competent long-term teachers; Pine Grove hires such short-term help as a matter of stated policy: "Better to have a really sharp teacher for a year than permanent mediocre teachers." The students take good teachers as their due. They do not thank teachers for special efforts on their behalf, nor do their parents. Because the parents do not admit to imperfections in their offspring, there are no remedial teachers in the system. A "good" teacher is assumed to be competent to deal with any problems that she may encounter in a student. While they do have a secondary school counseling system, teachers are definitely encouraged to work things out with the student themselves and punishment is frowned upon. Corporal punishment is never used.

McKinley Elementary School:

As appears to be usual in this district, the school is somewhat crowded, old, but very well maintained. (Teachers regularly comment that schools are very crowded and not as well equipped as the wealth of the community should guarantee; e. g., each classroom does not have a permanently installed TV screen, some have to be shared.) All the art work in the halls is by students, with names prominently displayed. Educational TV is shown several times a week. Commercial TV is also used at lunch time when students have to eat in the room because of the weather. A teacher commented, "Why should they have to watch educational TV during their free time? TV can be used as the one-eyed baby-sitter at school as well as at home."

On my first day in this school I was informed twice by teachers and once by the school psychologist that this was not a typical Pine Grove class. This was a class in which the best students were only average in achievement and many of the students had "perceptual and learning problems." According to the teacher, dependency is high and there are some educational difficulties. After I had heard this for the third time, I was going to question the teacher on the matter, when she suddenly, in an embarrassed manner, apologized for the emphasis that had been placed on how untypical this class was. She said she suddenly realized that both she and the psychologist had been concerned with "defending the image" of Pine Grove, not because they worked in the school district but because they were residents of the community. They too had been caught in the "no imperfections here" syndrome.

All problems in this school are defined as "perceptual" or "learning" problems. There are no counselors in the elementary schools. There is no place to send a child with a problem (other than to the above-mentioned psychologist) nor any way to punish a child. To be sent to the principal is regarded as somewhat of a treat; apparently he enjoys talking to the children and welcomes them happily. There is also no way to exclude a child from the classroom. They must all, always, be included in the on-going classroom scene. The only recourse a teacher has is to ask that the child be transferred to another teacher who "deals with this kind of personality better." The children themselves have no recourses except to complain to their parents about their teachers.

Because many of the children in the class I observed were classified as having learning difficulties (major criterion for this being reading and writing ability) these students wrote stories several times a week. At the suggestion of the psychologist, these stories are corrected by the teacher, re-corrected by the student, typed by a secretary and returned to the students to be bound into a book. The teacher supplies "ideas" for these stories if necessary, but there is much more prestige attached to a pupil developing his own ideas.

It is generally agreed that there is very little problem with motivation at McKinley School. Letter grades are given beginning in Grade 1.

The teacher stated her philosophy of teaching as "getting out of the way so the kids can learn."

Classes in McKinley are not ability grouped. Within a classroom, as is usual in most schools, there are reading groups for children at different stages in their reading development. The following examples from the third day give the tone of a reading lesson at McKinley.

8:48. Teacher working with a small reading group of five students sitting in a cluster of desks at one side of the room. She asks if they have their correcting pencils (they correct their own lessons with red pencils). A girl says that she apparently got a different answer than the other students in one of the workbook questions.

Teacher: "Maybe you have a better one. Prove it to us."

Girl gives her answer.

Teacher: (to group): "That is correct also. There's not just one right answer . . . if you can give a reason."

Next answer is given.

Teacher: "Does anybody have a difference of opinion on that one?"

No. Teacher continues reading the questions and calling upon volunteers for the answers. She says again, "If you have a difference of opinion, just let us know; a difference of meaning. We can't be sure we'll use the exact same words. Ginny, how did you say it?"

(While teacher is working with this small group, the rest of the class are at their seats doing various assignments in their workbooks.)

8:55. Lesson continues. Teacher explains the meaning of new or unfamiliar words as they go through the lesson. She occasionally turns around to glance at a boy who talks a lot. Finally she starts the group on their workbooks and goes around the class helping anyone who raises their hand. Four boys who have finished their workbook assignment go to a table at the front of the room that has plastic casts of bones, a large workable model of a human eye, and various other things to look at an manipulate. Teacher begins reading lesson with Group 2. She elicits the names of the characters in the story by questions and writes them on the board.

9:12. Teacher: "Do you think these are true stories?"

Group: "No."

Teacher: "How did you know they weren't?"

Girl: "Animals can't talk." She adds other details. (Teacher uses phrases like, "What do you think?" and "How did it happen?")

9:18. Group 2 is talking about dogs, stimulated by a dog in the story. Teacher talks about her dog and the things he does. (Three boys are at the table in front; one boy is at the bookcase looking at a book.)

Lesson continues. There are now six students at the table. Teacher speaks to one boy at table and tells him that he is supposed to be reading. Group 2 are correcting their workbooks. Rest of class are quietly working with occasional low comments.

9:24. Teacher now working with Group 3. They are taking turns reading the questions from their workbooks. Teacher reminds the group at the table what the rule is: "O.K. after lessons are done _if_ you are quiet enough not to disturb the rest of the class. If I hear you, you're going to have to sit down. If you're over there just to talk to each other . . ."

9:30. Group 3 working with Teacher. Students at table are talking too loud. Teacher tells them pleasantly, that all those who are standing must take their seats. (There are only three chairs.) They do.

Lesson continues. When a student is reading and hesitates on a word, the other students raise their hand if they want to supply the word.

The people in Group 1 have all finished their assignment. Two are now writing words on the board, for their own pleasure. Three are at the bookcase looking through books.

9:35. Teacher working with Group 3 on new assignment. Group 1 is now taking down pictures over the blackboard and writing on the board. Group 2 students are either at the table or still working on their lessons at their desks. The room is getting noisier.

9:44. Teacher: "You people who are at the blackboard be sure you're whispering so that none can hear you but your neighbor."

(Teacher walks over to the table, picks up the eye model two boys are looking at and sets it on a different table. The boys follow her. It is safer and less crowded there. This was done without a word.)

9:46. Group 3 lesson continues. All the eight students in the group are participating _eagerly_: hands waving, arguing about correct answers, questioning each other's comments. This is the slowest reading group.

(Teacher comes over to me and comments that when the talking started it bothered her a lot but didn't bother the kids, they kept right on with their lesson. That is true.)

9:50. One boy still looking at eye. Another at front table.

9:51. Teacher walks to her desk and rings a small bell. She asks the class if the bell is loud enough. (This is the "attention" bell: very soft.) Teacher tells students to take their seats and clear their desks for spelling.

Garfield Junior High School:

In Pine Grove District I heard a number of the younger teachers comment on their feelings of guilt associated with working in such a "problem-free" district rather than in a "ghetto school." However, they ruefully added that not only was it more comfortable here but, in general, they got far more backing from the school administration and far less interference in their teaching than they did in many other districts. The teachers, once hired, are assumed to be "professionals" and neither punch time clocks, as they do in Ash River, nor submit daily lesson plans. With verbal, confident students forming the majority in Pine Grove, it is unlikely that a teacher could long perform on a level below the standards of the district without this fact coming to the attention of the parents. One teacher neatly summarized her position as a teacher in Pine Grove by pointing out that since she had the same kind of training, background, and pressures to succeed as the Pine Grove children, she felt that she was in a good position to open up and shake up the minds of these "leaders of tomorrow."

Garfield School is in direct association with the high school so that the transition between junior high school and senior is smooth. The older students are constantly visible for the younger students to emulate and some teachers feel that this helps to encourage "mature social behavior" among the younger students. The physical setting is elegant; the school is surrounded by large well kept houses; there are extensive tennis courts. Adjacent to the school is a beautifully wooded recreational area and directly across the street is a community club with a swimming pool. Inside the school itself, the halls are lined with reproductions of great paintings. There are also many travel posters.

Students in Garfield Junior High School are ability grouped as accelerated, high average, and low average. The last two groups are carefully mixed so that there is overlap in each class. The accelerated students, particularly in Math and English, tend to form a group in certain classes. At Garfield I observed four English classes, one Science class, a Spanish class, and a girls' Physical Education. One of the English teachers was superb. She was young and beautiful, wore sandals and a very plain skirt and "T" shirt. She had soft, but clear, speech, and I never heard her raise her voice or get angry. She treated each student with tact and respect. When she had occasion to reprimand a student, she leaned over and spoke to them so softly that no one else could hear. All her directions were precise and clear. Her classes were interesting and the students were interested. The second English teacher was young and pretty, inexperienced, harsh voiced, and punitive; she spent a great deal of class time trying to make the students be quiet; and she was confusing in her directions and rigid in her teaching. Her classes were exceedingly boring and the students were bored. The first teacher told me that the students were fine, although a little narrow because of their community and training. She said they were usually a pleasure to work with. The second teacher told me that the students were arrogant and self-centered,

9

and contemptuous of teachers; and that she hated teaching them. She added that two girls were picking on her, which seemed to be true.

The Spanish teacher had exquisite timing. Her class zipped along through the period with no time for anyone to become bored or restless. Garfield has a language laboratory with individual listening booths and earphones for each student. The class was conducted almost entirely in Spanish.

There are three Grade 7 activities for girls' Physical Education: Volleyball (a pre-training for basketball); Paddletennis (pre-training for tennis); and Movement Fundamentals (pre-training for dance). In the Physical Education classes the teachers assume that the students will do what they are supposed to, e.g., take a shower if they need it, and no one checks them.

The Science class that I observed can be summarized by one student's statement about the class. On the third day, just before the Science class began, a student asked me what I actually wrote about. (On a previous day he had asked what kind of research project it was.) I said, "I write about what you are learning." The student said, "Well, mostly, he just asks us to ask questions." At the end of this Science period the teacher's last statement was, "O.K., any other questions before we stop?" (The lesson had been on cells.)

Student: "Gee, the period went fast!"

Porter County School:

This is a custodial institution to which children from the ages of 8 to 18 are brought for a variety of reasons. The younger children are not necessarily delinquents; they may be children whose parents have deserted them, abused them, are in jail or under arrest. Most of these younger children go to the regular public schools of the district within which the county facility is located, and the county pays the district. The teachers decide, on the basis of information from the children's previous schools and their probation officers, which children are to go to public schools.

The older children are here for various delinquencies ranging from regular crimes, as theft, assault and arson, to family-caused problems in which parents cannot handle their offspring. They have their classes in the facility.

The average length of time that children stay at the holding facility is three to four weeks; then they are sent to foster homes, regular custodial facilities, or are returned home. Many of them return here often until they are 18.

The buildings look like any institution, including most schools, but the inside they are shabby and overcrowded. The biggest educational problem is the fast student turnover. Consequently, each day is treated as a separate educational unit. Going to class is mandatory, but pressure in the classroom is deliberately minimal. No more than 30 minutes a day in the classes that I observed were devoted to academic subjects. Students mostly played various games, watched films, and talked about "jails I have know." Most of the students do not get along well in the public schools and few have a desire to continue their classroom work during the period they are in Porter County. One experienced teacher at the school estimated that one out of 50 of the students that come here are doing well in their regular public schools. The general attitude of the students toward school is that they hate it, they expect to do badly, they do badly, and it is totally irrelevant to their lives. One the other hand, although they will be furnished with their regualr books and assignments if they request them, little encouragement is given to students to make such requests.

There are no Federally funded education programs. There is no one in the position to get such funds who is interested in writing applications. During my observation period the facility was particularly overcrowded. The explanation I was given by one teacher was that at this time of year (early October) the tensions increase among the children at public school as they realize that it is "the same old shit" and that any illusions they may have entertained over the summer that this school year my be different are dispelled.

The policy of the facility and the school is group participation versus individualism. "These kids have to learn how to get along socially with each other." Therefore, a classroom is composed of a small group of students of various ages and levels of development, who will be staying approximately the same amount of time. Ordinarily this calls for a good deal of individual instruction. In practice, they are treated as a group, which means that education consists of movies and games; I saw seven movies in three days.

The relations between the teachers and their students is essentially a non-reciporcal joking relationship along the lines as those in Fillmore High School in Ash River. It is essentially a non-reciprocal because the students are aware that the authority lies with the teachers. The following example is from the second day:

10:35. Before the students come back into the class from their break, the teacher is telling me that the kids get restless whenever they are switched to new counselors. "They take it upon themselves to wonder why, instead of minding their own business."

Students come in. Teacher stands in front waiting for them to settle down.

Teacher: "On chairs!" (Several are standing or leaning on desks.)

Teacher: "We're waiting." (One boy is sitting on his desk.)

Teacher: "I don't want to exert my authority."

Student: "Can I move my chair; it's cold by the window."

Teacher: "Your're trying to manipulate me."

Student: "I'm asking you something, not manipulating."

Sycamore School District

At various times within the last ten years, Sycamore City has been characterized as "the All American City" by a national civic association and as a "depressed area" by the Federal government because of its high rate of unemployment, particularly of the non-white work forces. The racial composition of the schools is roughly 50% black, mostly the children of people who have immigrated since 1940 from rural Southern communities. There is a high rate of mobility between the schools within the city and great differences in racial composition within the schools. There are schools, both elementary and secondary, where the student body is nearly 100% black and schools where the student population is almost 100% white. There is an almost perfect correlation with the geography of the city: the higher the altitude, the greater the percentage of white students in the schools. Racial balance is approached midway to the hills. This is slightly above the location of the junior high school at which I observed in Sycamore District.

I did not observe a Grade 4 nor a Grade 11 in Sycamore District, although I requested observations at both. The problem in connection with Grade 4 resulted from an initial impression that I wished a Grade 3 class. When I arrived at the school, the mistake could not be immediately corrected. There were no Grade 4 teachers who wished to have observations of their class. Although I asked the principal to let me know if he could not find a Grade 4 class within a week, he was unable or unwilling to do so. When I sent the request to the district office, they expressed willingness, but did nothing about the problem. Since it was late in the school year (the process of obtaining official permission and arranging the schools was extraordinarily slow), it was impossible to make any further arrangements.

Grade 11 presented a different problem. I did not request permission for this until after January 1st. (The earlier negotiations started in September.) Permission was refused "because of the already heavy burden on teachers because of research projects." A letter was written to the district by the principal investigator, a policy we had used when I was initially refused permission to observe in the Cedar Point District. This was followed by a phone call to the district. At this time it was made clear that the principal at the selected high school did not wish observations to be conducted in his school. A suggestion that I would accept a different high school in the district was not followed up by the district. Again, the school year drew to a close with no action on my request.

There are probably a number of reasons for this failure to obtain permission to observe in these schools. The bureaucratic structure in Sycamore District which processes such requests is overworked and somewhat unwieldy. The community is undergoing rapid transition and the school system as a whole is neither keeping pace with this nor comfortable with the new problems with which it has been presented. There has been a very large amount of tension in the school system: confrontations and violence on the part of students; confrontations between teachers' organizations and the school board; confrontations between the administration and parents' groups, etc. Requests to do research may be regarded as an imposition and a burden by the current administration. An investigation of the Sycamore School District, published in early 1968, which was carried out by a combination of professional state and national teacher organizations commented on the sense of discouragement, apathy, and in some cases indifference of the school system in the face of major educational problems. There has been a general tendency on the part of the school board and the administration to minimize the seriousness of the educational problems in the district. Consequently, there is probably a reluctance to encourage any kind of research that might increase the focus on problems. This seems particularly likely since the investigation also noted an overemphasis and overconcern on the part of the district with "discipline problems." An administration which is putting more effort into "keeping the lid on" than into devising new and better programs is not in a frame of mind to actively encourage outside research in their district.

Van Buren Junior High School:

All schools in the Sycamore District follow the same curriculum. The style of the school and teaching quality and the student body vary a great deal. Van Buren, in "A Brief Picture of Our School," a brochure prepared for distribution to parents, is " . . . considered to be a typical cosmopolitan high school. In practically any survey test given, our results proximate national norms." The school boundaries include both stable middle class residential areas and a highly transient, ethnically and racially mixed area. The student population is 54% various ethnic minorities and 47% white.

The school is old and crowded but very clean and well maintained. It is located on a busy thoroughfare next to a mixture of inexpensive homes and small businesses. The campus is closed; there are large "Quiet" signs in the halls. Several teachers commented that there are "too many rules." All classes are ability grouped; consequently, de facto segregation by classroom is common. Although the brochure says that: "Democratic experiences in self-government are provided through our class officers, our Student Council, Student Cabinet, and homeroom organization," it is the Student Human Relations Council and the Black Student Union who seem to be most vigorously trying to make changes in the school. However, this school has yet experienced no "confrontations" between the students and the administration. I was given two reasons for this: "Our kids talk about what's bothering them to the teachers," and "The Presidents of the Student Body for the last five years have been minority kids."

The principal defined the school's problems as primarily a matter of being understaffed on the administrative level: not enough custodial and office help, and not enough counselors. In addition, he commented that there were some discipline problems. He did not say what students caused these problems, but immediately added that , "this used to be an all white neighborhood."

I observed all English classes in this school, with two different teachers. They were both student-oriented, and in fact were both part of a small group of teachers within the school who defined themselves as socially radical and innovative in their teaching. One of the group said that what distinguished them from the other teachers and the administration was primarily that they liked children.

My overall impression of the classes was their dullness. (I kept falling asleep during classes.) The teachers were pleasant enough, and in one class which had a student teacher who was conducting the lesson, they were doing a potentially interesting lesson. involving making a collage. There was, however, an air of disinterest on the students' part, a lack of any involvement, an attitude of "what has this got to do with me?" The teachers were friendly to the students; they talked to them, but there was no involvement. Part of it may be accounted for by the conventional structure of teaching. That is, each period is 50 minutes, the first few minutes of which are always spent getting organized and the last few cleaning up. There never seemed to be time enough to really get into anything. On the other hand, most students seemed to get bored relatevely quickly. Perhaps there was not enough variety. My classroom protocols from this school do not show anything except that the students came in, were reminded or told what to do, did it, and were told what the homework and/or next day's assignment was. It was simply dull.

Christian School in Sycamore:

This private religious school (Grades 1-8) is within the geographical boundaries of Sycamore. According to the Superintendent of the Christian Schools, from whom I obtained the initial permission to observe, the school is located in a neighborhood that is in transition from middle to lower class. The majority of the children in the school, both black and white, have working class parents, although there are few children of professionals. The teaching staff is both religious and secular. Two of the secular staff are from other countries. They both commented that they did not want to teach in the United States public schools because there were too many problems. As the principal of Christian School said, their school does not have the problems that the public schools have (although they have some of their own, such as no money for reading specialists or psychologists). For example, there are no dress problems, uniforms are required; there are no discipline problems; there is maximum politeness towards adults reuired at all times; there are no problems with parents: if the latter do not agree with the school, they are encouraged to withdraw their children; there are no sex problems; although the classes are of mixed sexes, they are separated in seating arrangements and separate standards of proper behavior are taught for boys and girls. There are no mixed parties allowed for Christian School students until the formal mixed sex party for Grade 8 graduation. On the whole, parents agree with school policy on these matters.

An administrator in the Christian School System central office who interviewed me later, said that individual Christian Schools have far more autonomy than regular public schools, since principals are allowed to make their own decisions and that they were far "better" than public schools since they would never allow the problems of students wanting authority and creating chaos.

The school, which is an old brick building, adjoins the church. The school is spotlessly clean with few decorations except religious ones. Prayers are held four times a day in elementary classes, twice a day in secondary classes. Students are rarely in the halls without an accompanying teacher. No talking is permitted in the classrooms or halls without permission. All actions are done as a group, on the teacher's command: "rise," "sit," "go outside," etc. There is no place in the school for unstructured behavior. The result is an air of quiet decorum under all circumstances.

Classrooms are crowded. Grade 4 had 39 students, Grade 7 had 36. While this is above the state maximum (35) and somewhat more than the average public school in my sample (which averaged ca. 29), they had an average of 50 children in each classroom until two years ago, so the teachers felt this was a real improvement. The teaching depended heavily on rote learning. The standard classroom technique was question-and-answer. Textbooks are a mixture of standard education series from various companies and textbooks put out by the Church specifically for use in Christian Schools across the nation. The Grade 4 Science book is titled, "Living in God's World," and contains such statements as the following:

"God gave animals a higher kind of life than plants."

"The earth was made by God. He made it as part of the universe. God always was. We do not think of God as old. God gave the earth its place in the universe. We do not think of God as being in any one place. He is in all places. God takes up no space. He is a spirit." (This was in a chapter on how old the world is.)

Section on Foods and health:

Rule 6- "Be sure to say grace before and after each meal. We ought to tell God how grateful we are for our food."

Questions at end of lesson:

1. Make up a prayer thanking God for your food.

2. Name some of the uses you\ body makes of food.

Religion is taught as a daily subject in all classes. The classes also go as a group to church services on special religious days.

The problems that the principal stated were: no specialists (a serious problem in her opinion); not enough money; and no vocational programs. She commented that the majority of her students would not be going to college but were getting no training for jobs either.

The following is a sample of an English lesson on the third day in Grade 7:

11:30. The History lesson has just ended. The class stands and in unison thanks the History teacher as she leaves. The regular teacher is also formally greeted as she enters. Teacher explains that today the class is to work at group compositions. They will be given pictures to discuss in groups; they will then work individually on compositions and tomorrow will come together in groups again and write a group composition from the individual efforts. Teacher says that she will be looking for unity, coherrence, capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and sentence structure. She adds that some of the pictures are definitely for boys, some for either boys or girls. Teacher holds up each picture for the class. They are fine examples from magazines of 1940s advertising are and include: a boy with his dog, fishing; a girl with baby chicks at a rural mail-box; a boy buying food for his dog; a rural scene with a little girl; and a boy and a girl for a soup ad. The teacher apparently was fond of the pictures. She pointed out which ones were appropriate for boys or girls to write about and commented lovingly on the facial expressions in the pictures; the class did not comment.

11:40. Teacher had monitors collect a picture for each of the six groups. Teacher says they have 12 minutes to discuss the pictures; then go to desks and write compositions. "Do not put a title on, that's a corporate thing tomorrow."

11:44. Students: "Can we write about the future?" Teacher consents, grudgingly. Teacher then comments to class: "Ideas are not the important thing; structure is the important thing."

12:01. Students are back in their individual seats. Teacher has the monitor for each group stand in front of the class and explain what their group has decided to do with the picture

(In my class notes I observed that the Teacher cross-examines each monitor, makes them share their idea with the class and always comments. Even when the suggestions are good she makes a mildly derogatory comment. I wondered whether she was trying to prevent their suffering from the sin of pride. The students' suggestions were as bland as the pictures. Since I can't presume their minds were this bland, I note how well they have adapted to the demands of the Christain school education.)

Willow Bend School District

According to figures published this year, 3/4 of the residents of Willow Bend earn more than $10,000 per year. There are 17 Negroes within the town limits. It is a residential town with light industry, and is regarded by the inhabitants as proudly middle class. The school population has been stabilized for a number of years since there is no place to build new homes within the community. There is a section "below the tracks," composed primarily of a stable, long extablished ethnic minority who are some of the oldest residents of the community. They are regarded as "rather poor but decent." There is also an elite section populated by professionals, doctors, lawyers, and successful businessmen. An administrator, discussing problems, said that with the older students the biggest problems are pregnancy and drug use. The local newspaper is hostile to the schools, and teachers feel they have low status in the community. A third problem is that the district has to check registration very carefully, since a number of parents who live in the adjacent large city falsify addresses so their children can go to Willow Bend to school and avoid going to school with minority children. A recent student proposal to the school board that 60 racial minority secondary students be imported into the high schools of Willow Bend next year was unanimously rejected.

This is a conservative town and a conservative school district. There is great emphasis in the district as a whole on how "bright" the students are, but this emphasis is not correlated with an emphasis on students going to college. One teacher commented that bright students are not really encouraged to work very hard. She stated that "the cult of the mediocre" characterizes this district. The district does not encourage "leaders." She added, "No outstanding people in our society have ever come out of this district." There is general agreement that the district administration and the parents are essentially anti-academic in their approach to education. The district does not have a well-developed vocational education program either.

Interestingly, a number of teachers in Willow Bend made comments identical to those made by teachers in Pine Grove. "The community is complacent." "Teachers have low status in this community." "The parents here do not acknowledge that there are any problems." "This community is terribly insular; the students and the parents are unaware of the problems in the rest of the country." "For a community with so much money, they certainly are reluctant to spend it on education." Willow Bend and Pine Grove are respectively middle status and upper status. Thus, the community insularity cannot be said to be class-associated.

Willow Bend is further designated as having an attitude of apathy and anti-academicism toward education. Many of the teachers say that the school board is conservative, over-cautious, timid, and resistant to educational change.

Harrison School:

Harrison School has grades Kindergarten through 7. It is the elementary school for a self-contained community called by the residents "The Tract." The entire tract was built approximately 11 years ago and was filled within five months by families who all had to meet the same financial requirements. It has suffered very little of the physical and social deterioration which is often associated with such tracts. With the exception of some newly-built high-rise apartment buildings, the residents all have roughly similar incomes, political views, age, and interests (PTA, Dad's Club, Boy Scouts, Little League, Bowling Club, camping, fishing, and a strong emphasis on sports). The tract is ethnically mixed, with one ethnic group being the "old settlers" in this area. There is some discrimination on the basis of skin color. The school population has been decreasing because residents do not move out as they get older. Real estate prices are very high in Willow Bend and people tend to stay where they are. The majority of the men work as skilled union personnel in technical jobs. There are also a large number of military families and employees from a nearby military base. Some idea of residential stability may be indicated by the fact that every student in the school has a home phone number listed. The principal said that he had never encountered this in any other school. There are only a few college educated parents in the tract. Many of the residents are Catholic and send their children to public school for Kindergarten and then to the local parochial school, which is only a few blocks from the public school. The school has released time for religious instruction, particularly when children are getting ready for confirmation, in Grades 6-7. However, the majority of children take religious instruction after school, since the parents generally feel that school time should be spent on basic education.

All the classes in the school are heterogenous in terms of ability, except for some grouping done for special math and reading problems. This minimal ability-grouping is not presented to the students as revealing their stupidity or inabilities. The presentation is to cite, an actual statement, "Miss James is going to teach you the kind of arithmetic you need, Honey."

The relations between teachers and students are generally warm and friendly. Although the students are expected to use correct manners and other forms of behavior, indicating their recognigion of the respect due to authority, there is a general tone of indulgence: "They're just kids." Many of the teachers state that the parents are over-permissive and over-indulgent. As one administrator said, "Boy, you should see the traffice jam in front of the school on a rainy day. You'd think the kids would melt if they walked a couple of blocks."

The following is a sample from the Grade 4 classroom:

9:32. The teacher (a thirtyish, pleasant but firm man) introduces me to his class (as a matter of respect to the pupils, he told me). He has previously informed them that I would be observing. The students are very friendly and one of the boys pulls out my chair for me.

9:35. Teacher is sitting on his desk, drilling a group of students with flash-cards. Some students are working at their seats, some at a table near where I am sitting. Students are moving their desks around and carrying a number of animated conversations.

9:37. Teacher: "Girls, slow it down." (They were giggling with each other.)

9:39. Teacher: "People, listen . . . listen." (He claps his hands lightly.) "You're not listening."

Teacher gives instructions.

Teacher: "John . . . Son, please. Don't do anything until I tell you to start."

Teacher gives instructions on moving desks, putting away materials, and getting ready for reading. The students do what he says. They are talking and laughing but willingly follow his instructions.

Teacher: "The only people I want to see up are the group captains."

The group captains pass out reading books.

9:43. Teacher: "I expect to see everybody busy. Start getting quiet. Start using your "inside voices." (He lowers his voice to a very soft tone.)

9:44. The room is very quiet with only an occasional low murmur. Students go to teacher and ask him questions in a low voice. They sharpen their pencils, exchange books, and the like, with no comment from the teacher. The teacher sits with various students at their desk to help them with their reading (at their request).

9:50. Teacher comes to where I am sitting and asks if I would like comments on what is going on. He explains: "This is independent work. You'll see a lot of walking about and that kind of thing. They know what they are doing. I only guide and direct and answer serious questions."

The class continues working quietly until recess.

9:58. Teacher tells class to put away their books. The girls line up at the door.

Teacher: "Let's see if the boys can come more quietly than the girls."

(the boys line up very quietly, many on tiptoe.)

Teacher: "Girls, see how nice the boys are. We're going to let them out first. All right, Gentlemen" (class goes out for recess).

Harrison School, Grade 7:

The parents approve of keeping Grade 7 at the level elementary schools because they feel it keeps the children socially immature longer. The teachers dislike this system because there are no decent facilities for Science and Physical Education at the neighborhood school. Ability grouping is introduced as soon as the students go to the secondary schools, in Grade 8. The combining of grade 7 with elementary grades is changing because the current crop of 7th graders are regarded as too mature for the elementary schools, "too hard to handle," as one teacher said, and need to be where they can use older, more mature students as models.

Parents here educationally pressure their children a great deal but the pressure is in terms of "finishing school" (high school) and the primary emphasis is on the students' behavior in the school. The parents almost invariably support the school in discipline matters. A teacher commented that most of his students were just average and the parents really were not committed to education in general; they value it mostly in direct relationship to getting jobs.

The parents also pressure their children to participate in sports. The general feeling on the part of teachers is that the students do not see how education relates to the models of life presented by their parents. There is a strong emphasis in the school on manners, how to be "ladies and gentlemen," and a strongly enforced moral code related to swearing, lying, rudeness, and the like. It is a very genteel school with quiet halls.

I went on a field trip with all the seventh graders. It was a 30 mile bus trip to see a movie which related (loosely) to some of the curriculum in Grade 7 History. The students sang loudly both ways on the trip. The accompanying teachers made no effort to quiet them, although they did insist they sit down for safety. When one boy started an anti-school song, the teacher sitting with me said nothing to the student, but commented laughingly to me that she wondered if they realized that she had sung that same song in school 30 years ago. She added, "I don't suppose they'd believe that if I told them."

Identification With Schools

Three of the nine elementary schools that I observed strove, as a matter of conscious policy, to create a very strong identification of the students with the school: Hayes (Mapleton), Wilson (private secular in Cedar Point), and Hoover (Laurel Creek). The Christian School policy was based on the students' identification with their religion, of which the school was presented as the representative. Harrison School in Willow Bend and McKinley School in Pine Grove were concerned with the students' loyalty to the school, but in both cases the students' ties to their local community and their families overrode any close identification with the school. At Taft (Cedar Point), and Cleavland (Ash River), there was no expectation that the students would have strong positive feeling about the school. At Arthur (Ash River), as would be expected from other school policies, the school was acknowledged to be a major target for hostility on the part of both students and parents.

The degree of identification of the students with their school, and the schools expectation of such identification, is directly related to the specific attitudes of the parents to the role of the school in relation to their children's future.

Hayes School provides the means for upward socio-economic mobility for students.

Wilson School is an "enviorment" and a means for individual development for upper status students.

Hoover School is an "enviorment" and a means for individual development for upper status students.

Harrison School is not really relevant to the parents' life-style and aspirations for their children.

McKinley School is technically necessary but not nearly as significant as the social status of the parents for their children's future.

Cleavland School - parents are not really convinced that the school can or will positively affect their children's future.

Arthur School is a representative of hostile repressive social institutions.

Taft School must provide "high-quality education." To the degree that the school is perceived as providing this, parents regard it positively.

State Minimum Requirements: Grades 4-12: 240 minutes

Special High School: 180 minutes

Minutes	Grade 4
280	Christian School
285	Arthur
295	Hayes
300	Cleavland
300	McKinley
300	Hoover
300	Wilson
310	Taft
310	Harrison

Minutes	Grade 7
180	Porter County
210 (double session)	Madison
280	Christian School
305	Jefferson
310	Harrison
315	Polk
330	Monroe
350	Van Buren
355	Garfield
355	Tyler

Minutes	Grade 11
180	Fillmore
365	Lincoln
380	Buchanan

Cleavland School

Grade 4

Variable	
8:50	Opening exercises (Pledge and song)
9:00	Reading
10:10	Recess
10:30	Arithmetic
11:30	English
12:10	Lunch
1:00	Art
1:30	Science or History
2:00	Recess
2:10	(Basketball - Wednesday-Chorus - Library, once a week)
2:45	Physical Education
3:05	Dismissal

Arthur School

Grade 4

Variable	
8:55	Opening Exercise (Pledge and Sharing)
9:10	Reading (10 minutes, Handwriting)
10:20	Recess
10:45	Arithmetic
11:50	Spelling
12:10	Lunch
1:05	Story
1:20	Science or History
1:45	Physical Education
2:05	English (Health once a week)
2:40	Art (usually) Music - biweekly
3:00	Dismissal

McKinley School

Grade 4

8:40	Opening Exercises (Pledge)
8:45	Reading (Library once a week)
9:45	Spelling
10:00	Creative Writing
10:45	Recess
11:00	Arithmetic (Riddles)
12:00	Lunch
1:00	Social Studies
2:00	Recess
2:10	Physical Education
2:30	Science
3:10	Dismissal

Christian School

Grade 4

8:30	Opening Exercises (Prayers)
8:35	Religion
9:15	Reading
10:15	Recess
10:35	Singing
10:55	Arithmetic (Library Skills, Tuesday)
11:45	Social Studies
12:15	Lunch
1:05	Opening Exercises (Prayers and Pledge)
1:10	Alternate subjects: Monday, Science; Art, Wednesday, Folk Dances, Thursday; Literature, Tuesday and Friday
1:50	English
2:20	Spelling, Writing
2:45	Closing Exercises (Prayers)

Hayes School

Grade 4

8:30	Opening Exercises (outside) Pledge Sharing
8:40	Reading
9:35	English
10:00	Recess
10:20	Spelling
10:50	Arithmetic
11:25	Science
11:40	Handwriting
11:55	Riddles
12:05	Lunch
1:05	Story
1:25	Art Music: 20 minutes twice a week (teacher comes in)
2:00	Study
2:15	Physical Education
2:40	Notices, etc.
2:45	Dismissal

Hoover School

Grade 4

8:30	Opening Exercise (Pledge and Song)
8:40	Geography or History (Social Studies)
9:20	Arithmetic
10:00	Recess
10:20	Spelling
10:45	Creative Writing or English
11:20	(Music twice a week)
11:45	Physical Education
12:25	Lunch
1:20	Art (Story, Study) (1:40: Science twice a week)
2:00	Recess
2:15	Reading (including plays) (Library once a week)
2:55	Dismissal

Jefferson School

Grades 5 - 8

9:00 - 9:15	Opening (Pledge, Song, News reports)
9:15 - 10:00	Quiet Study Period (Language, Reading, English, Spelling)
10:00 - 10:15	Grade Groups - Leader Help (Language, Reading, English, Spelling)
10:15 - 10:30	Recess
10:30 - 11:15	Quiet Study Period (Arithmetic, Science, Health)
11:15 - 11:45	Grade Groups - Leader Help (Arithmetic, Science, Health)
11:45 - 12:00	Monday, Wednesday, Friday: Spanish Tuesday, Thursday: Music
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 1:15	Great Music, Poetry, and Quiet Study Period
1:15 - 1:45	Monday, Wednesday, Friday: Social Studies Tuesday: Movies Thursday: Research and Library
1:45 - 1:50	Break
1:50 - 2:00	Famous Stories
2:00 - 2:30	Interest Groups (Drama, Art, Debate) Friday: dance to records
2:30 - 2:45	Academic/Social Evaluation (Plan homework, record progress)
2:45 - 3:10	Physical Education
3:10 - 3:15	Closing and Dismissal

Wilson School

Grade 4

	(extremely variable)
9:00	Spanish
9:30	Social Studies (library once a week)
10:15	Sharing
10:30	Outside Time
11:00	Variable
11:30	Math
12:00	Lunch
12:30	Reading (independent)
1:00	Book Reports
1:30	Outside Time
2:00	Art (painting, sculpture)
2:30	Music (three times a week)
3:00	Dismissal

Harrison School

Grade 4

8:45	Opening Exercises (Pledge, Sharing)
8:55	Math
9:45	Reading
10:00	Recess
10:10	Reading (Library, once a week)
11:10	English
11:40	Lunch
12:30	Art (by homeroom teacher) Music (Wednesday and Friday; separate music teacher)
1:00	Science
1:25	Recess
1:35	History
2:25	Physical Education
2:50	Drawing or Story
3:05	Dismissal

"Ever since I can remember I've wanted to be opinionated. I've wanted to hold opinions about things and expound on my opinions in a factual and clear-cut manner. Being oriented in this direction, I would favor viewing things in a black and white fashion. I attempted doing this for about three years and I envied people who could do it successfully."

From the final examination
of a State College Student

Training for Opinions:

"Every man has a right to his opinions"

In June, 1969, an incident in a school in a small town in Massachusetts was recounted on the front page of newspapers across the nation. United States citizens in the last two years have become inured to the blazoning of local school incidents in the national press since, as one high school principal said, in referring to the new stances by teachers and students, "This is the age of the Militant Inquirer." I focus on this incident only because it exemplifies (among many other examples) the central theme in this chapter.

A grade 7 teacher in the Massachusetts school assigned her students the problem of writing an essay in answer to the question of whether the United States should be involved in the war in Viet Nam; the students were to state a position pro or con. This is a typical essay assignment at this grade level in United States schooling. One student whose brother had been killed in Viet Nam responded with a paper that deplored the war and draft card burning (both of which she stated upset her). The teacher failed her composition and added a written comment asking the student whether the war was worth her brother's life and added, "Maybe he should have burned his draft card." The issue of the teacher's ideological commitments and the resulting moral indignation of the community are not the point of major interest for my purpose here (although they are not unrelated to the educational climate of our times). The reason the teacher gave for her comment is of central interest. She said, "I couldn't tell from her essay whether she was for or against the war."

United States citizens are expected to have opinions, and to state these opinions when they are asked for by appropriate people. The reason individuals hold particular opinions is essentially irrelelvant, compared to the importance of stating opinions at the culturally-designated appropriate times. These statements of opinion are most usually tabulated. The use of the results of such tabulation is considered to be, on the whole, separate from the duty to express the opinions. Opinions can be "right" or "wrong". There is little acceptance, however, for the position that a particular subject does not allow for the statement of a definite position or that the respondent lacks sufficient data for an intelligent answer. Although some of the common forms for opinion expression, like polls, often provide a category called "I don't know" or "undecided", this category seems to be regarded as a representation of those persons who have not fully accepted their social responsibilities as citizens. The necessity to have opinions is related to the United States national concept of citizen participation in the political processes of a democracy. It is a basic assumption underlying our political forms. How can one vote if he is not willing to take a stand? Thus, from one perspective, opinion-training can be called "training for participation in the forms and eitquette of U. S. political life." The following description of the acceptable forms for opinion expression and the examples of how these forms are used in the in the classroom are all "accidental" in that the sample was not designed to elicit specifically this kind of information. Observation of History, Social Studies and Current Events classes in which political forms are often part of the formal content of the curriculum would give greater depth to the analysis. On the basis of the 22 classrooms in the sample however, it appears that the necessity to have opinions, the areas in which opinions are appropriate, and the approved forms for expressing such opinions are basic subject matter in the schools.

Forms and Etiquette

Voting--on issues, representatives or preference--is used in many of the classrooms in my sample. The form includes the following criteria: one vote per individual; no sex discrimination; a limited number of choices; and, in elementary schools and often in other schools, voting by a show of hands rather than by secret ballot.

Commonly, voting is used to decide procedures within the classroom, as will be clear from the following examples. The suggestion to vote on a classroom matter and the choices offered may come from teachers or students.

EXAMPLE 1

Polk Junior High School - Laurel Creek School District

Language Arts Class - Grade 7

A student suggested that "problem cards" used by individual students in their English lessons should be filed in a box on the teacher's desk, so that students could examine them at any time. Several members of the class had other preferences, such as individuals keeping the cards on their own desk. After an animated discussion the teacher said, "It has been proposed that . . ." and wrote three of the student suggestions on the board. A vote was taken, by a show of hands, on each suggestion. Some of the students changed their minds during the course of the vote and voted on more than one suggestion. The teacher observed, "We have a climbing vote here." (She did not explain this term. The students were obviously already familiar with the concept.) The teacher suggested that the class re-vote, adding that one vote per person was the rule. Three students declined to vote (stating formally that they were declining) and, after further discussion on the merits and demerits of the various suggestions, another vote was taken. The majority vote was that the cards should be placed on the teacher's desk. The teacher said the card-box would be placed on her desk the following day.

EXAMPLE II

Lincoln High School - Laurel Creek School District

History Class - Grade 11

At the beginning of the period the teacher asked the class whether they would rather take a short test that had been scheduled for this day or wait until they had finished a simulation game, Labor vs. Management (described later in this chapter) that they had been playing for the two previous days.

Student: "Let's vote on it." (Laughingly to teacher)

"Labor has more voice than Management" (referring to the game).

Teacher: "You haven't won yet." (Student was on Labor side.)

Class voted on whether to take the quiz by a show of hands. The majority favored the following day. Several were undecided. One student suggested they have no test at all.

Teacher: "That's a possibility; you don't have to take a quiz, I don't have to give a grade."

They decide to have the test on the following day and resume the game.

EXAMPLE III

Buchanan High School - Cedar Point School District

Family Living - Grade 12

Teacher discussed with the class a vote taken on the previous day. The class had voted on which subjects they had been previously mentioned in the class would be of most interest to them to work on for the rest of the semester.

EXAMPLE IV

Wilson Elementary School - Cedar Point School District

Grade 2

Each class in this school had a designated amount of money that could be used for something that the class decided was important. Many suggestions were made on the use of this money, including several by the teacher.

The class unanimously voted to donate their money to a fund for a man who had been seriously wounded during a riot in the city several days previously.

EXAMPLE V

Harrison School - Willow Bend School District

Grade 4

The class had been having an art lesson before they went outside for Physical Education. On their return:

Teacher: "O. K. Let me have a little vote. You have a choice between two things: have a little fairy story or continue with drawing."

Vote taken by a show of hands. The majority wanted to continue drawing.

Teacher: "We'll have the fairy tale another time."

All the classrooms in this school had a straw vote on Presidential candidates before my observation period. According to the teachers, the student vote accurately reflected the actual political composition of the adult community.

EXAMPLE VI

McKinley Elementary School - Pine Grove School District

Grade 4

One afternoon a student mentioned to the teacher a previously discussed science project to borrow aquariums for the classroom and stock them with sea life.

Teacher (to class): "I would like your attention. John has reminded us about the fish."

Class: "Let's vote! Let's vote!"

Teacher: "This is not a voting matter. So far we have listed turtles, lizards, gold fish and tropical fish. How many are interested in each? And we'll have to figure out how to afford this."

Student: "Have committees!"

Teacher: "Good idea, Jim! (To class.) You think hard about committees. You can only be on one committee." (Students start checking preferences with their friends.)

Teacher: "Think only of yourselves."

Teacher writes names of various sea life on board as committee headings. Then she put the students' names under the chosen committee as they raise their hands to state their choice.

Teacher: "Nobody is to bring anything until the committee agrees together on what and when. This is a group project."

A girl switches her choice from gold fish to tropical fish. John objects.

Teacher: "Did she tell you what committee to be on, John?"

What is being taught here is that only in certain circumstances does a vote has relevance; this is to be a project done by groups formed on the basis of common interests; here the committee form is the proper one. But the necessity to have an opinion or at least a preference and stick to it was emphasized by John. The teacher gently rebuked him for interfering with someone else's choice. This is one of the etiquettes of United States political life; the right to decide for oneself. If, however, this had been a voting issue and the majority of the class had voted to have only gold fish, the girl would have acted inappropriately if she had kept insisting on tropical fish. Examples where the teacher directly states which are voting and non-voting issues are rare in my sample. More often this information is given indirectly by the teacher cutting off discussion on issues before they get to the voting age.

These informal votes on small classroom matters probably occur most frequently in classrooms where discussion between teachers and students is a regular part of the classroom ambiance. (Later we will see which kinds of classrooms encourage discussion.) Another kind of classroom voting which was used in the majority of my elementary schools was of a more formal kind. This was voting on the persons to perform various duties in the classroom. These duties were always defined by the teacher and such elections were regularly scheduled and carried out, more or less meticulously, according to regular voting procedures.

Two examples will illustrate the form.

EXAMPLE A

Cleveland School - Ash River School District

Grade 4

On my first day, after lunch, the class was shown an educational

TV film on state government. Throughout the program the teacher kept telling the students to listen and pay close attention, because this was very important. She reminded them several times that they would be seeing the same things when they went to visit the State Capitol. She commented, in an aside to one of the students, that the current governor, unlike his predecessors, does not meet with visiting school groups and talk to the students. She added that she had written a letter to the governor that morning. After the program was over, the teacher talked to the class about voting and running for office. Following are some of her comments. (During this time most of the class was simply listening, although a few were moving about getting books, putting away papers, and occasionally quietly whispering.)

Teacher: "Later on this afternoon we're going to have an election . . . or tomorrow morning. Today is Chorus. It wouldn't be fair to vote while some of you are gone. You know about elections. We do it in here. By the time you get to be 18, it's entirely possible they will have lowered the voting age. I hope someday some of you run for office. It's something we have to think about. It's a responsibility. (This was the only class where I heard a teacher suggest that running for office, as well as voting, was a citizen's responsibility.) It's our privilege to vote as we please--we make up our own minds."

Teacher writes on board: "Government is only as good as the people make it."

Teacher "When my generation is gone, it will be your business. If everyone did just as they pleased, it would soon happen that somebody wouldn't be pleased. We have freedom but we can't injure or bother somebody else's freedom. That's what laws are for."

Teacher (to class): "Who makes the laws? Legis is a Latin word meaning law . . . does that give you a clue?"

Aaron: "Legislature makes the laws."

John: "He oughta know; his uncle is chief of police."

Aaron: "I've got another uncle who's a sheriff."

Teacher then talks about government salaries. Student asks her what her salary is.

Teacher: "I don't have to tell you how much salary I get or how I vote."

The teacher then talks to class about the letters they will write to state officials to arrange their visit to the Capitol; and comments again with some bitterness that the last two governors do not come out and greet the visiting school classes. (She obviously feels that this lack of personal contact with the future electorate is a gross negligence of duties. She has the students write letters to emphasize that elected officials are personally responsible to the citizenry.)

This discussion led into a letter she had written to the governor that morning stating her position as a concerned voter on an issue of water rights in the state. This elicited a description by a student of how to extract salt from sea water, to anecdotes by various students and the teacher about Salt Lake and the conversation terminated with the teacher telling the class to get out their science books to do an experiment.

This teacher informed me that she had been talking to Grade 4 classes for fifteen years about political processes and yet her voice was full of passion and conviction about the importance of participating in these processes. To her (and probably to her students) the high point of the school year was the annual trip to the state Capitol for which the class made elaborate preparations and which was used as a basis for stories, lessons, and art work for weeks afterwards. The teacher stated that she saw one of her main educational jobs as teaching "these mobile children and their parents" to identify with and take a responsible citizens' role in relation to the state.

10:32: After recess the following day, the teacher came in two minutes late. I had been quietly observing the class who were laughing and talking; but when they heard the teacher's footsteps outside, they all dashed to their seats and sat primly.

Teacher: "Very nice! (To me) Did they come in nice too?" (I say "Certainly.") Teacher laughs. Student says, "You're late!"

Teacher: "You sit down and take care of your business; I'll take take care of Mrs. T's business" (referring to herself).

10:33 Teacher: "We're going to have voting today. You know all the rules. We'll do it from now until 10:55. If you are nominated go quietly out and quietly come back in."

The teacher takes nominations for each office; nominees go out; students vote by hands; nominees come back in and winner is announced. At one point during nominations,

Teacher announces: "If I hear any coaching from the sidelines, that person is out" (of the contest).

A minute later a boy loudly whispers, "Vote for Jim."

Teacher immediately says to him: "You're eliminated for a month." (From running for office.) "Do you know why?" Boy reluctantly nods his head.

The teacher makes sure that every student has a chance to make nominations. The students point out that I haven't made a nomination. The teacher states that she is the election officer and then explains that I can't make nominations because I am not part of the classroom electorate. Every classroom job is voted on including who pulls the blackout curtains for the TV shows.

10:54: The teacher announces that the elections are over and the class begins arithmetic.

The emphasis on teaching the students to identify with their "new state" and with the appropriate political forms, is, in the case of this teacher, reminiscent of the kinds of educational attitudes and values that so successfully integrated millions of immigrants from Europe into the major United States society. That she is not representative of her school is illustrated by a comment made by one of the Ash River School District psychologists. The psychologist asked who had selected the teacher whose classroom I was to observe at Cleavland. When I said that I always left this selection to the principal of the school she expressed amazement that he had selected Mrs. T., since she was known to be "very independent and does things her own way." (For an example of some other teacher attitudes in this school, see the description of Cleavland Schools.)

EXAMPLE B

Porter County School

Mixed Grades

This is a custodial school for children. The students are here for an average of three to four weeks, though many return frequently. Attending class is mandatory, but regular academic subjects are often taught only for thirty minutes a day. A student who wants to keep up with his regular classes is provided with his books and assignments. However, most of the students don't want to study. One of the reasons they are here is that they are not getting along well in public school.

Day 1. 11:20: T. C. (Therapeutic Communications, a required class.)

Boy: "Where's Mr. ___? He says we have lots of problems. Where's he at?"

Another: "What's his rules, his policy?"

Boy: "His policy is anything he wants to do, man."

The chairman of T.C. group says today they are going to elect a new chairman and new student counselors. Counselors participate in these sessions but they are supposed to be student-run. A staff counselor is advising student chairman on election procedures. Chairman explains nominating procedure to the group. They can't be nominated if they're listed as a "security risk". . . the two nominees go out and a vote is taken by a show of hands. The vote is almost entirely by ethnic division (black/white). One black student, M, has been nominated twice but refused both times. After the second nomination, someone suggests that nominations be closed.

M: "No, no, let's get some brothers in there."

B: "Hey man, there's only a handful of us."

A: "You're nominating people that don't know anything about the section. That don't make sense. They can't do anything for you."

Chairman: "Square this away or we won't have a meeting this week and your reps can just go soak their heads." (Group laughs.)

M keeps complaining that no blacks have been nominated.

G: "You want to be it?"

M: "No."

G: "Then why don't you shut up?"

Chairman: "If you want a student council; you need sharp guys."

A black student is finally nominated. Candidates go out and voting takes place.

Day II. T. C.

There is a big discussion this day about the counselors. The complaint is that they always fall back on, "This is policy, this is the rule." Several boys comment that they should pay attention to the kids who have been there a long time: they know more than the new counselors. The boys are criticising the counselors because some go by the book, some are flexible. They ask: "Why can't they all be flexible? Why don't the counselors get together and agree on things?" The senior staff counselor at this meeting replies that they follow the rules of their chief and can't break the rules of other senior counselors.

(During this meeting, which is in theory conducted along town meeting lines, the chairman--who was the physically smallest boy in the group--kicked out three students who kept interrupting and making jokes. They went with hardly a murmur.)

As noted, the use of regular voting procedures to select students to perform various classroom duties is quite common. The following brief selections from classroom notes illustrate the use made in the classroom by the teacher of such elective roles.

EXAMPLE I

Harrison School - Willow Bend District

Grade 4

It was Friday, at the end of the day. The students were having some trouble getting organized to go home. In this class, as in many others, one of the duties of the classroom officers is to dismiss the students by rows when they are ready to go home. In this case, the teacher called upon the class president and vice-president to stand in front of the class and help keep the class quiet. Several of the students were asking the president when he was going to dismiss them. The teacher said: "The president and vice-president will let you go as soon as I say that it's all right."

EXAMPLE II

Hayes School - Mapleton School District

Grade 4

The student government in this school is somewhat overshadowed by a structure introduced into the school by the principal. All students are divided into squads on the basis of size, physical skill, and teacher recommendation. All out-of-classroom activity is done in these squads. (Before school and after school activities, recess, lunch and physical education.) The squads have elected captains, monitors, etc., and these roles carry over into the classroom. The elected student body officials also have regularly scheduled meetings with parliamentary procedure, committee reports, and the like. (The principal commented that this is a very club-minded community.)

Day I. 8:30: New boy in class.

Teacher: "Honey, what's your name?" (Boy answers.)

Teacher turns to class president.

Teacher: "As our president I hope you will set a good example. You boys help him today, won't you?"

Teacher (to hospitality chairman): "Put D. (the new boy) on your squad today."

After recess, when the students returned to the room without the teacher for a few minutes, the class president made a boy put his name on the board for talking. He also made all the students sit down and be quiet.

After lunch, several students complained to the teacher about the president because he wrote their names on the board.

Teacher (to president): "You're being a good president, a good helper; but do you feel you're being a little tough?" (She leaves name on board, though.)

Day III. Sharing and Current Events.

10:25: (after recess)

Teacher comes in late and sees that the president has written quite a few names on the board for talking.

Teacher: "Oh, I was late. I'm sure a few people talked." (She erases the names.)

The president is up in front complaining about the behavior of one of the boys at recess.

Teacher: "Let's talk about this. F. looks very unhappy." (The boy he complained about.)

F: "A. was pushing me down."

Teacher: "A.,can we hear your side?"

A. gives his side. Teacher explains the rules of the particular game they were playing. It turns out that the Squad Captain is really to blame. The teacher speaks to him about this and he gets angry.

Teacher: "You are being impudent to me. You were not fair in that game. Two of you threatened F."

Teacher: "It's just a game. Look how unhappy F. is A., I hope you're not laughing. Maybe you are just embarrassed. I'm serious."

She emphasizes individual differences in the rate of learning activities like games and says what is important is cooperation and fairness. A boy tries to interrupt with anecdote of his own.

Teacher: "I'd rather not hear any more about anything else. This is the most important thing today."

The teacher terminates the discussion.

In addition to classroom elections, there are in all secondary schools in my sample Student Governments, which are also elective. Each class, besides electing its own class officers, votes for representatives for the Student Council. I was not in any schools while such elections were acutally being conducted, but heard a number of comments on the role of student government. When the idea of student government was introduced into public schools in the 1920's, it was considered to be a daring innovation. Currently, student governments are one of the favorite targets of student dissenters, who regard such governments as meaningless and as tools of the administration. As one student commented, "They are like company unions." In the opinion of many students (and some teachers) such bodies are regarded as neither relevant nor representative. One of the basic reasons for this is that in all secondary schools students are not allowed to run for positions in student government unless they meet certain requirements in scholarship and citizenship. The following qualifications for nominees from the School Policy Book of Garfield Junior High School in Pine Grove School District is typical: "A nominee must have a C average or better in scholarship, and it is required that the secretary have a B or better in English. No nominee may have more than one U (unsatisfactory) in Citizenship in any grading period. These qualifications must be maintained during the term of office." In addition, all nominees must buy a "Student Body Card."

The result of these eligibility requirements was described by a teacher from a school district outside of my formal sample, "In our district student government officers are almost always college-bound while almost 50% of our student body are not planning on college." A student in this district added, "Student government elections are just popularity contests. They are just like politicians everywhere."

Pine Grove School District takes the training of students for participation in political forms as a matter of course. The philosophy of the district states as one of the twelve goals: "Provide education in thoughtful citizenship and experience in the processes of democracy." The Junior High School Student Handbook begins with the statement: "The first duty of every student of (Pine Grove) Junior High School is to know and live The American Creed"; this is given along with the Pledge of Allegiance. Since 85 to 95% of the students in this district are college-bound, this student government is probably fairly representative. There are, however, no formal provisions for the student government to influence educational decisions in the districts although the school newspaper does carry articles that express students' viewpoints.

The following is a sample of classroom procedures in Pine Grove School District, Garfield Junior High School.

Teacher: "I'd like to ask for some suggestions about eligibility rules." (The rules that disallow student participation in athletics, student government and other school activities unless they have both good academic grades and good grades in "citizenship".) "What kind of feelings do you have that I can tell to the committee?" (A teacher's union committee.)

Boy: "That's a guy's own problems if he's dumb, but if he's good at football or something, let him in."

Boy: "Can't judge a guy by what he did last year."

Boy: "Elegibility shouldn't be dependent on scholarship. If you're dumb, you're dumb."

Teacher: "I sort of agree with you."

Girl: "I think it's just the way you behave; you represent the school. I don't think the grades are important."

Boy: "When you take on football, you take on the responsibility of studying."

After further discussion the students left. The teacher said to me that she would present the students' views to the committee.

This was the nearest to a formal particiapation in political forms that I saw in this school. On the other hand, this kind of discussion is apparently fairly common in classrooms. Students also attend school board meetings that are going to discuss issues directly concerned with them--such as dress regulations--and are allowed to present points of view to the board. However, they have no mechanism to force the board to do more than give minimal polite attention to their suggestions.

One may ask along with the students, how effective is student government in effecting changes and presenting viewpoints to the school administration and particularly to the local boards of education. Most commonly student governments act only in relation to the administration within a particular school. To present student viewpoints and desires for changes to school boards would seem to require a different kind of group. The State Board of Education has overtly recognized both the need to give students a channel to communicate with the school boards and the necessity of supplementing existing student governments in order to accomplish this. They have this year recommended that Student Advisory Committees be formed for each school board in the state. A representative for the State School Board Association interpreted the reasons for this recommendation:

> "We need a grievance procedure for students. The only one in a school that really knows what's going on is the principal and by the time this is screened through to the school board, lots has been screened out. We need multiple channels of communication. Students can't vote (in public elections) so they are not represented. The school board must represent them. The attitude of our committee is that student activism is an energy that can be utilized for constructive activity. Of course, there must be a distinction made (by the school boards) between 'real demands' and 'expressive demands'."

A school board member added, "The kids are willing to take existing democratic institutions and processes and make them better."

The state representative commented that the person speaking did not represent the attitude of many school boards. He had discovered in the course of an informal survey of attitudes of school boards towards such Student Advisory Committees that, "Lots of school districts are not involving students and don't want any part of it; they don't feel that it is necessary."

This attitude on the part of local school boards towards students is illustrated by the following brief anecdote from a school board meeting at Laurel Creek School District. A group of junior high school students from an American Government class had come with their teacher and principal to watch the school board in action. They had agreed with their teacher to leave about 9 PM when the school board was accustomed to take a ten minute coffee break. At 9 o'clock the principal asked the president of the school board if the students could use the ten minutes of the coffee break to ask questions of the individual school board members. The president of the board refused rather sharply, justifying his refusal by saying that the agenda was very crowded, they weren't going to take a break, there was no time to talk tonight. As the class got up to leave, the president very graciously granted ten minutes to a representative from the local Booster's Club who wanted to invite the members of the School Board to attend their annual awards dinner. I do not think the students failed to grasp the point.

Only in one school in my sample, was there any discussion of political processes as they relate to what directly affects the students, namely, the election of a local school board. It was in Grade II History class at Lincoln High School in the Laurel Creek School District.

Boy: "I have a question. Do you think the board is trying to push a new superintendent before the school board elections?" (A Conservative majority school board had just forced the resignation of a very innovative superintendent and new school board elections were due very soon.)

Teacher: "I don't think so."

Boy: "___ is a fence-sitter, isn't he?" (Referring to a school board member.)

Teacher: "Yes."

Boy: "What is the superintendent's salary?"

Teacher tells him.

Boy: "Does the superintendent interview new teachers?"

Teacher describes the usual hiring practices in big school districts, ending with a final interview by a personnel director. Then he adds that in this district the resigning superintendent had always interviewed each teacher personally.

In the last several years, one of the results of the failure of the conventional political form of student government to act as a body of communication with education authorities has been the growing power of special interest student groups (who also elect officers for their groups but not on the basis of scholarship or citizenship; rather they elect them on the criteria of militancy or effectiveness). The basis of admission to such groups is often political interests, such as the radical Students for a Democratic Society, who have formed chapters in a number of secondary schools across the nation, or on the basis of minority group identification. One such group, formed at one of the high schools in my sample, presented an example of how effectively a student group can function when they are dealing with what they consider to be relevant issues and addressing a school board that is committed to student participation in political forms. The example is taken from the Cedar Point School District.

The Black Student Union of Buchanan High School had arranged to appear before the school board with a list of demands. When the usual Pledge of Allegiance was said to start the meeting, the Black Student Union members did not rise. Neither did several other black members of the audience. The Black Student Union spokesman then presented a list of fourteen changes they wanted made immediately in their high school, including curriculum, staff and social changes. This took fifteen minutes. The president of the board then asked if the students would listen to the board for fifteen minutes. They agreed. The various board members discussed the problems involved in the changes that had been asked. A board member pointed out that to make certain changes, the board would have to put pressure on the State Department of Education. The board unanimously agreed to do this. After some discussion, the board passed a unanimous "sense motion" to support all the demands and try to meet them as soon as posible. A board member pointed out that he found the list of demands helpful and constructive and added, "The whole school system is for the students." The superintendent stated that there was altogether too much red tape in the educational system. "It is absolutely necessary to develop a system that reacts quickly; should be able to ask a question today and get an answer tomorrow . . . or today."

At one point the Black Student Union president got angry at what he regarded as a wishy-washy suggestion from a board member. He said,

> "We're not here to blow your minds, we're here to get some action!"

School Board President: "You're here at our courtesy."

BSU President: "Ha! The board is only here because of the students."

Audience: "Keep the faith,Baby."

After the Black Student Union demands had been voted on, the only black school board member said that the white students must have complaints about the educational system too, and he expected them to be speaking up and making demands very soon. He asked for a permanent multi-racial student advisory committee to the school board. This was passed unanimously. The Black Student Union group left at the coffee break--apparently having experienced a successful participation in one of the political forms of United States life.

A school board administrator (in a different context) stated the basis on which the above school board was acting: "One of our valued democratic rights is that we're living in a democratic institution. People have a right to tell their political representatives what's on their minds. Citizens talking to school board members is a *basic* democratic procedure." Clearly, the Cedar Point School Board was accepting the students as "citizens," and themselves as political representatives of the students as well as of the other members of the community. This, however, is hardly the norm. As a student of another school district commented, "I used to think, and most students at my school still do, that all school board members are retired people. . . they have to be over 65 to be on the school board. Honestly, that's what I used to think until just recently. How could they understand us? They'll have to learn to treat us as real."

The following example from Tyler Junior High School in Cedar Point School District documents an attempt by two in-school student organizations, the Student Government Executive Committee and the Student Human Relations Committee, to conduct a form of grievance session for students.

As a background, let us briefly consider Current Events in several history classes at Tyler school. I observed four history classes, each of which is a different "ability group," all with the same teacher. Current are briefly dealt with for a few minutes each day in each class.

Class 1. Current Events: 9:25-9:28

One row is responsible for Current Events each week and other students may add anything of interest. This day's contributions were a local basketball game, a trial being held related to the assassination of John Kennedy, a strike at a local college, the war situation in the East, "clay-eating" as a nutritional deficiency, the trial of the assassin of Robert Kennedy, Russian trawlers off the west coast of the United States, and a suggestion in the morning paper that police recruit young dissidents. The students offered each of these topics in one or two lines. The only discussion came when a student commented on the police recruitment suggestion, "That's a stupid idea," and the teacher responded, "John, no moralizing or judgments, please."

Class 2. Current Events: 10:05-10:07

Nobody had remembered that this was Current Events day, so the row had no news. The teacher then referred to the police recruitment idea (which had at least elicited a brief response in the last class). The class made no comments, so the teacher moved on to the regular history lesson.

Class 3. Current Events: 1:03-1:08

Two people in the appointed row offered comments on several current crises within the state.

Teacher: "Anything else happen?"

No response from class. They resume the regular history lesson.

Class 4. Current Events: 2:35-2:39

This class did not discuss Current Events. Instead, they spent four minutes discussing the all-school assembly that immediately preceded the class.

Tyler is one of the many Junior High schools in the United States which, in the last two years, have experienced disruption from students involved in both racial problems and demands for more student participation in making the decisions that directly affect them. On Day III of my observation period at Tyler the first completely student-run assembly in the school's history was held. I also observed the "rehearsal" held on the previous day. The goals of the assembly as conceived by the student organizers were several: "Our purpose is to try to unite all the students in the school"; "We are showing we know how to run the school. We are closer to the problems; we don't always have to rely on the faculty. Students have to say what they think"; "We're trying to bring students and faculty closer together; get the students to know each other so they won't be indifferent to each other." Specifically, the assembly was designed as a forum where students could speak out, through a microphone, on any subject they chose. The teachers were to be allowed to ask questions. The principal was acting as an "unofficial advisor." Teachers had been invited to come to the rehearsal. Only two came in addition to the principal. There were several interesting comments at the rehearsal. A boy observed that on assembly day, "There won't be no teacher, only be a lady a little taller than you." The second was on the student-proposed revision of the Student Body constitution (to be done by the Human Relations Council).

Principal: "They gonna let you do that?"

Girl: "Yeah."

Two of the leading organizers of the assembly got into an argument. The principal commented from the audience, "I didn't come to this assembly to hear that." A young man in the audience added, "That's what teachers want you to do; sit up there and argue."

THE ASSEMBLY

The assembly was formally run by the students. Order was to be enforced by a student group, rather than by teachers. The principal, as unofficial advisor, announced the opening of the assembly to the audience, and conducted the Pledge of Allegiance, then turned the meeting over to students. The audience was instructed by the student leaders to take turns to "speak out, say whatever you like but don't specify teachers." The first student-audience issue was interrupted by loud boos in response to an unpopular statement by one of the people on the stage. At this point the principal intervened: "The people on the stage represent you . . . listen, hear people out. I thought that you could do this job--I still do."

At this point a number of teachers were standing in the aisles, looking severe and telling students to be quiet. One of the student organizers made a statement to them from the stage: "I would like the teachers, counselors and all adults to remain seated as the students are." (The teachers, many reluctantly, sat down.) "The sergeant at arms will take over" (a student).

The next issue was a discussion on the functioning of the Student Council with many comments expressing the students' feelings that the Council should be able to take action without involving the teachers.

Question from the audience to members of Human Relations Council:

Q: "Why do you think you represent us?"

A: "We have a racially-balanced panel. You can come and voice your problems and we will try to help."

At this point the student on stage who had spoken to the teachers in the audience before, spoke again: "I still see most of the teachers standing up" (monitoring the student audience). "Will teachers please remain seated!" Various problems were brought up by the audience. Finally a student asked, "If this is our assembly, why do we have to communicate through you? How do we get our opinions to you?"

Finally the principal answered a question on the chaperoning of the school dances and commented that he thought the assembly had not been an easy situation and he thought they could all do better. This ended the assembly.

In the history class following the assembly, the students were complaining that no questions were really answered, no one had positive suggestions, and that every time someone asked a question, the audience started shouting.

Boy (white): "The majority of those who made the noise didn't ask any questions."

Girl (black): "Maybe they didn't want to hear what you had to say . . ."

This concluded the discussion.

The following extracts from classroom observations illustrate several different things: the kinds of discussions in classrooms that are concerned with teaching students about political forms and etiquette and the degree and kind of participation that they will have in United States life; some student attitudes toward their effectiveness in using the conventional political forms; and several examples of schools in which the students are discouraged from participation, or anticipation of participation in these forms in United States life.

Polk Junior High School - Laurel Creek School District

Language Arts Class - Grade 7

This teacher had provided a number of parliamentary procedure forms for eliciting opinions from the students on various matters. These included discussion groups, held on the rug, in which each student and the teacher was given a specified number of pieces of paper and could use each one for a one minute expression of their opinion on some matter. On one occasion, following the termination of my formal observation period, the teacher told me that she had initiated such a discussion to express her opinion on a classroom matter that was bothering her. The students had patiently waited until she used up all her pieces of paper and then, one by one, stated their opinions on the matter, leaving her unable to answer by the rules of the discussion. She was highly amused at the students handling of this situation . . . and very pleased.

The most thorough example I observed in any classroom of training for participation in legal-political forms was carried out in the same school. One class, as a result of a journalism assignment, decided that an article that had been written was "libelous." With the help of the teacher (and a lawyer friend) the class spent a week learning judicial procedures and the relevant law; they passed bar exams, selected witnesses, and a jury, and on the last day held a full scale trial with a local lawyer acting as judge. (It is not unindicative of current United States suburban life that the libelous article stated that one of the class members was "known to use drugs".) The jury came to a very sophisticated verdict that the defendent was guilty but awarded "general, not special" damages. A particularly interesting point is that in selecting a jury, the "lawyers" finally involved several other classes in the school because they said that too many of the people in this room had "prejudicial views" on the uses of drugs and would not be objective in weighing the evidence.

Laurel Creek is the school district where the superintendent said that "the major goal of the schools is to create a democratic society." It is also the district where, at Lincoln High School, a Civics class carried on the following discussion on the seniority system in Congress.

Several students were arguing whether to be old is to be automatically conservative.

Teacher: "Is there automatic 'too old'? Is it automatic that someone 70 can't hear you?"

Girl: "Yes! From personal observation."

Teacher: "The problem is, what a man does in committee is not up for vote though his decision may be affecting the whole nation."

An animated class discussion followed on control of government by seniority-run committees; then a discussion on whether Johnson was a good president.

The teacher pointed out that the discussion had gone from seniority to being aged by the pressure of a political job. He asked in conclusion if they thought the seniority system was a good way to run Congress.

Boy: "I'm against the seniortiy system because it doesn't allow young men to move in."

The class discussed whether the old have wisdom; students referred to their parents and other old people they had known.

Teacher: "We are talking about two levels: the seniority system you've experienced personally and the seniority system as a political process. Seniority system in this class is the teacher. What if the teacher is not fair and is biased. Then what?"

Girl: "I can get the whole class on my side."

Teacher: "But I can give you an F. Do you understand that the Committee system is not run as a democracy?"

Boy: "A bill can be brought before the whole house and passed with a simple majority."

Teacher: "Life in Congress is a barter system."

Boy: "Log-rolling!"

Teacher: "Right!"

Teacher: "Who is the Chairman of the Committee who has to OK Civil Rights bills?"

Girl: "A Southern anti-civil right senator."

Teacher: "Oh wow."

Girl: "It would be a stalemate without the seniority system."

Teacher: "What would you substitute for the seniority system?

Are you aware of the strength of custom in Congress?"

The teacher concluded by telling the class that on their final examination they would have to choose between the seniority system and several other alternatives and defend their choice.

The following example is from a history class in the same school:

Day 1. History: Grade 11.

1:00: Class starts coming in.

Teacher: "The rules of the game Scab are on the board. You should copy them down."

Boy: "Another game like Race Riot?"

Teacher: "Ah, but with one important difference. You don't need to win a total victory. (To class.) Today we are playing a game similar to Race Riot . . . with rules and objectives. You will pick your own side, either Labor or Management, but approximately equal."

Students form two groups to the left and the right of the room.

Teacher: "Fraternal Union Brothers and Fellow Bourgeoisie . . ."

He explains the rules of the game. Union moves first, a move at a time, can ask to have move explained but cannot ask motivation. Each move has to be encountered by opposition on next move.

The teacher then explains the goals of Union and Management and sets up the hypothetical situation (union organizing in 1880) and the working conditions. He points out that the elected town officials used campaign contributions from Management and that the Union organizers have connections with National unions. The teacher says his role will be as referee for any dubious moves. From here on, both sides go to it. The teacher rules on the effects of certain moves on the opposition.

At 1:43, when the class ends, Management has fired and blacklisted all Union members, after a lockout, and has hired Scabs.

Day II.

The teacher summarizes the current position of labor and management in the game. Game continues: Labor hi-jacks, etc.; Management uses Sheriff and armed forces. By the end of the hour, Management's supplies of raw materials have been effectively cut off.

Day III

The teacher summarizes the game situation to date.

Labor threatens to burn down the plant. The teacher at this point tells the outcome of this game in another class--a compromise.

Boy: "Ha, their Management was playing realistically. Our Management isn't."

At this point Management says they reject all demands and are bringing in state troops. Labor destroys the plant. The teacher points out that this was done historically in the Homestead Strike.

The class argues about what side lost or won the most. The teacher points out that you don't need absolute victory in this game. Management lost money; Union did not win demands. He gives examples from United States history of this kind of result when both sides are extremely militant. Then with the help of the class he analyzes why each side made the moves they did--and elicits from them what better moves they could have made. The teacher asks Management why they resisted the first very mild request of the Union.

Boy: "Give them a chop, they'll want the whole hog."

Teacher: "I can hardly wait until you get out of school and join the New Left. They'll love you with that kind of reasoning."

The teacher asks the class to name and consider various strike situations that could historically have been easily avoided.

Class over.

Hoover School - Laurel Creek School District

Grade 4

The teacher initiated the following discussion:

Teacher:	"Students, how do you feel about the government wanting to make all our national holidays come on Friday?"
Boy:	"I think things should stay the way they started."
Girl:	"To change the day of Christmas is almost like breaking the law."
Teacher:	"I feel most strongly about the Fourth of July, our country's birthday."
Boy:	"It's like saying we're not special."
Girl:	"It's like saying we don't care about our country."
Girl:	"If people care more about a day off than keeping the holidays, then that's all they're worth."
Teacher:	"All those grown-ups who want to change the holidays; how could you fight them?"
Boy:	"Who does it, the government?"
Boy:	"What's the difference? Kids can't do anything. Who would listen to us?"

The teacher then made an analogy between people who voted for the losing Presidential candidate in the last National Election and says that at least they tried. She states that it is the unions and the working men who want this change in holidays, and they have lots of power. She then adds, "Your Congressman reads your letters and answers them . . . what you say is important."

On Friday, Day III, in Monroe Junior High School (Ash River School District) the "brightest" History class had Current Events. (As in many schools, Current Events, which may be inserted into English, History or Social Studies, is used as one of the main formal places for student discussion on political processes in the United States. The extent of the discussion depends on the kind of school it is and on the teacher's own attitudes. The form, however, is standard: Usually, presentations are made by individual students of items from local newspapers, with some time for questions and discussion by the rest of the class.) The teacher distributed individual copies of the first edition of a new "Student Weekly" put out by the New York Times. The students were instructed to read an article on a current controversy over the appointment of a Supreme Court Justice; they were then to form into three discussion groups to share their local newspaper clippings on topics chosen by the teacher the previous day. The topics were: the Supreme Court judge controversy, with particular attention to the use of the technique of "filibuster"; the latest activities of candidates running for President in the National Elections, and a controversy over public speeches by a black militant leader.

(When the teacher was explaining the Current Events assignment the previous day she had commented on the fact that she wanted the class to find out the meaning of filibuster, "even though you are only seventh graders." When a girl asked what being seventh graders had to do with it, the teacher answered that they "weren't supposed to" study the Constitution until Grade 8, but that it was unusual to get a chance to see a filibuster in operation.)

The instructions to each group were that they would have five minutes for their chosen spokesman to present their topic and for class members to ask questions and give their opinions. The teacher particularly emphasized, both at this time and during the presentations, that the class must give equal attention and equal time to everyone (a political etiquette much emphasized in schooling).

The first spokesman summarized the latest events in the Presidential campaigns of Wallace, Nixon, and Humphrey and spoke with some distaste of the position of these three candidates on the Viet Nam war. (Twelve students chose this topic.)

Boy 1: "How are *we* going to stop someone like Wallace or Nixon or Rockerfeller from being President? *We* can't vote."

Boy 2: "People think that at our age we don't know anything about it."

Girl 1: "The one thing we can do is tell our parents our feelings and what we learn in school."

Girl 2: "Some of the parents have different views than the children because we are the true doves. We want peace right now. We are the *true* doves. The parents think of too many things--the complications--they should think more of peace."

The teacher cut off the discussion at this point.

The second spokesman summarized the controversy over the appointment of a Supreme Court judge. Despite the teacher's previous emphasis, the students displayed little interest in the technique of filibuster, or in this topic in general. (Only five students chose this topic.)

The third group, who had chosen the topic of the controversy over a militant black leader (nine students, including the five black students in the class), chose a black girl as spokesman. This topic elicited a great deal of commentary and questioning from the class. The spokesman explained that the current governor of the state was using the black militant leader as a "whipping boy" (and also explained the concept of a "whipping boy to the class). The following example of questions and comments by the class reveals a quite sophisticated understanding of certain United States political processes.

Boy 1: "How can the governor stop him from giving speeches? (At a local college.) There's no law . . ."

Boy 2: "He doesn't like him."

Girl 1: "Why?"

Spokesman: "He's trying to do something to help the people that the governor doesn't want to help."

Boy 3: "What's he making these speeches about?"

Spokesman "About racism. Why they're having racial strife and things like that."

Boy 2: "They don't want him to talk because he has a criminal record."

Girl 2: "That makes him understand better."

Girl 3: "Another reason they don't want him, they're afraid he's going to get the people (college students) all stirred up and everything."

Girl 4: "My opinion is that they're afraid that he's going to tell the truth."

Boy 4: "What truth?"

Girl 4: "About why there's so much racial tension and things like that. They think he's going to tell what's really going on and they don't want him to and so they're trying to get him not to tell."

Girl 5: "If he (the governor) can get him (black militant) to look bad, sorta, he's got a good chance to get more votes in the next races" (state elections).

Boy 5: "The governor, from what I hear, is causing a lot of trouble."

Teacher: "OK kids, sorry to break it up. Really interesting. You did very well."

Bell rings and students leave. The teacher turns to me and says, "Aren't they bright?"

Fillmore High School - Ash River School

There is a general agreement (made explicitly in conversation with me) among administrators and teachers at Fillmore High School that student participation in anything, from classroom discussion to student government, would be unworkable in this school because itis composed of students who are classified as "troublemakers" by the regular education extablishment. Student are at Fillmore because they have violated one or more of the "rules" of either their former school (discipline problems, truancy) or of their community in general (juvenile delinquency, unmarried pregnancy). It is apparently assumed that they would be unwilling and unable to be trained to participate in any of the political forms and etiquette in United States life.

While there is an administrative looseness at Fillmore school about enforcing rules, and much discussion outside the classroom between teachers and students, there is a minimum of discussion within the classroom. I saw no example in any classroom that I observed (Grade 11) of training for participation in political forms. Classrooms were run on the basis of benevolent authoritarianism. Work was assigned to be done in class. The teachers answer questions or explain problems, but they encourage neither discussion of the content of the assignments nor questions as to its relevance or interest. Students work as individuals or as units of a class but do not make decisions as a group; nor are their opinions sought by the classroom teacher either as a class or as individuals.

These students, many of whom have had extensive contact with the legal system of the United States, including police departments, courts, probation departments, and the like, are eager to know the extent of their rights as citizens. During one of my observation days, there was an incident involving the removal of a student from a classroom by the police on a matter unconnected with the school. In the opinion of one of the teachers, it was badly handled and he immediately submitted a detailed complaint to the police chief. He also mailed a copy to the superintendent of schools. In his American Government class the following day, he described the incident and the steps he had taken to his students, and added, "Many people feel the individual is powerless. We feel powerless but we are not powerless unless we make it so." Then he gave several examples of how people had effected changes that they felt were necessary. His examples were all of citizens exerting personal efforts directly on individuals in institutions, not through formal political forms. Then he stated his view of United States Government.

"The government of the United States is the best government in the history of the world; I can say that with no fear of contradiction. . . . We have a system that can be changed--orderly change--orderly change is possible."

The teacher did not discuss how to bring about orderly change but instead began contrasting economic and social conditions in other countries with those in the United States. He recommended that the class travel to other countries to see how much worse things are there, particularly the contrast between the rich and the poor. He ended his comparisons with the civil war in Nigeria and pointed out that this was what black people were doing to other black people. At this point, the class displayed definite signs of restlessness and discomfort (eight of the ten students present were black), so he deftly switched to a discussion of grades.

Since the black students who compose half the population of this school come mostly from an almost totally segregated and poor section of the district, it seems unlikely that the contrasts he cited between rich and poor in other countries were particularly impressive to them. While the students expressed some positive feeling about the teacher's action in relation to the police, this example and the others he used were actions taken by people who had a position (such as teacher) that, from the students' point of view, obviously gave them some leverage to accomplish change. Nowhere in the teacher's statements was there offered any evidence that the political forms available to the students would be effective in bringing about the changes that they would like to see in United States society. Several weeks later, I was asked by the school authorities to have a "rap" session with students from several classes, as part of a program designed to bring in people from the community so that the students could hear other points of view. At this unstructured session, several young male students made clear where they wanted to see change: in the relevance of the education they were getting, in the attitude of police and society to them both as blacks and as delinquents, and in the draft. They expressed themselves clearly on their perceptions of their effectiveness. During a discussion of being stopped and searched without cause or a warrant, a teacher present in the room explained that they had a right as a citizen to protest. The statement elicited this response: "Hell, man, if they say get out and be searched, you better just do it or you're going to get beat alongside the head; don't care what your rights are." On the draft, someone commented that maybe 18 year olds would soon get the vote and could change the draft situation. Again the comment was, "Ha. You think they're going to let us vote? Man, they wouldn't get nobody for the Army if they did. They ain't going to let us vote."

In marked contrast to the Grade 11 at Fillmore High School, at Buchanan High School there is a great deal of sophistication assumed about the students' knowledge of and actual participation in political forms. (The difference between the two school cannot be assigned to Fillmore's position as a school for "problem" students.) Although the high school (Roosevelt) that filled the same role in Cedar Point as Fillmore did in Ash River (as a high school to which students who had been suspended from the regular high school are sent) was not observed as part of my formal sample, I had occasion to visit this school in a World History class. There was an animated discussion between the teacher and the students on the problem of "redress of grievances" in United States life. The teacher and the students agreed that there was a real split in power between the persons in positions of political power in United States life and those whom they ruled. Further, they agreed that the political forms through which powerless people conventionally must work were totally inadequate as presently constituted to bring about desired change, and should be changed so as to be effective. The school also had a large proportion of black students, so ethnicity does not account for the differences in class context.

The following are examples of training for participation in political forms and discussion in Grade 11 classes at Buchanan High School (the "regular" Cedar Point High School).

8:47. Period 1: English.

Student stands at podium in front of class and reads the official school daily announcements. This includes a long passage from Thomas Jefferson on Constitutional Principles.

9:01. The teacher is discussing a play that one group of students is reading. The discussion involves the concept of justice in United States life and how this is unevenly applied to black and white.

10:00. Period 2: History.

The teacher is lecturing (interrupted by questions and comments) on the relation between the Federal Government and the states during the Jeffersonian period. After a lively elucidation of the concept of Federal Government as an "agent of the states," he asks the following question:

> 10:08. Teacher: "If we accept the concept that the Federal Government is an agent of the states, how can we then handle the problem when the Federal Government is wrong?"

A student points out that many times states do not follow the national laws. The teacher and several students then examine regional and economic differences that cause differential acceptance of Federal laws.

10:17. The teacher points out that today we would say the compact is between the Federal Government and the People, not the states. The discussion continues until the bell rings.

1:47. Theatre Class.

The teacher tells the class he wishes to discuss some observations with them. He has noticed a division within the class along racial lines when choosing people to work with in groups. The students discuss whether it's really a racial division. The teacher says he is willing to have students decide among themselves whether they wish to have him open up another room for the students who don't want to work in this classroom. After some intense discussion on how people get to know each other, a student says he doesn't even know the names of some of the people he's been working with. The teacher immediately picks up on this comment and institutes a game in which everybody learns everybody else's name. The teacher also participates in this. At the end of this, at 2:03, the class proceeds to the planned theatrical exercise.

Day II. English.

The teacher starts class by apologizing for her failure to distribute a promised paper. She then says she is going to appoint group discussion leaders.

Girl: "I'm going on strike today."

Teacher: "I'm going to make you the leader, Jean; you can't go on strike."

Day II. History.

10:10: (Discussion has been continued on Jeffersonian Period.)

Girl: "Today, Jefferson would believe in a powerful central government."

Teacher: "Today on our university campuses we're having problems, aren't we?"

Class: "Yeah . . ."

Teacher: "What should we do with students who are seeking to alter, abolish or make changes in the government on the campuses?"

Girl: "Should give the changes a try."

Boy: "Demonstrations are OK. Violence isn't."

Boy 2: "There should be places to try out new ideas."

Boy 3: "Let them (students) run the school government."

Girl: "If you abolish it you will get change."

Teacher: "What would Jefferson have done?"

Boy: "Expell them."

10:17. The class speculates on what Jefferson might have said on the subject of governmental change. The teacher then reads them Jefferson's actual opinion on the subject. A student asks him to read it again. The teacher asks the students to paraphrase what Jefferson said.

Girl: "You were talking about Jefferson saying change the Republic; with students, they want to change the authoritarian structure of the universities."

The teacher then gives a summary of the philosophical basis of Jeffersonian Democracy and asks the class how many would be prepared to support Jefferson. Only two students are willing. One, a girl, comments that she doesn't believe that people who don't experience democracy can be rational.

10:26. Teacher: "The question is still with us, it will always be with us."

Class ends. Many students cluster around the teacher at front continuing the discussion.

Day III. History.

9:50. Teacher not in room yet. Several students grumbling about test scheduled for today.

Boy: "Let's have a mass walkout. He might get so mad he'd never come back."

Teacher comes in, students go to his desk, get test, and immediately go to work intensely.

9:55. Teacher leaves room for five minutes. Only one student makes a comment while he's gone.

10:11. Teacher leaves room and stays out until 10:25. Class continues working on test with only an occasional groan or funny remark until period is over.

Day III. Family Living.

11:25. The teacher passes out cards and asks students to put down the grade they feel they have earned. She says that if there is a major discrepancy, either way, between the grade they put down and the one she has in mind, she will discuss it with them and try to work out a compromise. She also passes out an evaluation sheet on the course for the students to fill out.

Van Buren Junior High School - Sycamore School District

Grade 7

This "nationally average" school has as yet had no incidents of the kind of student dissent that has occurred at other schools both in this district and in neighboring districts. This is attributed, by some teachers, to the fact that the presidents of the student body have for the last five years been members of minority groups.

Unfortunately, I observed nothing but English classes in this school and saw no examples of training for participation in political forms. However, a teacher proudly described to me what she had done in a History class during my observation period. The class was studying the Civil War period and when many of the black students kept commenting that they did not see why the slaves had been so easily controlled, the teacher decided to show them. She set up a little drama in which she took the role of the slave owner and had one of the most verbal black students take the role of a slave. Then she demonstrated step by step that the slave-master had all the power on his side. In the end she felt that her students were aware of what it means to be powerless and the class discussed ways to obtain power in our society.

A second example which was also described to me was a Human Relations meeting that all the teachers were asked to attend. A film was shown of one of the secondary schools in the state where there had been disruption in the school over minority-group problems. After the film, some students who had been invited to comment on the film spoke to the teachers. One student (an officer in a minority group organization in the school) apparently presented an eloquent plea for improving the social and educational conditions that contributed to the disruption. The student reported (to one of the teachers I was observing) the following comments that had been made to him afterwards by individual teachers.

Teacher: "How dare you have the audacity to criticize the schools?"

Teacher: "Those children (minority) have the same opportunity as everyone else."

Teacher: "A fine school! The children just don't appreciate it."

The student to whom these comments were made reported almost tearfully to this sympathetic teacher that he had supposed that he and the other students had been requested to speak because the teachers wanted to understand why this kind of disruption occurred. He had realized that they did not want to know. His final comment was: "What can I do! It just doesn't do any good to talk to people."

Private, Christian School - Sycamore School District

Grade 4 and Grade 7

This school was conducted along totally authoritarian lines since the model is authority deriving from God through the teachers. Although the United States flag was displayed in the classrooms and the Pledge was said each day, prayers were said from two to four times a day, depending on the classroom and whether the teacher was religious or secular. The religious shrines in the school definitely overshadowed the national symbols. The Grade 7 room had an enormous sign covering one wall which read: "A good (Christian) is a good American."

I saw no occasion in six days in this school when students were given any kind of opportunity to express opinion, criticize, dissent, choose representatives or vote. On the other hand, respect for authority was continually emphasized. All adults were greeted in unison by classes; boys always rose to answer teachers' questions; "talking back" was not permitted; all movements in the school were in sex-separated lines of students (including going to the toilet; Grade 7 boys were escorted to the toilet at the appropriate times by a female teacher). All student roles in the school, like monitors in classroom, etc., were appointed by the teachers. There was simply no room for intervention by the students in the educational process. Presumably there was no need felt to train children to participate on political forms. There was a great deal of training for participation in religious forms, however, most of which focused on various levels of authority.

Harrison School - Willow Bend School District

Grade 7

10:47. English (discussing film class went to yesterday: Camelot).

The teacher talks about "little kids in big world" and then points out that adults are "little people in a big world" also.

The teacher then starts eliciting opinions from students on whether they thought this was a good film.

Teacher: "It's not necessary for everyone to think that was a good movie."

Girl: "Everybody has a right to their opinions."

Teacher: "Is this true in life?"

Girl: "Not in Communist countries."

Boy: "Yes it is, but you don't tell about it."

Teacher: "Why is it important for everyone to have their opinion?"

Boy: "Makes you feel that you have a part."

Teacher: "Very wise statement. Give them a piece of the action."

Teacher: "Can you have opinions in this class?"

Class: "Not about you. You have the authority."

Girl: "I don't think that . . ."

Discussion now on whether Teacher would punish them for being critical. One boy in the class gives an example in which this teacher sent a boy to the office. The class said they knew he was wrong but wouldn't dare tell him that.

Teacher: "We're talking about opinions now."

Another boy now gives an example of an opinion based on insufficient data.

Another boy comments: "We wouldn't dare criticize you when you're mad."

The teacher then talks about adults in authority positions using enforcement of rules to protect other people. He asks if the students think that teachers do this. Consensus of class is that some teachers do and some don't.

The teacher then turns to math lesson but one boy wants the teacher to answer what he would do in an hypothetical situation: if there were a conflict between this boy and another teacher, would this teacher have an "unreasoning" loyalty to the other teacher or would he respect the opinion of the student? The boy adds that sometimes the teacher doesn't listen when he gives his opinions.

The teacher gets a bit defensive, and tells the student he is putting him on the spot. He tells the class that teachers are people just like students: "Teachers are put in a position of guidance, trying to make you see yourselves." The teacher begins to interrogate the student under the guise of an "analytic discussion." The teacher concludes by telling the student that he must "think of others as well as yourself." Then he says, "Very interesting, John. Let's try it some time" (the hypothetical situation). And the regular lesson resumes at 11:21. At the end of the class, the teacher again repeats, "Very interesting conversation."

Day III. Social Studies - Current Events.

9:46. The teacher starts out by criticizing the state text book to the class. Says it is just not very good. Teacher then tells the class that in American political life, the Presidency is the "big prize." He reads a quote from Truman on the loneliness of being President at times when great decisions must be made (the dropping of the Atom bomb).

Teacher: "What do you think he meant?"

Boy: "He had all the responsibility."

Teacher goes on to Kennedy (picture on the cover of the Current Events magazine).

Teacher: "Did Kennedy have any serious decisions to make?"

Boy: "Cuban missile crisis."

Teacher says that military advisors said we should bomb Cuba.

Girl: "But that would start a war!"

Boy: "The missiles are still there; you can count on that."

The teacher points out that we don't know because "we don't have the intelligence service available to us like the President has." Teacher emphasized again that the President's job is rough, lonely.

The teacher instructs the class to look at a series of pictures of Presidents in the magazine and asks them to decide which of the three areas of Presidential responsibility are being shown. First picture is of Lincoln with papers.

Boy: "He's keeping up the morale; looking over battle plans (of Civil War)."

Teacher: " Why? (does he have to keep up the country's morale)".

Boy: "It's his country."

Teacher: "It's our country."

(They look at pictures of Presidents and talk about what aspects of duties are pictured--commander-in-chief, head of State, etc.)

The teacher then points out that the nation has a new President. Class groans; a few applaud.

Boy: "That bum in office . . . he's worse than LBJ." (This is a Democratic neighborhood.)

Teacher: "No President has ever pleased everyone . . .nor has any teacher."

After the class reads awhile, discussion resumes on duties of the Vice-President. Student asks who the Vice-President is--teacher talks about Vice-President.

Girl (to teacher): "Who did you vote for?"

Teacher: "None of your business."

Boy: "It's a secret ballot."

Teacher (with laugh): "It was a tough election."

This ends the discussion. Class sees film strip on the Crusades.

In Jefferson School District the handling of political forms was minimal and unsophisticated. The State Education Code regulation of saluting the flag was strictly adhered to and patriotic songs were preferred by the students during singing period. During one singing period from 11:35 to 11:53, I heard the following: The Marine's Hymn, The Caisons Go Rolling Along, When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again, America, Dixieland, and America the Beautiful; that was the entire singing lesson and these were the students' choices, but the book they were using specialized in American patriotic songs. The teacher told me that at the beginning of the year she had instituted a form of classroom government, but "it didn't work well with these kids." The only area where the students voted (in a very sketchy informal way) were what song to sing and which games to play at recess.

At a school board meeting I attended the members were relatively uninterested in a number of field trips that this teacher had planned for her class to acquaint them with the metropolitan area in which they lived, but emphasized very strongly how important they felt a trip to the state capitol was so the students could see how the government works. Shortly before this instruction to the teacher to emphasize the trip to the Capitol, the board was discussing black militants speaking at a local two year college and a proposed bond election for that school.

Board Member 1: "I'm in favor (of the bond) if they don't pay any more black militants to speak over there."

Board Member 2: "That school board has the authority to withhold payment if any profanity is used, even if it is student money paying for the speaker."

Board Member 1: "Ha! They shouldn't have a chance to talk that way, even for nothing!"

The final examples are from Grade 4's in two school districts. They exemplify two extremes in my sample.

Arthur School in the Ash River School District; as been described earlier, it is an urban, racially segregated, lower-economic class school located in a geographically and socially isolated neighborhood. The school in many ways is run like a custodial institution. (The model stated explicitly by the principal was "Boot Camp" in the Marine Corps.) Neither the majority of the teachers nor the administration appear to regard their students as likely to or capable of participation in any significant way in United States political life. Consequently, the students are systematically trained not to participate in political forms and etiquette. As part of this training, the expression of student opinion is generally rigidly excluded from any part of the educational process. (There are some new, young teachers who do not hold this position but they do not last long at this school. The principal accounts for this by stating that, "The teacher training they get does not prepare them to deal with 'ghetto schools.'") This elementary school is the initial educational experience for many of the students that later go to Fillmore High School, where the training for non-participation is continued. In addition, during the time I was observing at Porter County Institution School (the custodial institution), there were a a number of Arthur students in custody. Two of them were placed in the Porter School because they had committed some very destructive acts of vandalism at Arthur School. (They were two brothers, 8 and 11; in addition to vandalizing the school, they had subsequently broken into a large warehouse, figured out how to run the forklifts and had used the machinery to destroy much of the contents of the building.)

Wilson is a private school within the boundaries of the Cedar Point District. As previously described, it is urban, ethnically mixed, and most of the parents are college educated. In this school students are expected to have opinions on everything, including contemporary political events on the national scene, student dissent, and the like. They are also deliberately encouraged to express these opinions. Although they do receive training in political forms, such as student government, voting, and the like, the emphasis in the school is more on values than on forms. Students are encouraged to express opinions at all times and in any form that does not interfere with the values of individual rights and cooperation with other students. We can suggest that such students are rather likely to look for means to make their opinions felt outside of the conventional political forms if they later discover these forms to be inadequate for their purpose. Similarly, students given the kind of training that is prevalent at Arthur School are also likely to look for means outside the conventional political forms since they have no experience with and no belief in their ability to use such forms to obtain anyghing for themselves.

The following is a typical lesson during an observation day at Arthur School -- Grade 4. The teacher has a peculiarly strident voice.

Health

2:24. Class has just finished a lesson in which they demonstrated examples in front of the room of such exercises as "running in place." (The first allowed "activity" I'd seen in the class.)

Teacher: "Let's get back to our work now. The section is "Thinking of Others"."

Teacher tells a boy to start reading . . . the question in the book is: "What can you do to improve the mental health of your family when there is a sick person in your house?" The book lists various things that children can do in this situation. The teacher has students read this aloud.

Teacher: "Let's pay attention to what the book suggested."

Teacher has student read the same thing again as is her usual custom. Every answer in the book is read twice by different students.

2:30. Girl: "What if you have a sick person upstairs; (book had suggested sick person could call someone in household by rattling a spoon against a glass) a glass with a spoon wouldn't be heard and besides it would break."

The question was followed by a number of suggestions by students forming one of the only discussions I've ever heard in this classroom.

Teacher: "Let's get back to our work! Let's not ask those unsensible questions! Turn to the Health test on page 21."

Girl: "What if you visit someone sick and catch it?"

Several students tell stories about visiting sick people. Class giggles Teacher has obviously allowed stories to pass the time but now gets irritated.

Teacher: "That's not funny. (To girl who has hand up.) Do you have anything of value to tell the class?"

Teacher: "Turn to the Health test on page 21."

(As usual has each question read twice by students.) She then pronounces all the words listed in the answers and tells the students to pronounce them with her. This is done twice.

Teacher: "Who would like to pronounce the words? If you were paying attention you'll know them."

(They do this twice for each word.)

Teacher: "What are the directions for what we're going to do?"

(She tells them. They are to match meanings to words. First word is "considerate.")

Girl: "We don't even know what considerate means."

Teacher: "Look it up in your book." (Teacher looks it up, six meanings are listed. Teacher writes on board: Considerate--being thoughtful of others.)

Teacher (to class): "Some of you are not thoughtful of me, you never listen!"

Students are now instructed towrite out the words and meanings on paper. Student starts to work. Teacher says they don't know what to do yet, she hasn't finished telling them. Kids are very restless.

Girl: "Teacher, when are we going to have Art?"

Teacher: "We're not having it today." (Class groans.)

Teacher: "I never promised we were going to have it today!"

Teacher then reads the first question from the book. Several members of the class in unison give the answer. Teacher gets angry.

Teacher: "I didn't ask you to give no answer!"

Teacher continues with instructions.

Teacher: "Don't write the answer unless you think it's good. Write only the ones that you think are good rules." (Doesn't say how they can judge.)

The instructions go untill 2:44. At this point the teacher tells them she will give them paper and they are to take the whole Health Lesson home for homework.

The class gets noisy and the remaining time until dismissal at 3:00 is taken up with admonitions on behavior and cleaning up the classroom, at which time the students leave except for the nine whose names have been put on the board during the day for talking.

The only example of an opportunity for the teacher to discuss a political form or issue occurred on Day II.

8:50. Students line up in sexually-separated lines on playground and when the whistle is blown march to their classroom. On the blackboard are four behavior rules which the teacher had written after the class had left the previous day.

Enter classroom quietly.

Take a seat.

Do not talk in the class (or chew).

Wait for instructions.

The teacher had four separate students read these rules aloud, then said it was time for the Pledge. Several students argued with the teacher about whose turn it was to lead the Pledge. Teacher settled argument by arbitrarily picking one boy. Class gave the Pledge and sang America.

8:58. Sharing time. Teacher said she had an article to share when they got through. Until 9:16, ten children tell various anecdotes to class. They are allowed one minute apiece; the rest of the time is taken up by the following comments by the teacher:

J., take the gum out of you mouth.

You girls try to get here a little earlier (to three late students.)

Speak out, Carla, like you read the story yesterday.

Look at them, Carla (the class); they think you're talking to the chalk board.

Not "me and my brother," "my brother and I."

Take one minute!

Listen! You might learn something from him.

John, just wait till they get quiet.

You're not quiet. Listen to John now.

Stand still, John. Stand up straight.

How many more?

(Most of the sharing stories were about fights with siblings which involved physical violence and "telling mama".)

9:16. Teacher: "Listen to this, you might learn something by listening."

The teacher reads a fairly long article to the class about some Arthur parents who have filed a Federal suit to desegregate the school in Ash River District.

Class: "Oh we know those people . . . why are they doing that?"

Teacher: "So their kids can go to another school."

Class groans and comments, "Why do they want to go to another school? What's wrong with this one?"

Teacher: "They want schools to be mixed: not all Negro."

Kids make comments, mostly inaudible but critical.

Teacher (in loud, angry voice): "I thought it would be interesting! We've wasted enough time on this! Let's get to our work! We've wasted enough time! You're talking nonsense. Read the article if you're interested!"

Wilson School, Private - Cedar Point School District

9:20. Day I. The directory of the school comes into the classroom and says, "Our school is very messy. Do you have any ideas how to solve this problem?" (Papers in yard, etc.)

Girl: "We need a clean-up group."

Boy: "We had one it didn't work."

Girl: "How about a lunch monitor?"

Director: "Just don't throw papers. Please watch yourself and others."

Girl: "We can't go around watching people."

(Everyone agreed that going around monitoring other people is just not done in this school. The solution was that two children from each class --volunteers--went out to clean up the school yard.)

9:42. The classroom teacher, while the kids are preparing for a trip to the Public Library, reintroduces the subject of the messy yard.

Teacher: "If you see other children dropping papers and food, tell me or the Director."

Girl: "They are big enough to pick up things by themselves. We shouldn't watch people."

12:45. During lunch hour a group of students are playing a card game on the floor. They get into an argument about the rules of the game.

Boy: "It's against the law" (to do what another boy has suggested in the game).

They then try to involve the teacher in the argument.

Teacher: "Can't you settle it? What do the other children say?"

Boy: "They say no."

This seems to settle it and the game is resumed.

The teacher and students are discussing a trip to the mountains planned by several classes for the following week. The students are sitting on desks and on the floor clustered aroung the teacher who is in a low chair.

Teacher: "We can use the auditorium at night for skits and singing" (at the lodge).

Girl: "Can we bring battery TV's?"

Teacher: "No TV's" (to group) "How do you feel about bringing TV's to the mountains?"

Boy: "You have to consider the limitations of TV transmission in the mountains. How will we have time, anyway? Do you want to watch TV rather than play outside?"

Several students start talking at once.

Teacher (in low voice): "I'm getting angry . . . if you want to say something, I'm going to insist that you raise your hand. We want to hear it."

Girl: "There is too much beauty outdoors to see rather than watching TV." (She elaborates on this sentiment at some length.)

Teacher: "Do you really feel that way or do you think that's what somebody would say?"

Girl: "That's what my Mom says."

After some further discussion in which the student concensus seems to be that reception of TV is bad in the mountains and a few say that there will just be too many other things to do, the teacher gives her point of view which is essentially "cutting oneself off from nature" and mentions a book about Indians that the class had previously read. Discussion switches to another subject.

Interestingly enough, the school had a director for this year only (he resigned, since he said the school had different ideas on education than he did) who was born in Israel, and was trained and taught secondary school in both the United States and Israel. He pointed out that Americans are "ashamed not to have opinions." He said a United States teacher had come to his school in Israel and tried to elicit opinions from his students, but it was impossible for them to offer opinions, because "they didn't know what they were supposed to think." His objection to American students was they were expected to have opinions on subjects they didn't know anything about. He pointed out that the U. S. curriculum, such as Science projects, and the like, was often designed so that students would derive conclusions and form opinions. This was acceptable; but ask a student whether he liked Ming pottery (which presumably he would be ignorant of),and he felt most United States students would give an opinion of despite their ignorance. At Wilson School, he felt this was a particularly strong tendency; in addition, they were encouraged to express their ipinions under all circumstances. He felt that having an opinion, is, to Americans, a proof of individuality.

SUMMARY

Certain ommissions in the trainingfor students for participation in political forms may have come to the reader's attention. There were no examples of training in what to do with minority opinions (except for the student mention of this issue in the Monroe Junior High School Current Events discussion); in this the schools accurately reflect the use of political forms in United States society at large. Again, while there is some emphasis on "equal time" during the prevote expression of a diversity of opinions, there is a seeming lack of training the students to weigh and evaluate various viewpoints.

The range of subjects that students are encouraged to express opinions on obviously varies from one school to another. This is directly related to the amount of dissent that can be tolerated within a given "school culture" and this in turn appears to be correlated with the openness and closedness of the boundaries of a particular school. In this sample, at one extreme of toleration and wide range of subjects for discussion are Wilson (private-elementary), Tyler (Junior High School-public), and Buchanan (High School-public), all within the boundaries of the Cedar Point School District; and Lincoln High School and Polk Junior High School, both within the Laurel Creek School District. In addition, in this category there is Cleavland Elementary in Ash River (although, as was pointed out, it is the teacher, not the school who is an exception in this case.) Both of the first two school districts during the year of this study have been very concerned with implementing national directives on educational and social matters. Indeed, Cedar Point was in the first year of total racial integration of the district school system, with two-way busing, black studies curriculum, and other issues that are the local focus in compliance with or resistance to national education policies as stated by the Supreme Court in 1954 and emphasized by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the last several years. That Laurel Creek under the direction of a newly conservative school board and their selected new superintendent will probably become less open to national directives does not affect the observations done during 1968-69. The new superintendent of Cedar Point is committed to the widest possible boundaries, looking to legislation and educational ideas on a national level to provide legal, ideological, and social justification for his policies.

On the other end of the spectrum of openness and closedness are Arthur Elementary (segregated), Christian School (religious), Jefferson (rural, unincorporated), Hayes and Madison (small town), and Fillmore ("problem students" and in the same district as Arthur). In each of these cases the "school cultures" are representative of local boundary groups with special interests which superseded other, more nationally-oriented interests. National educational directives suffer a process of fairly great attrition and attenuation before they are translated into policies in these schools. The population of both of these schools and of the local communities which they represent tend to rely of face-to-face consensual decision making, rather than providing active participation in formal decision-making. The one seeming exception in this group is Taft Elementary in the Cedar Point School District, which on the basis of preparing students for participation in political forms, has to be placed with this group. However, this was the school in which my classroom observations were terminated after one-and-a-half days at the request of the teacher because of "personal pressures." My gues is that this teacher will either become more open or will terminate her employment with the district. Certainly, from the number of outsiders who appeared in her classroom during the brief observation period (a student-teacher, a "mother-helper," a supervisor, and two representatives of research projects), she was under a great deal of pressure to present a "functioning-under-the-new-integration" model to the public. It is not irrelevant that she was a black teacher, also.

The schools that fell into a more or less middle range in my sample are interesting in another way. All of them had some of the conventional forms of political-participation training. Two of them gave the impression that they were going through the forms, but for totally different reasons did not feel they had to take them very seriously. In Porter County, this is probably because the students are there very briefly, and in a custodial situation in which any decision-making on the part of the student may serve to temporarily alleviate their social tensions and hostilities, but is not going to affect the institutional structure. In the case of the two schools in Pine Grove (Garfield Junior High School and McKinley), the community, and consequently the school's attitude is that their students are destined by birth, training, social class, and ideology to occupy elite positions in the national culture. Therefore, while they should certainly learn the proper forms for national political life as a routine part of their schooling, the roles they are destined to play require that they not take them seriously as limitations on their participation.

It is pertinent to add here that although I was not deliberately observing the teacher's participation in political forms in their own professional interests, both at Cedar Point and Laurel Creek the most militant of the available teachers' unions were most powerful in these districts. It was also in these districts that teachers and students tended to form coalitions on various issues in opposition sometimes to the administration, sometimes to the school board, and sometimes to the parents.

How effective is the educational training of students in participation in United States political forms? One index of such success or the lack of it may be derived from the current statistics that in every region of the United States, at present, students in higher education are struggling to participate in decision making in the schools and in the community. More than this, in every region of the United States, in suburbs and rural areas as well as in cities, this year has seen a sharp increase in student protests and dissensions in high schools and junior high schools. In a recent national survey conducted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals, three out of five principals of secondary schools across the nation reported some form of active protest in their schools. Many who noted no protest added that they expected it in the very near future. The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare stated, "We must be prepared for much greater disorders in the secondary field" than have been seen in the colleges. The survey reported that racial conflicts were stated to be the major cause of disruptions and violence in the large cities. However, most protests, nationwide, both disruptive and peaceful, appeared to have as their central issue the growing effort toward more student freedom and involvement in school policy. It is possible to conclude from this that students are actively using the training they have received for participation in political forms and, when these prove inadequate, are going outside the conventional forms in which they have been trained.

DIFFERENTIAL EDUCATION

"The well-trained, competent teacher is the single most important person in the educative process through which a child accomplishes the purposes of public education." (From Basic Course of Study 1968-69)

"The response of the educated is simple a destructive impatience with the uneducated."

"Driving across the Prairie," Edward Dorn

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Just as the original introduction of student government into U. S. public school education was considered highly innovative and positive, the concept of grouping students within a grade by "ability" was hailed as a true educational advance. The assumptions were that such groupings would eliminate the problem of being a bright student held back and bored by a too-slowly paced class or a dull student discouraged and confused by a class that proceeded too rapidly. However, the operation of this structural device seems to have negative social and educational effects that outweigh the presumed advantages.

The majority of school districts in my sample use some system for grouping students on the basis of their predicted ability to learn the required curriculum and preferred classroom behavior. The usual formal criteria for ability placement are IQ scores, achievement tests; teacher evaluations of the student's ability and behavior; the students attendance record; health records and grades are kept in cumulative files that follow the student throughout his public school career. In practice, the placement of a particular student in a given ability group is based on the combined decision of teachers and counselors. Although in individual cases a teacher may question the placement of a particular student in a specific ability group (and therefore influence a change in his placement), teachers tend to accept such placement as given and refer to "my bright kids" or "my slow learners."

Whatever educational advantages ability-grouping may have, there is currently considerable doubt that is has advantages aside from convenience to teachers. In school districts with mixed racial, ethnic and socioeconomic populations, the children of poor and minority group parents compose the majority of the "lower" ability groups. Since parents and students, as well as teachers, are aware of the judgment that has been made on the student's ability by this placement technique, such grouping acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

It is in grade 7 (the beginning of Junior High School) that ability grouping becomes a major factor in the differential treatment of students. In the Basic Course of Study jointly compiled by 15 counties, including the two in which my sample schools were located, separate State text books are provided for different ability groups in Language Study, Mathematics and Science. Language Study and Science are divided into two groups: the top 70% of the class (labeled Rapid/Average) and the bottom 30% (labeled Slow). In Mathematics there are three groupings: Rapid (top 30%), Average (middle 45%), and Slow (bottom 25%).

Seven of the schools I observed had some form of ability grouping in grade 7, ranging from a nine-fold division in Ash River to special reading and mathematics classes at Willow Bend. Of the other three, Polk Junior High School in Laurel Creek, following district policy, did not use ability grouping. In Jefferson School where grades 5 through 8 were combined in one classroom , the more capable students tutored the less capable; in the Christian School, there was only one grade 7 classroom, and all students were expected to achieve at approximately the same level using identical materials. At Porter County School classes were formed on the basis of the expected length of time of custodial confinement, the individual's emotional state, and other non-educational factors. Given a district policy which includes ability-grouping, some districts and schools offer their teachers a choice of teaching heterogeneous groups if they so desire. Such a choice is usually made only by those teachers who believe that mixed ability classes are educationally or socially better for the students.

At Monroe School in Ash River, which regularly use nine ability groupings, only two teachers asked for mixed ability classes. The teacher whose class I observed had been convinced that ability-grouping was educationally sound until she had taken a university-sponsered summer workshop for teachers two years previously, in which some of the educational and social effects of ability-grouping were discussed. (This teacher had a Master's degree in education from an excellent school, and was active in both the most militant teacher's union in the district and in the Human Relations Committee in the school. Her relations with her students have been recounted in the description of Monroe School.)

In response to my usual question about what problems she had in her classes she commented on several students who had reading and behavior problems. One (white) boy in her class "traveled with a rough crowd" and was likely to be suspended eventually for vandalism or a similar act. She added that he was very bright, that she liked him very much and that she had just assigned him, with his enthusiastic agreement, to the job of tutoring the (black)boy in the class who had the severest reading problem. She felt this arrangement was likely to be successful because the poor reader admired the other boy for his social misbehavior.

The History teacher whom I observed in the same school stated bluntly that she would never consider teaching a non-ability-grouped class. She also commented that she disliked teaching but "loved the kids" (the conventional statement of teachers who seem to be the most hostile to young people.) Of the various ability levels of children that she taught, she had a marked preference for the high ability students. This was the teacher who asked the principal to tell me to terminate my observations in her"slow"class after the first day, because "anything new disturbs these kinds of kids." She also commented that she was sure that a number of the students in the slow class were really mentally retarded and should be in special classes for the handicapped. Her geographic origin was Southern, her teacher training was acquired at an all-female teacher training institute in the South, and her social attitudes in informal conversation were extremely conservative. I have no classroom evidence that her attitude toward her slow class was affected by the fact that a large number of the students were black.

Ability grouping, besides often producing a form of de facto segregation, also complicates the problem of pinpointing racism among teachers. Teachers who work in school districts that favor academic programs which place a high value on students' tested "brightness," and that formalize this preference in ability groupings, protect and perhaps prevent teachers from examining their own socio-cultural attitudes. They need only to say that they "do not work well with slow learners." Such teachers are likely to resist suggestions that ability-grouping be replaced by heterogeneous classes. (The above-mentioned teacher from Ash River flatly stated that she would under no circumstances teach mixed ability classes.) Many factors determine where a teacher seeks placement, such as salary, physical location, availability of jobs and the superintendent's reputation. Teachers also judge a district by what kinds of students they will be teaching and whether the district has ability grouping. Prior to the desegregation of the Junior High Schools in Cedar Point in 1964, Tyler had been a practically all-white school for middle and upper class residents of Cedar Point. The school had grouped seventh graders in as many as 16 different groups on the basis of test scores and teacher recommendations. When new attendance boundaries were drawn in 1964 to achieve racial balance at Tyler, the old grouping scheme had been abolished and four ability groupings were substituted plus some "honors" classes for gifted children. The purpose of the new groupings was ostensibly to insure a somewhat equitable distribution of black students in each class. In actuality black students comprised only about 10% (in a student population that was 40% black) of the honors and first level classes, and nearly 50% of the third level.

The decision to integrate was highly unpopular among the teachers who had taught in this school for many years, principally because teachers were assigned classes at all ability levels. The unhappiness of the teachers was perhaps as much an expression of self-interest as racial prejudice. They were forced to deal with problems they would rather not have faced. Many of them expected that the school would be transformed into a violent, slum school. Those teachers who could not, or would not, accept their assignment to lower level classes with many black student, left the system.

The teacher I observed at Tyler Junior High School in Cedar Point in 1969 commented only on the educational problems of individual students (i.e. reading difficulties). She did not refer them to their ethnic or racial identification. All of her classes were heterogenous (at her request) and all were conducted in essentially the same way: identical texts, assignments, and teaching methods. Within each class, she had a variety of assignments to be completed at various levels according to the individual capacity of the student. She did, however, comment on cultural differences between black and white students, and gave me the following anecdote from a previous years classroom:

The teacher had been discussing the many wives of Henry VIII.

Girl: "Why did he have so many wives?"

Black student: "I guess he just wasn't getting enough."

Another black student: "Man, who does?"

This teacher also stated that many of the black students told her, "You talk just like my Mama." She felt this was due not only to her pronounced Southern accent but to her firm, no-nonsense style; this, she said, is also like many of their mothers, as she knows from her own upbringing in a Southern state. This teacher was raised and educated in the South, had a Master's degree in an academic discipline, had taught for some time in a Junior College and has a son in the Vista Program. Her manner to all the students was firm, brisk, calm and pleasant. She had been at Tyler previous to its integration in 1964.

At Tyler I heard a large number of complaints about student behavior from teachers gossipping in the coffee room, but no comments that suggested discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic background. Since the school is integrated, teachers would probably not feel that it was prudent to state this even if they felt that certain problems were assignable to race. The complaints, instead, were about truancy, indifference to education, and lack of motivation. However, it is common gossip in Cedar Point that there have been a number of violent incidents at the school between black and white students and, in some cases, between black students and white teachers. (In most cases these involved teachers who remained from the time when the school student body was 90% white.) In private conversation, a male teacher commented that several of the white female teachers were afraid of and unable to deal effectively with some of the bigger, more militant black students. The new superintendent of Cedar Point District, at a very recent School Board meeting, made the following remarks in response to "concerns raised by members of the black community:"

After calling for an annual evaluation of teachers and administrative personnel "to see if they are making it with black kids," he stated: "We need to evaluate and say: you are making it with black kids and we are delighted; or you are not making it with black kids and what are your plans for more in-service training; or you are not making it with black kids and you don't seem to be able to--what are your plans for next year?"

At Hamilton School, in Sycamore City, all the classes that I observed were ability-grouped. The two teachers I observed were, on the whole, courteous to their students. Both of them made quite sure that I knew each class level of ability grouping, and several times in conversation assigned the social behavior of the class as a whole to their ability level. In the teacher's room, I heard several interesting comments. One teacher said that what really "shocked" some teachers at Hamilton was to have in their class an Oriental student who was not hard-working, well-motivated and academically competent. The majority of Oriental students in the school were not in the lower ability groups, and the stereotype was violated by those few who were. A large number of the students in the lower ability levels were from two minority groups. The particular teachers that had been selected by the principal for me to observe gave me no classroom data on the "average" teacher's reactions, but the teachers' and principal's comments quoted in the description of the school present a suggestion of more typical teacher stances. At Madison School in Mapleton District, the Principal stated that he favored heterogeneous classes but that the majority of his staff did not. In this school (as has been mentioned in the description) ability grouping defferentiated the students primarily on socio-economic lines, the students from the poorer sections of the community predominating in the lower ability levels. All the classes I observed were geography classes taught by the same teacher. With one exception, they were ability-grouped ranging from the above average to the below average. The exception was a mixed "educationally handicapped" and "gifted children" class (initiated by the teacher). The teacher's text books, assignments, and teaching methods, as well as his attitude toward the students were not observably different for any class. He did, however, comment that he gave much more individual help to the less capable students and that they tended to get bored and restless more quickly than the bright students.

This teacher wanted to experiment with team teaching (as two grade 8 teachers in the school were doing) and was interested in initiating students-tutoring-students. He felt that the ability grouping system in the school reflected and reinforced the class discrimination in the community.

It was at the Christian School that I saw one example of how the policy of a school (as interpreted in the classroom) amounts to selective harassment of certain children.

Day I. 11:12 (Grade 4, Math Period): As the last song is finished from the preceding singing period, the Teacher standing in front leads the class in unison...

5,10,15,20 (to 100)
10,20,30 (to 100)
2,4,6 (to 100) Meanwhile the class is getting out their arithmetic workbooks

11:15 Teacher (to boy) "7,14...?"

Boy: "21,28 (etc.)" He misses 91. Girl behind him continues 7's. (Teacher usually starts at front corner and goes up and down the rows...the pupils always know what to expect. When student makes a mistake, other students make very sotto voce comments and occasionally giggle out loud).

Anne /the girl who had tutoring in reading earlier/ standing up misses...Teacher trying to elicit answer. (This is awful for kids that have trouble either with math or public recitation.)

11:21 (These kids keep looking at me; partly because they don't know what I'm judging, partly because they have to perform so much.)

11:22 Jean having trouble. Teacher helping her. (The other students are expected to sit quietly while someone is reciting, no matter how long it takes.)

When everyone has done 7's Teacher starts addition and multiplication problems. Tom comes in...slowly. Teacher tells him to hurry up and then asks him to say his 7's. He gets stuck very soon. Teacher tells him to write his 7's on the board.

11:30. Student brings me a math workbook. Teacher gives class 6 rows of addition to work at their seats. She sends Anne to board to work a problem.

11:34. Teacher: "How many are not finished?" (about 6)

11:35. Teacher starts at corner and has each student read a problem and give the answer. Tom loses place. Anne still at board... Teacher goes and helps her again while rest of seated students take turns giving the answer.

11:36. (In this kind of classroom structure, kids that don't do well are really conspicuous because of the demand for recitation.)

Tom lost his place again.

Class (in loud whispers) "Tom,Tom,Tom..." trying to help him find place.

Teacher: "How many had them all right?" Majority of class leap to their feet.

11:38. Teacher now writes division problems on board for seat work, and callson volunteers to give answers. Teacher calls girl to her desk, speaks to her and she goes to board to help Anne (who is still standing there.)

Teacher then explains a "new way to do division" and leads the class through it step by step.

11:48. Kids go to board by rows and work problems from the book. Rows that are not at board work problems at desks.

11:55. Anne and her helper are still at the board. Teacher finally tells them to sit down. Teacher sends two rows to board with the exception of Tom whom she tells to stay in his seat. Teacher tells Jean to erase her problem and sit down. (I don't know why.)

Until 12:08 students work problems quietly at desk. They go up to Teacher for individual help. After a while she moves around helping. Anne was at the board for 25 minutes.

Day II. Anne at board again, alone. This time, writing words she had missed in her reading lesson. Tom scolded at least four times by teacher for talking etc. Jean scolded at least once that I observed for talking.

Day III. Anne was only student who missed a problem in the math session. That means she had to stay seated when others stood up and stand up alone afterwards. Also, Anne's picture was the last one sprayed with fixative by the art teacher. Same Teacher kicked Tom out of Art class for talking.

Jean, Anne, and Tom are three of the five black pupils in the class of 34. Tom and Anne are brother and sister. One of the other black girls has completely blended in. She is lighter-skinned, is affiliated with a clique of white girls and speaks with no accent. One black boy was usually mildly hostile to the teacher.

Jean appeared to be behind much of the class academically but very quick and verbal, as well as loud and aggressive. She made a number of hostile remarks about the teacher and the class. Both Tom (who was fat) and Anne (who was shabby and somewhat unkempt) failed to meet the physical, as well as the educational, standards of the classroom. In addition, they both had pronounced accents (as did Jean). I asked several teachers about Tom and Anne; I assumed they were new this year, because they were so far behind and so out of step with the rest of the class. A Teacher said no, on the contrary, they had both been in the school for three years and seemed to have learned very little. She commented that they had a bad family situation, a working mother and no father. She then added that many of the other students had the same situation. She was sincerely trying to explain their position. Finally, she said that the classroom's standards were so rigorous that children that were "simple" had a very difficult time. Another Teacher commented on one of their siblings, saying he wasn't "simple." The teacher agreed, but pointed out that his behavior left a lot to be desired. The conclusion seemed to be that for unknown reasons these were deviant children. Since the three children described above were the ones that received the brunt of the scoldings in the grade 4 classroom, their "deviance" was not likely to decrease.

On the last day that I was at the school, one of the very sincere religious teachers told me that she had taught Mexican-Americans previously (at a different school) and "the Mexican-Americans ... and the Negroes too, of course, are very good at Music and Art...innately, you know." A similar comment was made by a substitute teacher at Porter County School. As we walked out of the classroom on the first day she said, "I just love to watch those black kids. They're natural-born comics. Just born in them I guess."

The teachers' attitudes at Christian School seem to be a mixture of overemphasis on school achievement combined with an ignorance about cultural differences. The above comment and the following one from a teacher at Cleveland School are indicative of simple racism. Although she had been employed in a school with a large proportion of Mexican-American children for years, a teacher at Cleveland stated that while the Portuguese were poor but clean, the Mexicans were dirty and didn't even clean their toilets. After developing this theme at some length she concluded that it "was just born in" Mexicans. I asked if she thought it was genetically inherited from their parents. She said, "Well, I don't know about that but it's certainly born in." Since she was a teacher who did not wish to be observed, I had to infer her classroom attitudes from her coffee-room conversation (always a risky proposition). She also stated that all property taxes should be removed and a tax put on food instead: "the poor can use their government food stamps." Her husband is a prominent local real estate dealer; the inference is reasonable that she was unlikely to be sympathetic to the problems of her largely low-socio-economic status students, many of whom were Mexican-American. She also commented that Ash River District accepted far too much Federal money with its "requirements" (for desegregation) and that only Willow Bend had the right idea, accepting no Federal Funds, only State money that had no such restrictions. (In this she was wrong; Willow Bend does use Federal educational funds; they simply have no large minorities to desegregate, and are a relatively rich district, not eligible for many Federal programs.)

The Attitude of the administration and teachers at Arthur School has already been given in previous descriptions. At Arthur there are Community workers or para-professionals whose job is to help students whose problems are "personal," that is, difficulties related to home or community circumstances and which also affect school performance. Some teachers always use the Community Workers to deal with disturbances in the classroom since the workers know the majority of the students, their siblings, and their parents. Some teachers send students to the principal and ignore the Community Workers because they are regarded as representatives of the community. Mr. G. was the male Community Worker at Arthur. One day after recess in Grade 4, the Teacher apparently contaced G. or he observed some fight on the playground. Immediately after recess he came into the classroom for two minutes to support the teacher. He knew every child by name and made personal comments to a number of them. He lectured them in a hostile, joking manner; he told them to mind their own business and tell the teacher when something happened.

G: "Tell teacher--you tell Mama when you want something. We'll all be staying till 4o'clock otherwise," etc., etc. (A lecture followed on general and specific behavior). After he left the students started talking to each other.

T: "Don't start something just because he's gone--." Students are arguing about whether G. meant that any of them would really stay after school today.

Since both G. and the Teacher are black, as are all but one of the students, this is not racism, but condescension and contempt, the general stance of most of the white and black personnel in this school. These children are losers. They are yelled at, talked down to and "broken in." I suspect that black teachers in the school tell students exhibiting certain kinds of behavior that they are "acting like niggers..." although they certainly would not say this, nor hit students in front of me.

At Polk Junior High School in Laurel Creek, the Grade 7 teacher fined herself a nickel every time she inadvertently called a student by the wrong name. There was a girl in this class whom I never heard speak a word of anything except in Spanish. (She was a foster child from South America). I noticed that the girl understood, and was beginning to speak English to some of her classmates but that she still had difficulty speaking any English to adults. The Teacher said that she felt that it was far more important at this time for the girl to gradually develop confidence in, and friendly relations with, her classmates than to be pushed to learn English formally. She was always included in, and contributed to, every class project although the teacher did not call on her for verbal presentations. In this class there were always classroom alternatives for every student and there several who did not choose verbal modes of expression; hence, this did not mark her as "different."

In many of the schools in my sample, the teachers' emphases were on individual problems with the students. The major exceptions are as follows:

Wildwood grade 4, Pine Grove.--This class was described to me several times as "not typical";"children with learning problems." In the classroom however, the teacher treated the children distinctly on an individual basis (cf. description of classroom).

Cleveland grade 4, Ash River.--The teacher spoke mostly of individual problems but mentioned several times that there was something in the classroom attitude of Oriental boys that disturbed her. However, it did not seem to affect her classroom behavior. Other teachers at Cleveland made a number of remarks about the differences between "these children and middle-class children." "They aren't trained in self-control," etc., a socio-economic class distinction. I did not observe how this feeling was evidenced in the classrooms.

Arthur grade 4, Ash River.-- While the teacher mentioned two specific children as problems because of "their immaturity," she yelled, shouted, nagged and criticized in the classroom most of the time, as if the children were a lower form of life. Comments by other teachers and by the principal also confirmed that the children were constantly criticized on the basis of their "background."

Fillmore grade 11, Ash River.-- The general attitude here was "at a school like this";"with students like these--." This was not necessarily racial, but rather that these students were failures in the regular system. The causes of their failure were rarely considered.

In addition, at Laurel Creek, Pine Grove, and Willow Bend and Mapleton there were a number of comments on the limitations imposed on the students by the community. "Insular, parochial, complacent, too narrow" and the like. All these communities had a common factor; each was essentially a single-class community and each was essentially a single-class comminity and each was isolated from the major metropolitan area by social or geographical factors.

In reviewing the effects of ability-grouping in the various school districts, it seems clear that despite the original educational reasons for introducing this device into the school structure, such grouping now serves different functions in different districts. Both those who favor grouping and those who criticize it reflect current ideologies about the function of schooling in U. S. society. These ideas about schooling are examined in more detail in the chapter on "The Function of Schools," but further comments are appropriate here in relation to the differential treatment of students.

Racially, ethnically, and economically homogeneous commenities, such as Pine Grove, justify the use of ability grouping on the grounds that it is "realistic" in helping the students (and their parents) to plan their later college and career training. Those students in the lowest of the three ability groups probably provide the consistent 25% of the student body who go onto two-year, rather than four year, colleges after graduation. Thus, ability grouping is closely correlated with academic ability and reflects an intense competitiveness about grades as the basis for later entry into select colleges. This use of ability grouping is consistent with the view of the parents and the school board that schooling is to train children for college. (Not coincidentally, Pine Grove schools have no vocational courses except for Business Mathematics and English, which are considered tobe "academically sound").

Laurel Creek, another homogeneous community, does not have ability grouping. Although the majority of Laurel Creek students also expect to go to college (only 11% of the 1967 class planned to take jobs after graduation) the educational policies of the district for the last several years have stressed individual development and training for democratic citizenship as the goal of schooling. The lack of ability grouping is consistent with this emphasis.

Willow Bend does not start ability grouping (except for special mathematics and reading classes for problem students) until grade 8; thus, I did not directly observe any of its effects. Several teachers in this district commented that the most noticeable effect of such grouping was to destroy student friendships that had been constant since kindergarten but that "the students didn't seem to really mind after it was explained to them." It is possible (since 28% of the 1967 graduates planned to go to work) that secondary school ability grouping divides students simply into those who are college bound and those who are employment bound. In this case, the grouping probably reflects socio-economic differences among the students. This would be consistent with fact that of all the public school districts in my sample, Willow Bend offers the most vocational training courses in secondary school. In this district parents have very little interest in schooling that does not provide some sort of job training for their children.

In Mapleton School District, ability grouping clearly functions to separate students on a socio-economic basis. The sutdents in the lower ability groups are openly acknowledged to be coming from the elementary schools in the poorest sections of the community, which include the small minority population. These are the students that comprise the majority of the 23% of the 1967 graduates that planned to go to work immediately.

Cedar Point, Ash River, and Sycamore are communities with economically, ethnically, and raically mixed populations. Of these three communities, Cedar Point has traditionally had the most academically-oriented school curriculum. The ability grouping system was justified on the basis of best preparing students for college. It is true that only 11% of the 1967 graduates planned to enter the job market and the rest planned on college. However, the lower ability grouped students-which included a very high percentage of minority students--usually go to two-year colleges and the drop-out rate is conceded tobe high. Cedar Point School Board, however, has announced that the ability-grouping system will be completely dissolved by 1971. The current educational philosophy of Cedar Point combines an ideology of schooling as training for college with an emphasis on training for democratic citizenship and individual development. This results in a philosophy that college is a "right" for allthe students in the community. Consistent with this viewpoint is the fact that although there is much discussion of vocational training in the district only 5% of the weekly curriculum hours are devoted to vocational courses.

Some members of the Sycamore educational system see the community as judging "the effectiveness of the school in terms of the product which it receives in the work world." For a number of years the major preoccupation of the school system seems to have been with"discipline." A survey among administration and teachers in the Sycamore system reveals two strongly opposed views about schooling; one view emphasizes "control" of students. Everyone seems to agree that poor and minority students receive the worst education and present the greatest disciplinary and educational problems. Sycamore had de facto segregation by schools and within schools trhough ability grouping. Most teachers seem to expect that the lower ability groups will have a majority of minority students, and their expectations are regularly confirmed. 32% of the 1967 Sycamore graduates planned to go to work rather than to college after high school. However, the ratio of weekly curriculum hours of vocational courses was no higher (5%) than in Cedar Grove where only 11% of the students planned to go to work. It is clear that the educational system is concerned with training its students niether for jobs nor for college. Considering the amount of physical and verbal violence that characterizes student-teacher, district administration-teacher organization and school board-parent group confrontations, the educationalsystem does not seem to be using schooling as a place to train for democratic citizenship either. There seems tobe no clear statement that can be made about the Sycamore School District's view of the purpose of schooling. The function of ability grouping within this context would appear to be mainly be a convenient method of segregating the poor and minority students who are thought of as most likely to cause trouble.

Considering the open communtiy opposition to desegregation of Ash

River elementary schools and the partial segregation of minority students by ability grouping within the secondary schools, the School Board appears to have two educational goals, one for racial minority students and a second for white students. 37% of the 1967 Ash River graduates planned to seek employment. Since less than 24% of the total student body is black, many of the students planning to work are white. The Ash River District is second only to Willow Bend in the ratio of weekly curriculum hours devoted to vocational courses (15%). Thus, one of the functions of schooling would appear to be training for jobs. However, even vocational courses require basic educational skills and the students at segregated Arthur School consistently test at three grade levels below State reading norms for their grade. The drop-out rate of black students before the grade levels are reached (where vocational courses are available) is predictably high. One can hypothesize that Ash River is training its black students for second-class citizenship.

The educational goals of a particular district are important aspects of the school structure; the district board decides whether there will be ability grouping, and this in turn plays a major role in determining how teachers will treat different students in the classroom. Obvously, there are many teachers who, even within the confines of this structured situation, choose not to differentiate their students on such a basis. Those teachers, however, who do wish to express anger, disdain, contempt or condescion towards poor, minority, or less capable students have an ideal situation provided for them.

There are, of course, other classroom methods available to teachers who wish to be punitive, hostile, or moralistic. Student conduct codes are frequently subjectively interpreted by teachers. Many teachers speak of "defiance" on the part of the students but one teacher may interpret unpleasant facial expressions as defiance and another may reserve that term (and the subsequent punishment) for actual assault. A teacher may refer students with discipline problems to be counselor or community worker or to a principal or vice principal. A teacher may either consciously or unconsciously combine behavior grades with scholastic grades. Thus a student's participation is affected in both curricular and extracurricular activities that depend on specific minimum grade point averages. However, it should be noted that the successful use of all these methods depends on at least tacit compliance on the part of the particular school and ultimately of the school districts.

A SOURCE OF CHANGE IN EDUCATION

A major source of change in U. S. education is new policies introduced at the National and State levels in an attempt to deal with large-scale problems. In such areas as welfare, agriculture, and roads both policy and control over the implementation of the policies have shifted from local to state and national authorities. Although local control is still far more extensive in the area of education there is a growing trend to transfer control in this level also to sources outside of the community. Local communities set educational policy but they do so within the standards set by State policies.

The most conspicuous current example of a change in educational policy at the National level which is affecting local school policies is school desegregation. The policy was stated by the Supreme Court in 1954, and translated in federal legislation in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the State in which this study was done, the State Board of Education in 1962 formalized a policy favoring the elimination of existing segregation and curbing any tendency toward its growth. In 1963, the State Supreme Court issued a decision which stated, in part, "School Boards must take steps, insofar as is reasonably feasible to alleviate racial imbalance in the schools regardless of cause." Both national and State policies are thus clearly in favor of eliminating racial imbalance in the schools.

Since about 1958, two of the school districts in my sample, Ash River and Cedar Point, have been subjected to pressure from various groups within their respective communities to change the racial balance in their schools. By the fall of 1968, Cedar Point had completed desegregation of all the public schools in the district; Ash River had desegregated only a number of the secondary schools in their district. The following brief comparison of the history of the desegregation struggles in these two communities may present at least a partial picture of why the clear messages of change from the National and State level were so differentially received by these two districts.

Cedar Point

Until 1958, a conservative school board and a conservative educational leadership had remained mutually indifferent to the problems associated with the rapidly changing population of the Cedar Point schools. (The almost homogeneous white community of 1939 had by 1964 become one of the most racially diverse cities in the entire region). The community's response to change was reluctant and uneven. Segregated housing patterns were common; employment discrimination was widespread and social services were poor. The dominant leadership in both the city and the schools was reluctant to initiate changes.

This was the situation in 1958 when the Cedar Point branch of the NAACP addressed the school board on the problem of racial separateness in the schools of an interracial but segregated community. As a result of this presentation a Citizens Advisory Committee was formed to formulate specific recommendations. In 1959 a still-reluctant board, persistently pressured by a new anti-segregation Superintendent, adopted the recommendations which were focused not on desegregation but on Compensatory Education, including workshops in intergroup education. Despite community and school staff differences, and with the help of a new school board which backed the superintendent, all these recommendations were carried out in the schools.

In 1962, CORE made a presentation to the school board which documented the existence of identifiable de facto segregated schools in Cedar Point, largely due to the residential patterns of the community. The Superintendent's recommendation for a Citiznes Committee to define, study, and make suggestions for action was accepted by the board. The 1963 report of this committee dealt with the twin problems of compensatory education and desegregation, and suggested various solutions. The community opposition to change within the schools centered around the issue of changing boundary lines to alter the racial composition of the schools. A conservative tax-protest group and a Parents for Neighborhood Schools group led the opposition to any changes in boundary lines (or in ability-grouping within the schools.) Parent-Teacher organizations were dividedin their support for change also, primarily along racial lines.

An alternative integration plan for the secondary schools was proposed by a Cedar Point teacher. Both proposals were studied by a committee and in 1964 the Superintendent presented his recommendations for an immediate reorganization of the Junior High Schools, a compensatory education budget, a modification of the ability grouping system and an elementary school re-districting plan. All but the last were approved unanimously by the board. (The one board member who was opposed to any such changes resigned immediately before the presentation).

The opposing groups in the community, with the encouragement of the local newspaper, launched a movement to recall the entire school board. This movement was also supported by the Retired Teachers Association, some local professors, some unhappy parents, and some "liberals" who were apparently upset by integration in their own home town. A group supporting the new plan also formed in the community, composed of a wide representation of the diverse racial and national groups in Cedar Grove. The chairman was a university professor and the co-chairman was a member of the NAACP. Since many of the supporters of the changes had gone on vacation, this group (by various legal means) delayed the recall election until their supporters had returned in the fall. Meanwhile a new Superintendent with a national pro-integration reputation had been hired by the school board. Despite an intensive door-to-door recall campaign, the voters chose to retain the pro-integration school board by a vote of two to one. The secondary schools were integrated.

After an intensive program of community and student preparation, a restructuring of the elementary schools, and a trial test by busing selected black students to white schools, all the elementary schools were desegregated using complete two-way busing in the fall of 1968. Although only tentative evaluations have been made of the results of this total school desegregation, the student population remained stable in 1968 (as it had for the previous three years) at 50% white, 41% black and 9% Oriental. Teacher turnover in the district also remained stable at 10%.

There are, of course, a number of groups and many individuals in in the community who still oppose desegregation and the abolition of ability-grouping, which is the next item on the educational agenda.

Ash River

In 1958 the School Board for the Ash River Secondary School District, over the protests of many parents, changed school attendance boundary lines to improve the racial balance at a number of secondary schools. In 1965 the elementary schools were unified also. At that time, there were also new school board elections. These elections were preceeded by a great deal of talk about unequal schools and about a policy of working toward integrated schools. The new liberal school board set a policy of trying to establish a better racial balance through relieving overcrowded conditions (primarily at segregated black schools) by one-way busing of black students to under-crowded white schools. Even this mild move brought vigourous protests of "forced busing" from some white parents. There were, however, no protests over the busing of white students from one white elementary school to another to relieve overcrowding.

The school board elections in 1967 were fought on the basis of "neighborhood schools" and two fervent anit-busing candidates were elected thus retaining a liberal majority on the board but guaranteeing that all votes on integration issues would be consistently split 3 to 2. The only black member of the previous board, an outspoken integrationalist, was defeated.

Following this election, the board meetings turned into shouting matches with members of the audience and board members themselves calling each other names, the most printable of which were "bigot," "racist," and "communist." Both a tax-payers group and a Parents for Neighborhood Schools group were prominent at these meetings.

In 1967, a number of related events occurred. Several parents of children who attended a totally racially-segregated elementary school filed a federal suit demanding desegregation of that school. Over the protests of the dissenting conservative minority the school board accepted the suit's claim of de facto segregation in the Ash River District and presented a desegregation plan for the entire District to the court. A court order compelling desegregation and accepting the majority board's plan was handed down. The schools were to be completely desegregated within three years beginning in the fall of 1969. Meanwhile, the largest State professional association of teachers had filed "sanctions" against the Ash River District stating that no professional teachers should accept employment in the district and that those currently employed there should seek jobs elsewhere. This was followed shortly by sanctions from the National Teacher's Association.

In response to the school board's desegregation plan, an ad hoc dues paying Citizens Committee was organized, with the stated goal of changing the composition of the board and of reversing the school district's position on busing.

School board elections were scheduled for spring of 1969. Shortly before the election, the school superintendent, in response to statements by various candidates that the national government was opposed to busing and that "separate but equal" facilities would meet federal guidelines, sent a request for guideline clarification to HEW. The reply from the director of the Office for Civil Rights stated, ". . . In some communities such as (Ash River), the only practicable way to integrate the system in the immediate future is by busing." During the same period a poll was taken of all student body leaders in the Ash River Schools. They unanimously voted for integration even if it meant busing.

The Ethics Committee of the State Teacher Association, at the request of the local branch, conducted two brief surveys of the problems of the school district. The ensuing report stated, ". . . can conclud only that a proper teaching situation for staff and an effective learning opportunity for children do not exist under the current conditions in the (Ash River) Unified School District." The reasons assigned for this state of affairs were, " . . . community in-fighting, a split board of education, a lack of effective communication among leaders, and inadequate financing."

The three liberal members of the board decided not to run for reelection and a solidly anti-busing board was voted into office. The first action of the new board was to turn over all the powers of the superintendent (whose contract had three years to run) to a deputy superintendent. The Superintendent was limited to those duties "assigned in writing by the board," and the deputy was given power to veto actions by the superintendent. The board's second action was to veto the district's desegregation plan, that had been scheduled to begin in the fall of 1969. A successful tax-increase election in early summer was taken as an expression of confidence in the new conservative board. The Board then unanimously approved a modified busing plan based on voluntary busing and open enrollment in certain schools. Essentially this would involve the busing of black students to less crowded white schools. Whether such a plan will meet federal guidelines has not yet been determined.

In these brief accounts of the history of the desegregation in the two districts, it is clear that both districts shared several elements. Very little change occurred in the segregation situation in either district until members of the minority groups began to apply pressure to the educational establishment. In both districts, when the movers of change encountered opposition they resorted to the courts. When the conservative polity were subject to pressure, they appealed to the electorate. The assumption was that the majority of the voters would support de facto segregation; this seems to be a reasonable assumption in contemporary U. S. life. In both districts, tne teachers as a group did not take a very positive part in the fight for desegregation. Some teachers supported the change; some supported de facto segregation; most did nothing. This is consistent with the tradition that teachers should be non-political, as a matter of self-interest if nothing else, because their jobs are vulnerable.

In most other respects the two districts are very different. Ash River has a large white working-class population, many from Southern areas of the U. S., who are openly racially prejudiced. They also have a great deal of ambivalence about the proper goal of education, which they see primarily as a source of better jobs. Cedar Grove has a mixed population which includes a great number of college-educated people. They are more concerned about the lowering of educational standards rather then the mixing of racial groups.

The majority of the Ash River communtiy appears to interpret individual rights as their right not to have their children forced to associate in school with "inferior" people. Some verbatim statements from my notes on a school board meeting in Ash River supply a more vivid picture of the general community feelings. The quotes are from an emergency Ash River school board meeting called in response to the filing of a federal suit to compel desegregation. Audience members spoke to the board. One black man in the audience began by pointing out that the parents who had filed a suit were trying to work through legal, peaceful means. "If this doesn't work, they'll damn well have to try something else." Atthis point there was a great out-cry from the (largely white) audience. "Watch that language!" "There's ladies in the house!" "Shut up and sit down!" The man concluded his speech by saying, "Either you do something about the schools or we'll do something about the schools!"

A white woman then snatched the microphone away from the next speaker and began an impassioned statement, the gist of which was that the mothers who had filed the suit were anti-American. She continued: "We're the majority, I speak for the majority. Anyone who wants to destroy the establishment institutions...who attacks our American values, our police department...is anti-American. We are the majority. You have to listen to us, not them." (The audience applauds and stomps.)

In Cedar Grove the individual's rights appear to be interpreted as his right to associate with anyone they choose. The school board in Cedar Point, while not in perfect agreement, was apparently able to reach a consensus of the majority of the time. The Ash River school board after 1967 always contained two violently opposed viewpoints.

The superintendent's office which can be an important force in effecting change in school policies and in providing direction to the local citizenry, did exactly this in Cedar Point. Beginning in 1962 the

Cedar Point school superintendent wrote a weekly column in a local newspaper (which frequently disagreed with his policies) that served both to explain educational changes to the general public and to influence their attitude toward such changes. In Ash River, as the Ethics Commission pointed out in their report, there has been a consistent lack of communication among the educational leaders and between them and the community. Although the Ash River Superintendent supported the desegregation plan, it is clear from his subsequent replacement by one of his deputies, that the district administration wasnot in agreement with the policy.

Among the many other specific factors that influenced the attitudes of the two communities, their general openness to national influences seems important. The presence of a nationally-oriented university within the Cedar Point community, the resulting economic dependence of many of its members on the Federal Government and the consequent relative familiarity of the community with interests beyond the local level undoubtedly helped make the community less resistant to educational and social change. Furthermore, not only did the initial challenges to segregation within the community come from two nationally-based groups but members of these groups continued to be active throughout the desegregation process. The prestige and moral support provided by these groups was considerable. In Ash River, there appear to have been no connections to nationally based organizations. It is doubtful if such groups can command any prestige in the locally focused population of Ash River, perhaps not even among the minority groups that they should represent. There is another sizable minority group in Ash River besides blacks. This group either stayed totally uninvolved or sided with the anti-integrationists. Apparently they also felt threatened by change.

Israel and the United States: Education in Perspective

"A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the Legislature shall encourage by all suitable means the promotion of intellectual, scientific, moral and agricultural improvement." (State Constitution, "Education" 19th Century)

"The public school is an instrument of social policy. It is one of the most important instruments society has at hand to preserve its heritage and to direct its orderly evolution. . . " (State School Board Association, 1969)

"The purpose of public education in the United States of America is to promote the fullest possible development of the skills, attitudes, knowledge and conduct of each child, so that he may live effectively as a responsible member of our society." (Basic Course of Study--1968-69)

"If education has a purpose that can be defined in a single sentence, it is to prepare students for successful pursuit of life in an adult society." The key requirements is ". . . preparation for making sufficient money to meet one's needs." (Newspaper Editorial, 1968)

"Right now the kids should be learning the tools of learning --the three R's, the principles of physics, astronomy, geography-- factual subjects that don't require value judgments." (Newspaper Columnist on Elementary Education, 1968)

"Schools are traditionally concerned with the 3 R's. In . . . school districts across the nation, the newly-stated focus is on the 2 C's--Curriculum and Counseling." (Newspaper Education writer, 1968)

"We're supposed to make ladies and gentlemen out of them, no matter how long or tough the task. Above all, we're expected to make them learned." (State Superintendent of Instruction, 1968)

As one reads district policy statements, talks to teachers and administrators, scans the newspapers, and peruses the voluminous literature on education, the stated functions of schooling fall roughly into five major categories: (1) training for citizenship; (2) individual development; (3) quality education; (4) training for jobs; and (5) preparation for college.

The first category provides the most outstanding common denominator of education in Israel and the United States, as it probably does for all educational systems. Nevertheless, training for citizenship in the two societies is conducted according to different styles and by different means. This is not due to different educational philosophies *per se*, but rather to different definitions or conceptualizations of citizenship, which are in turn due to the fact that the two societies are at different stages of sociopolitical development: Israel is a new nation in which the conformity and allegiance of its citizens are still being sought, while in the United States the central (federal) state is on the verge of completing its entrenchment. In Israel, the central state continues to share decision-making and implementation with local boundary-systems. While this is also true in the United States, the area in which local nexuses retain decision-making autonomy has shrunk rapidly during the recent years. Rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding and espite the absence of a clearly defined bureaucratic style in this regard, there are very few spheres of social activity in which local boundary systems in the United States retain autonomy in deicsion-making and implementation. The structure of education and educational curriculum are among the few remaining bastions of local autonomy in United States society. However, as was seen in the previous chapter on sources of change in United States education, the days of such autonomy appear to be numbered. As the pressures toward racial integration increase from the central state, the responses of the petty states will become increasingly uniform. If racial and ethnic integration of the schools are the Spring of United States education, can centralized curricular reform and homogeneity be far behind?

Corresponding to Israel's status as a new nation, training for citizenship focuses on legitimating ideology. The sense of "being Israeli" still has to be implanted in the country's growing citizenry, together with corresponding resolutions of the definitions of Jewsihness, the problems of relations between Israel as a Jewish state and Jews outside Israel, and the contradictions between Israel's self-definition as a democracy and its *apartheid* system. The peculiar nature of these problems in Israel forces its educational system to focus on the past in its quest for rational legitimacy, as seems to happen in most new nations though the specific problems vary. The thorniness of the problem of *apartheid* in Israel is best illustrated by the following. During Cohen's last few days in Israel (and after his report was completed and sent to the typist), he succeeded in holding a series of interviews with several cabinet ministers. Each of these interviews began with a description of the method used in the research in Israel and the United States. (It was a welcome confirmation of the method when each of the cabinet ministers said that it was nothing new to him since he lived it daily.) The discussion was then shifted to the problem of centralization; each answered to direct questioning that centralization was a conscious and deliberate policy of the Israeli state But the most revealing material came in connection with discussions with each of these ministers about the major problems of his ministry and its relationship to education. Not once did any of these ministers mention Arabs, whether in or outside Israel; each spoke as though only Jews lived in Israel.

While it would take us too far afield to analyze the relationship between this and the society's ideology orientation to the past, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that a comparable state of affairs once existed in the United States; in all likelihood, there was undoubtedly once a time when white United States citizens could discuss education and other spheres of social activity in terms that implied that only white people lived in the United States. That this is impossible in 1969--for whatever reason--is the crux of the matter. This is an important aspect of a state's legitimation, to which insufficient attention has been paid, that the dominant groups in a nation--which is always a heterogeneous entity--are able and willing to speak and think (if not act, though actions have a way of lagging behind rhetoric) of all the groups in the society in terms which suggest that all are equally integral parts of the society. The verbal ferment and its associated unrest in contemporary United States society are important aspects of the final throes of the central state's legitimation; there is not society in history that has accomplished this without turmoil.

It is suggested here that this is one of the reasons that United States education has shifted from training for citizenship through legitimating ideology to a training which emphasizes the forms of participation. This is not to say that United States society is one in which people do or do not participate in the governance of the body politic. It is to say, instead, that those who speak in the name of the state seem to feel that the state has won its battle of attrition against local boundary systems, that the loyalty and allegiance of the polity have been secured, and that the polity can at least by allowed to feel that they can participate in the political process. As Mrs. Fredrickson has shown in the material gathered in the United States, the current "unrest" in United States secondary schools and colleges and universities must be regarded as a payoff of this training for citizenship. That this payoff is regarded as neither undesirable nor as threatening to the stability of the political order of the society is illustrated by the fact that they have not been suppressed by the nation's rulers--who could probably do so in a matter of hours, or at most days, if they really wanted to. It seems apparent that the nation's rulers are not feeling excessively threatened by the symptomatology of the most rapid change the world has ever known. (From the point of view of the total society and its evolution, the perorations of the local chieftains of the petty states are relatively umimportant.)

Thus, as Mrs. Fredrickson has shown, and as documented above in the chapter on "Training for Opinions," such training may focus on the students' proper relationto authority, democratic participation, the responsibilities of citizenship, patriotism, law and order, or manners and morals, depending on the particular district and school. Since this is now part of the curriculum of United States education, those who oppose uniform curricula would also have to oppose the uniform across-the-board training for the United States version of citizenship in all schools, regardless of socioeconomic, racial, ethnic, and other criteria by which pupils are characterized.

Where Israel and the United States show their greatest difference in the educational sphere is in connection with the second category, namely, individual development. In Israel, as has been seen, the emphasis in education is on the group, espcially the religious and national entity. This is consonant with society's orientation to the past and its status as a new nation, in which the sense of the group must be established and implanted. In the United States, consonant with its affluence and status as an established nation--in which the sense of society appears to have been firmly established in the minds of the polity--the society has been able to allow the individual free play in his self-realization and in the fulfillment of his potentials. It is not accidental that as this has been achieved in the United States, it has also achieved the status of being the most creative society in the contemporary world. Creativity is an individual act, and it can only take place when individuals feel free. Such freedom, it would seem from this research, is an accompaniment of a strong centralized state in its late stages of development. Correspondingly, the lack of creativity and originality in the arts or sciences in Israel must be seen as an accompaniment of the emphasis of the group's importance over the individual 's and of a young state which cannot allow the individual completely free play over his thoughts and energies, since--from the point of view of such a state--they cannot be trusted.

Individual development and a quality education are extremely imprecise terms. A stated emphasis on individual development by a school district in the United States may mean the number of Art and Music courses in the curriculum. It may refer to the number of special classes for students with various problems, physical and social. It may refer to the amount of student counseling available in a school. Sometimes it refers to the amount of discussion allowed in a classroom or to the degree of informality encouraged between students and teachers. It may also refer to none of these but may be a rhetorical stance taken by a school district in line with some current U. S. ideologies about education.

Quality education means exactly what its user chooses it to mean. It is currently often used in the United States in one type of community conflict in relation to schooling, as in the phrase, "Our concern is with quality education, not integration."

Quality education in Israel, on the other hand, has a very different meaning. It refers to certification of teachers and other personnel, not to curricular content. In addition, it refers also to the organization of schools and grades, as in connection with the Educational Reform Bill of 1968. The two concerns in Israel are treated as one, however. As schools are being reorganized, the major concern of the Ministry of Education has been with the training of teachers to fill posts in the new scheme of things. For example, at a meeting of one committee charged with revising the criteria for certification of teachers in Israel, one member of the committee mentioned that many teachers who are certified to teach arithmetic are neither interested in this subject nor qualified to teach it. The man was simply disregarded and the quibbling over requirements for teacher training proceeded as though he had not spoken at all.

When the results of the content analysis of district policy statements and directives are analyzed, the relation of these five stated fuctions to other aspects of a district's policies may become clear. However, a count was taken of the frequency of these five functions' mention in the official publications of policy and rules from seven public school districts, one religious school system and one county central education office in the United States. The results are useful only for their suggestiveness. There has been insufficient time to analyze the results of the ocntent analyses of Israeli educational materials to compare them with United States data. However, other than vocational schools and the schools of the kibbutzim, in which emphasis is clearly on job training, there does not appear to have been any resolution of the problem of education for university or jobs in elementary schools. Secondary schools, on the other hand, are unqualifiedly training grounds for university education.

Only the Cedar Point policy statement mentions training for jobs more than twice. Ash River, Mapleton and the County do not mention job training. Only Pine Grove, Cedar Point and Sycamore mention preparation for college more than once. Ash River, Willow Bend, the County and Laurel Creek do not refer to college. In many districts the number of high school graduates (in 1967) who were employment-bound and the number of times that training for jobs is mentioned as an educational goal do not often seen to be relaxed. Ash River had 37% of their graduates planning on employment, yet their official educational policy does not mention job training. Only 11% of Cedar Point's graduates were planning on jobs yet references to job training appear three times as often as references to preparation for college. One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that it may be a reflection of Cedar Point's response to the national educational concern in recent years for job training in secondary schools. The Ash River educational establishment as well as the community have been markedly slow in their response to changing educational concerns on the national level. (Cf. the chapter "One Source of Change"). Next to Ash River, Sycamore had the most graduates who were planning on work, (32%) yet their policy mentions college more than twice as frequently as jobs. Again, Sycamore District has not been particularly responsive to the changes on the national level.

Pine Grove School District regularly sends from 85 to 90 per cent of their graduates to college and this is reflected in their policy statements as well as in their highly academic program.

Both Ash River and the County define their educational goals almost totally as qualtiy education. The County probably prefers to make generalized educational statements because they are speaking for a very large number of disparate school districts. The Ash River School District represents a highly heterogeneous population. Since the Ash River educational establishment is at present far more concerned with the desires of the various conflicting local groups than with either state or national educational policies, they possibly feel safest casting educational goals into the vaguest possible terms.

There is one other finding of some interest. Christian School System emphasizes citizenship as an educational goal much more than any other district. From observations in Christian School, and as might be expected where education is seen as a part of religious training, citizenship in this system means training students in the proper relationship to institutionalized authority. It is important to note here the striking similarity between education in the Christian School in the United States sample and education in Israel generally. While it is true that this similarity can be attributed in part to the strong religious emphasis in Israeli education, the matter is somewhat more complex. As noted at the outset of this report, when discussing the role of religion in new nations, religious values and ideology are always important aspects of new nations' search for legitimation. Among religion's features which makes it admirably suited to this is its emphasis on the supersedence of group relations over the importance of the individual in his own right. Thus, what is necessary in this connection is to examine the values inherent in religion per se, regardless of denomination, and its role in new and established nations.

In each school district sampled for this study in the United States there were segments of the educational establishment and of the population that were committed to a belief that one of the above functions was the single goal of schooling.

Conflicts arising from these different views and from their implementation in the United States usually revealed two opposed positions; those who favored "basics" and those who favored "frills". The basics position was frequently associated with strong statements about the 3 R's, discipline, morality and group conformity. This position was often summarized under the phrase quality education. Those who favored frills emphasized fulfilling individual potential, creativity, individual maximization and the 2 C's, counseling and varried curriculum. This position was frequently summarized under the phrase "individual development."

While these differing opinions about the functions of schooling were the focus of conflict within communities they do not sufficiently account for the perceptible ambivalence and the intense emotionality and anxiety that suffused discussions about schooling. These feelings were particularly marked when conflicts were centered about issues such as neighborhood schools, localcontrol of the schools, desegregation and busing. The strong feeling surrounding all conflicts over schooling and particularly those associated with local control issues can be conceptualized as deriving from the unstated functions of schooling and the role of the school as a transition institution in our society.

National and state educational policies, even in the attenuated form in which they continue to appear in many schools, stress universalistic as opposed to particularistic values; they introduce students to non-local ideas and interests, and train students for loyalties to loci beyond the family and local community. Schooling thus becomes a stress point in the relationship between the individual, the family and the community.

Schools not only remove children from the home but they subvert the training of the home. The family and neighborhood values and the ethnic, racial and class prejucides and biasses which children bring to school are frequently in conflict with national and state educational policies. The resolution of this conflict is perhaps the main responsibility of the elected laymen who compose the district School Board. However, in view of the latter's general commitment to local and particularistic interests, are they capable of resolving this conflict?

School board members reflect the anxiety and ambivalence of the electorate. In normal times, when "things are going all right," school board elections are not particularly important in the political life of a community. In times of national change, school board elections reflect the pressure of these changes on the local communities and become the focus of conflicts between various segments of the local population, as discussed in the previous chapter. The fate of school tax increases and bond issues which are presented to the district electorate also reflect community feelings about change. One of the most frequently offered explanations for the failure of a majority of school tax increases and bond issues in the last several years is that local electorates are using such issues to express their dissatisfactjon with national changes which they do not feel they have the power to oppose directly. Because there remains more local control over schooling than in most other areas in U. S. life, it is in this area that people feel they can directly affect the outcome of an issue through voting. Thus, a negative vote on a local school tax increase may reflect negative feelings about state or national tax increases as well as other non-financial issues.

This is qualitatively different from the situation in a society like Israel, where localized (particularistic) interests are vested in socially--rather than geographically or territorially--based groups. Individuals can be educated or influenced to vote in particular ways, as evidenced by school districts in which people have voted for the direct implementation of integration policies. (In this connection, it can be said that the most serious failure of the United States government has been its lack of vigor and seriousness in using the propaganda and educational resources available to it in influencing such voting patterns.) Socially-based vested interests--e.g., kibbutz federations, religious factions, ethnic divisions--involve vastly different processes in power brokerages, not the least important of which is the secrecy and privacy in negotiations between them and the central state. More importantly, however, socially-based boundary systems--e.g., caste divisions in Israel and the United States--are nationwide. Divide-and-conquer is as much an integral part of a state's ethic as its adoption of a system of taxation and a judiciary. A national system characterized by territorially-based boundary systems is far more open to central state influences than the other because in the former each can be "picked off" one at a time and played off against the others, especially economically. In a system characterized by socially-based boundary systems, on the other hand, as in Israel, such subsystems as kibbutz federations and religious factions are able to marshall support against the state on a nationwide basis, and it is more difficult for the state to play off one region, town, or locality against the others. In this light, it can be said that United States political organization began to move into its final stages of centralization when--largely as a result of the desegregation decision of 1954--the back of the nationwide caste system began to be broken, leaving only territorially-based groups or localities to fight their battles against the state. In essence, each is isolated and has to wage its own battle, though the rhetoric of nationwide anti-statist sentiment is important as a source of moral (and sometimes financial) support for each. At the same time, however, it must be borne in mind that those sectors of the society favoring the central state's policies of, let us say, integration are also nationwide, as is the state itself. If the concepts being developed here have validity, it follows that such groups as NAACP and CORE will, if they have the backing of the central state in connection with avowed centrist policies, be able to gain the ascendancy over localized vested interests which oppose the state's policies. That is, it is being argued here that the state's attritive strength is much greater in this kind of situation then when it opposes nationwide socially-based boundary systems.

One function of a school board in the United States is to formulate policies that maintain a balance between national and state educational policies and the social policies of the individual community. This function of the school board is explicitly stated in the state guide published for school board members.

> A philosophy of education should reflect the common (state) goals of education as well as the individual character of a community and its special needs, conditions and resources.

In relation to two of the above points, local school boards, by a new state law, will have full authority to fix local school tax rates without consulting the electorate in 1971. A new state program is presently beginning with the aim of analyzing all local school board policies. From this compilation a set of policies, goals and evaluative procedures are to be extracted. An adminsitrator who is working on this project commented, "Ideally, this should be posted in every classroom so that every teacher, student and parent knows exactly what is expected and what the educational goals and the basis for evaluation are." If this ambitious program is successful, local school board policies will by necessity favor state rather than local interests.

In 1968, legislation was passed which revised the minimum state curricular requirements. In theory, the revision allows local school boards much greater flexibility in adapting curriculum to meet the educational needs of their respective communities. Although this legislation was supported by the majority of professional educator associations (with the notable exception of the professional association of physical education teachers) it has received a good deal of criticism from school boards and educators at the district level. The main objection appears to be the requirement that each district reexamine and state in writing the "philosophy, goals and objectives of education." This process is bringing some school boards into conflict with the diverse ideologies of various segments of their communities; this is particularly the case in communities whose traditions and social values are not homogeneous.

The following examples from several school districts in the United States sample illustrate some of the specific ways in which schooling may serve to separate the student from local ties and training thus fulfilling the basic function of schooling.

The administrative and teaching staff at Arthur School in Ash River are committed as a matter of policy to the subversion of the home and neighborhood training of Arthur students. (This pattern in Israel was discovered earlier in the report.) In this endeavor they are supported by the district administration. This policy operates at all levels. A district psychologist described the neighborhood in which Arthur School is located as exemplifying the most destructive aspects of local communities. He said that there was a "pathological communication system" within the neighborhood which exaggerated small school incidents, frustrated positive moves on the part of concerned school personnel and fostered the use of the school as a symbol upon which to discharge accumulated hostility towards white, civic institutions.

The principal in addition to his planned policy of "breaking the kids in" at the beginning of the school year, also was exceedingly negative towards the idea of any kind of neighborhood parent group including PTA since "they tended to interfere with the legitimate concerns of professional educators."

The teachers commented often and at length on the amount of time they had to spend in teaching their students "proper" behavior (It was observable that they did spend more time on inculcating new standards of behavior than on the more formal curriculum). The language and modes of expression normal to the Arthur students contrasted strikingly with the peculiarly colorless "schoolteacherese" which is taught at teacher training institutions. The grade 4 teacher started each day speaking this language which is meant to provide a model for the students. However, as soon as she got angry or had to make immediate contact with a student she switched to the grammatical constructions and idioms of the dialect which she shared with her students. A teacher in another district discussing the rigid dicipline in use at Arthur School justified this program with the comment that "those children have no structure in their home life."

The para-professional Community Workers at Arthur School are local residents without professional education training hired by the district to act as liaison between the school and the community. They are in an ambiguous position. On the one hand, they are members of the local neighborhood and share the speech, the values and the behavior patterns of the students and their parents. On the other hand, they must appear to support the efforts of the school to change the students. Of the two observed, one was strongly supporting a somewhat militant parent group that was in conflict with the school administration. The other, using the local dialect and manners, strongly backed the teachers' insistence on discipline, proper behavior and the like.

Arthur presents perhaps a somewhat special case since the students there are defined as "culturally disadvantaged" and efforts by the educational establishment to negate home and neighborhood influences are backed by the prestige of current social science thinking.

A different example is from Lincoln High School in Laurel Creek, an affluent, white suburb. A number of parents in this community issued a strongly worded complaint to the school board because "the school was siding with the students against the values of the parents." The particular issues that elicited this complaint were the use of black, urban, militant high school students in a Lincoln High School sponsored Saturday workshop; dress rules; and the use of illegal substances and tobacco by the students. It was also at Lincoln School that a teacher told his class that they would have no data to test their "liberal" ideas until they left the local community, which he assumed they would do. These liberal ideas dealt primarily with civil rights and the Viet-Nam war.

In Pine Grove there was open concern expressed by the parents about the effects of what was taught in school in relation to the values taught in the home and the community. The newly-writted educational philosophy of this school district stated that the Committee (the majority of whom were laymen) recognized the schools' "responsibility to supplement, not supplant, home church and other community institutions in teaching morals, manners, taste and ethical values appropriate to an educated person in a democratic society."

In Mapleton District, the principal of Hayes School emphasized that interference by parents in education was highly undesirable. In addition, at this school, a "squad system" was introduced which deliberately rearranged the relationships which students had formed in their neighborhood play groups. Another principal in the district discussed the problem of enforcing district policy against corporal punishment when some teachers who had lived and worked in the community for many years used such punishment with the knowledge that they were supported in this by community norms.

The role of schooling in subverting local norms was explicitly stated by the Monroe School student in Ash River. In a discussion about what effect non-voting students could have on national issues (such as the war) she stated, "The one thing we can do is tell our feelings and what we learn in school." The poll of student body leaders in Ash River on the issue of busing for desegregation of schools (described in the previous chapter) clearly showed that the student position was the opposite of that of the majority of the community.

The ability grouping system used in the majority of the school districts also may function, as a teacher pointed out, to split up neighborhood friendships and social groupings and re-group students on the basis of IQ and academic achievement. This result probably occurs only in relatively homogeneous communities. In heterogeneous communities, ability grouping would more commonly perpetuate existing groupings since both abiltiy grouping and residential patterns tend to go along racial and socio-economic lines. In most schools, however, students are encouraged to form clubs and social groups on the basis of relatively impresonal common interests, such as stamps, art, and sports. Social clubs in which money, race or other locally influenced criteria are a condition for admittance are usually forbidden.

Many schools employ teachers from other states and even other countries, despite the fact that certification, seniority and retirement restrictions make it difficult for teachers to change location easily without losing many job benefits. The willingness of a school to employ non-local teachers appears to be related to the openness of the community in general to outside influences. In Willow Bend, a teacher from a foreign country had applied for a job. Although the principal of the school had been enthusiastic about her employment, he did not hire her on the advice of his staff who pointed out that many of the parents would be disturbed by her "accent" if not by her somewhat dark skin.

One of the easier ways to document that some segments of the communities recognize that the schools are in opposition to many local norns is to read the Letters to the Editor section in local newspapers. The following extracts are taken from a Cedar Point newspaper in November 1968 and January 1969 respectively: "We have two lovely grand-daughters, age 10 and 13--am so thankful they are not committed to the (Cedar Point) trend in school. Only hope and pray they will be beyond the age of "rebellion" before this disease hits the towns surrounding this perverted city. Visited (elementary school) recently . . . . Do you know that the little ones are not taught to salute the flag this year? Do you know the portrait of Martin Luther King is the fact the young folks are forced to gaze at all the live-long day? Do you know there is no school atmosphere in the schoolroom? They are allowed to move their chairs wherever they decide they would rather sit. . . . Standards lowered, school decorum and routine not just disrupted, but there is none anymore! . . . Thank God, my boy had his schooling in the 1950's. (Cedar Grove) High was quite a teaching ground even then, but Heaven Forbid, we would never allow our youngsters to grow up in the (Cedar Grove) area the things are today."

". . . If the (Cedar Point) Public Schools are as good as Dr. (a college professor) claims they are, why do we not have in (Cedar Grove) more people of character, capability and achievement than we now manifest. Let the record speak for itself: in 1968 there was a 38% increase in crime over 1967. Look around you and observe the human derelicts that are wandering around our streets--dirty, lazy, filthy-mouthed bums who look like a bunch of scarecrows instead of the human beings they once were. . . . I wrote a letter to the (Cedar Point) School Board recently asking them to protest the circulation of (an underground newspaper) . . . . Just a few weeks later I read where (the superintendent) had invited a writer from (the underground newspaper) and a member of the Sexual Freedom League to address the (Cedar Point) high school students!"

A superintendent, in discussing the future of education in the United States stated that the educational system was, and had to be, the "change agent" for this society. He clearly had in mind that unstated functions of schooling as well as the statement made at the beginning of this section on the responsibility of the public schools to direct the "orderly evolution" of society. Local school systems are, however, inextricably bound up with local political and economic systems; and the fate of one affects themall. (CF. the comments on the effects of "sanctions" in the description of the Ash River School District). If the local power structure and special-interest groups feel that their interests will be threatened by the introduction of ideas, values and people from outside the community, the school system will accurately reflect the same fearfulness and insularity.

Appendix

The following is the taxonomy which was developed for the content analysis of Israeli curricular materials and the monthly Circular Letter of the Director General of the Ministry of Education and Culture. It is designed to determine state policy with respect to the relations among groups and values in Israeli education over time. As can readily be seen, the taxonomy is designed for computer analysis; this will have to be done after the completion of this phase of the report, as will a detailed comparison of these policies with actual practices in various classrooms.

In designing the taxonomy, two simultaneous and cross-cutting goals were kept in mind: (1) Its applicability to Israeli materials, and (2) its usefulness in analyzing official educational materials from other societies. There is no doubt in my mind that the first goal was easily achieved. At the time of this writing, it appears that the principle of distinguishing between columns and code-punches has worked well in the analysis of United States data. On the basis of this, I antitipate that the overall structure of the columns will be applicable to most other educational systems, and that only the code-punches under the column headings will have to be adapted to specific local situations. Assuming the correctness of this, the present taxonomy will provide us with a standardized and uniform measure for quantitative comparisons of educational systems throughout the world, at least in terms of official policy.

In this connection -- since I cannot in conscience relegate this to a mere footnote -- I want to acknowledge the immense contribution to the design and construction of this taxonomy by Dr. E. Ozer Schild of the Departments of Psychology and Sociology of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem). Without his indefatigable devotion to this project for more than a year, often under trying conditions, this work could not have been done.

Sheet 0

General note: Itemize to the extent possible. Where choice must be made . . . .

Give preference to:

Specific category over general category
Human beings over other things
Large groups over small groups
Important groups over less important groups

Unit of analysis: Sentence or phrase that has a separate subject (if there are series of detailed examples of one subject, e.g., washing hands, brushing teeth, cutting toenails, etc., as examples of personal hygiene, take all examples as single unit together. But if a sentence contains, e.g. "Principals should maintain discipline of school, whereas teachers maintain level of knowledge of pupils. . ." there are here two units, rather than one.)

Scoring: On Fortran sheets, using soft pencil.

Columns:

1-10	
11-12	Years
13-14	Identification of the material: ordinal number of circular letter of Director General of Ministry of Education and Culture.
15-16	Identification of the material: ordinal number of the (paragraph in the circular letter of Director General) or (page number in school curriculum)
17	Type of material 1. Jewish school curriculum 2. Circular Letter of Director General 3. Standing orders in the Circular Letter 4. Arab school curriculum
18	Character or form of education 1. All 2. State religious 3. State 4. Religious 5. Minorities 6. Autonomous

19 Type of school

1. All
2. Ordinary schooling
3. Supplementary education
4. Vocational
5. Special classes
6. For working youth
7. Heterogeneous classes

20 Lowest grade in connection with which directive is made

1. Kindergarten
2. 1-3
3. 4-6
4. 7,8
5. Secondary school
6. Teachers' training school
7. Secondary school and teachers' training school

21 Highest grade in connection with which directive is made

[Same punches-scoring as in col. 20]

22 Is this a repetition or review of a directive previously made?

1. Yes

[If no, leave blank]

23 Does this unit deal with

1. Imparting information or knowledge
2. Values
3. Conduct, behavior
4. Administrative matters
5. Knowledge and values
6. Knowledge and conduct
7. Values and conduct

24-25 See Sheet I -- Subject

26 Is this directive

1. Obligatory
2. Desired
3. Possible
4. Undesirable
5. Forbidden
6. Impossible

27 Is it indicated that the teacher's role in transmitting material

1. Not indicated
2. Serves as example
3. Is to serve as source of information
4. Is to serve as supervisor
5. Organizer or arranger of ceremonies, etc.
6. Attendant or caretaker

28 Does the subject of the directive deal with technics (e.g., how to do)

1. Yes

[If no, leave blank]

29 If the subject of the directive deals with people, are these

1. Particular individuals
2. Collectively

30 If the directive deals with individuals or collectives, are they

1. People generally
2. Jews
3. Non-Jews

31 Nationality [punch only if 3 in Col. 30 was punched]

1. General or not specified
2. Arabs
3. Circassians, Druzes, Armenians
4. Others

32 Religion [punch only if 3 in Col. 30 was punched]

1. General or not specified
2. Christians
3. Muslims
4. Other religions

33-34 Which group is spoken of -- see Sheet II - The Groups

35-36 Locality

11. Israel in general
12. Israel within armistice line (specified)
13. Judea and Samaria
14. Jerusalem
15. East Jerusalem
16. The Western (Wailing) Wall
17. Other territories (Sinai, West Bank, Golan Heights)
18. Occupied territories generally
19.
21. Europe generally
22. Eastern European countries
23. Central European countries
24. Western European countries
25. U. S. S. R.
26. England
27. Germany
28. Other European countries
29.
31. Asia generally, Africa generally, Asia-Africa generally
32. Middle East generally

35-36 Locality (continued)

33. Middle Eastern Arab countries (includes Egypt)
34. Arab countries of North Africa (excluding Egypt)
35. Iran and Turkey
36. South Africa
37. Other Asian and African countries
38.
39.
41. America generally
42. U. S. A.
43. Countries of South America
44. Other American countries
45.
46.
47.
48.
49.
51. The world
52. Countries not specified in 51

61. Outside Israel (neutral term)
62. "Diaspora"
63. "Exile" (generally a pejorative)
64. "Dispersion throughout the exile"

71. The Arab World
72. Small nations (as a group)
73. English-speaking countries
74. Spanish-speaking countries
75. Affluent countries (as a category)
76. Islamic countries
77. Developing countries

81. Unspecified locality

37 Time period

1. Unspecified
2. Always, forever
3. Recent past, recently (can include today, but not future)
4. Unspecified future
5. Unspecified past

38-39 Detailed time periods

11. 1967-1968
12. 1957-1966
13. 1953-1956
14. 1948-1952

21. 1945-1947
22. 1939-1944
23. 1936-1938
24. 1929-1935

38-39 Detailed time periods (continued)

    25. 1920-1928
    26. 1908-1919
    27. 1870-1907

    31. 1400-1869
    32. From the destruction of the Second Temple to 1400

    41. Period of the Second Temple
    42. From destruction of First Temple to beginning of period of Second Temple
    43. Period of the Prophets
    44. Biblical period
    45. Prehistory

40-41 If events occurred between two time periods in cols. 38-39 (e.g., between 1928-1945, where punch was 25, punch the later date here, e.g., 21.)

42 Is there a positive or negative valuation attached to this directive?

    1. No valuation at all
    2. Explicitly positive
    3. Implicitly or latently positive
    4. Explicitly negative
    5. Implicitly or latently negative

43 If there was valuation [col. 42: 2-5], according to what was it made?

    1. No explicit or implicit indication
    2. In terms of results, explicitly
    3. In terms of results, implicitly
    4. In terms of traditionally accepted criteria, explicitly
    5. In terms of traditionally accepted criteria, implicitly

44 Does the group (individual, item) appear separately or with another group (individual, item)

    1. Separately
    2. With another in parallel fashion (no stated relationship between them, but they are only mentioned; e.g., parents and children)
    3. With another when there is a symmetrical relationship between them (when there is a stated relationship between them; e.g., parents and children should go on trips together)
    4. Asymmetrically related when the first is active or transitive (e.g., children should bring gifts to parents)
    5. Asymmetrically related when the first is passive (e.g., children should be sent on trips by their parents)

45 like 29

46 like 30

47 like 31

48 like 32

49-50 like 33-34

51 like 35

52-53 like 36-37

54-55 like 38-39

56-57 like 40-41

58 like 42

59 like 43

60-61 Itemize the subject (if there is something to itemize or specify) -- see Sheet I -- Subjects

62 If there is a stressed treatment of the subject, is it
1. General
2. Political
3. Religious - theological
4. Values (not necessarily religious)

63-64

Method

To be filled in and punched only if educational roles are described. This can only appear in Sheet II - Groups, punches 60 . . . 69, 70 . . . 79, 80 . . . 89.

65-66 Who is required to act? See Sheet II - Groups

67-68 Vis-à-vis whom? See Sheet II - Groups

69 Is a justification given for the suggested action?
1. Not at all
2. Given in terms of results, explicitly
3. Given in terms of results, implicitly
4. Given in terms of source, explicitly
5. Given in terms of source, implicitly
6. Given in terms of both, explicitly
7. Justified as an end in itself, explicitly
8. Justified as an end in itself, implicitly

If in terms of the source of the suggested action

70-71 For whose sake? See Sheet II - Groups

72-73 In relation to which values? See Sheet IV - Values

If in terms of results

70-71 For whose sake? See Sheet II - Groups

72-73 In what way is it for the latter's sake? See Sheet IV - Values

74 Is the method related to one of the following:

1. Reward
2. Punishment
3. Examinations and grades
4. Didactic methods
5. Schedule-planning
6. Organization of classes
7. Organization of teachers
8. Organization in relation to money and materials
9. Enrollment

Information

75 What is the function of the information

1. Material for the pupils
2. Teacher advancement
3. Information for management (principals, etc.) in decision-making
4. Not given

76 Is someone supposed to go out and get the information (like weather reports)

1. No. It is already provided in Circular Letter
2. Pupils
3. Teacher
4. Principal
5. Not stated.

77 From what source is information to be gotten

1. Already provided in circular letter
2. Radio, TV
3. Books
4. Newspapers
5. Individuals
6. In another circular letter or in curriculum
7. Other publications

78 Where is the latter source to be found

1. Included in circular letter
2. In the school
3. Ministry of Education
4. Other governmental ministerial offices
5. National institutions
6. Institutional bodies (non-governmental)
7. Libraries
8. Elsewhere
9. Not stated

Sheet I - Subjects (of study)

11	Old Testaments
12	Prophets
13	Old Testament and Prophets
14	Oral Law and Legends
15	Talmud
16	Mishne
17	Prayers
18	History of the Jews
21	History, general
31	Literature (in general)
32	Language, grammar, composition - Hebrew
33	Hebrew literature
34	English language, grammar, composition
35	English literature
36	Arabic language, grammar, composition
37	Arabic literature
38	French language, grammar, composition
39	French literature
41	Citizenship
42	Teacher's hour, social hour
43	Sabbath party, holiday parties, ceremonies
44	Homeland
51	Economics
52	Sociology
53	Political Science
54	Arithmetic and mathematics
55	Biology
56	Physics
57	Chemistry
58	Nature
59	Geography
61	Technology
62	Drafting
63	Home Economics
64	Agriculture
65	Crafts
66	Art
67	Singing, music
71	Topic that is not a subject (which is not taught as a scheduled subject, e.g. pedestrian and road safety, etiquette, education for social life, health education, etc.)

Sheet II - Groups

Use only if: Jews or Israel

10 Institutions or other groups which belong to the political structure
11 Nation
12 The President
13 The government, ministers (cabinet), other than Ministry of Education
14 Governmental agencies other than educational
15 Knesset
16 Parties, politicians
17 Courts, judges
18 Israel Defense Forces; Haganah; Hashomer
19 Police

20 Zionist groups or individuals
21 The Jewish people
22 Zionist organization
23 Jewish Agency
24 Jewish National Fund
25 Immigrants
26 Tourists
27 Volunteers
28 Dissidents, schismatics (in history of Zionism)
29 Other Zionist groups or individuals

30 Economic groups
31 Capitalists
32 Urban workers
33 Settlement work
34 Workers generally
35 Different types of workers
36 Agricultural workers, farmers
37 Communes
38 Kibbutzim, kvutzot
39 Moshavim

40 Demographic groups
41 Eastern ethnic groups generally, "Sephardim"
42 Western ethnic groups generally, "Ashkenazim"
43 One of the Eastern ethnic groups
44 One of the Western ethnic groups
45 Religious groups
46 Non-religious groups
47 Sex groups
48 Youth
49 Mature people, adults

50 "Community" groups
51 Parents
52 The family
53 Neighbors
54 The community, neighborhood
55 Synagogues
56 . . .
59 Other community groups

60 Educationists and educational bodies (official)
61 Ministry of Education and its committees
62 Minister of Education and Director General
63 Non-governmental or non-official education personnel
64 Local educational establishments (licensed)
65 Inspectors
69 Other educationists and educational bodies

70 Bodies making up the school
71 The school
72 Principal
73 Teachers
74 Class
75 Pupils
76 Teachers' committee
77 Parents' committee
78 Pupils' committee
79 Others (nurses, school doctor, kitchen workers)

80 Special categories of pupils or teachers
81 Subject-teachers
82 Other specialized teachers
83 Talented (gifted pupils)
84 Culturally deprived pupils
85 Other problem children
86 Welfare cases in the population
87 Voluntary organizations
89 Others

90 Personalities and groups representing . . .
91 Erudite ("cultured") people
92 Casualties ("sacrifices")
93 Brave people (in a general way)
94 Pioneers, realizers
95 Second aliyah
96 National leaders
99 Others

Sheet III - Themes

11 Modern (vis-à-vis music, literature, art)
12 Classic (as in 11)
13 Original Israeli creativity

21 "Neighborhood"
22 Towns, Villages
23 Cities
24 Development Towns
25 "The Homeland"
26 "The Land" (Palestine, Israel)

31 Commandments (relations) with respect to man and God
32 " " " " " man and man
33 " " " " " man and animals
34 " " " " " holidays, festivals
35 National commandments that are tied to "The Land"
36 Commandments that are tied to nationalist indoctrination and festivals
37 Traditional non-religious laws (e.g., dress) and customary ways

41 Peace
42 War among equals
43 Non-violent struggle
44 Persecutions
45 Self-liberation, revolution; insurrectionary activities
46 Liberation by others
47 War of Independence 1948
48 Anti-semitism (implied)

51-54 Same as 41-44, but only if lesson drawn: "history is actually repeating itself"

60 Bible and Prophets as general subject
61 source of obligatory law - religious obligatory law
62 sacred book
63 history
64 literature
65 Traditional exegesis (commentary) of Bible and Prophets
66 General exegesis of Bible and Prophets

70 General Citizenship
71 Citizenship under the regime: rights and duties (political, legal)
72 The citizen as a consumer and producer
73 The citizen and his human relations (social, moral)

Sheet IV - Values

10 Values of interpersonal relations
11 Cooperative living
12 Tolerance
13 Righteousness, philanthropy
14 Respect for privacy
15 Relationships to animals
16 Love of mankind
17 Integrity
18 Faith in people
19 Other values of interpersonal relations

20 General values explicit in school work
21 Values of work
22 Values of studying
23 Accuracy
24 Respect for parents
25 Respect for teachers
26 Respect for elders
27 Respect for property
28 Independent work
29 Other values

30 Spiritual values and values with respect to science generally
31 Aesthetics
32 Science, revelation of truth
33 Exclusiveness of non-Jewish culture
34 Harmony in nature
39 Other spiritual values

40 General individualistic values
41 Personal advancement
42 Personal happiness
43 Mental health
44 Physical health
49 Other individualistic values

50 Zionist national values generally
51 Love of homeland
52 Building the country
53 National survival or existence
54 Return to Zion, "aliyah" (Immigration)
55 Absorption of immigrants ("ingathering of exiles")
56 Security, defense
57 Peace
58 National independence
59 Other

60 General Pioneering values
61 Pioneering
62 Bravery
63 Volunteerism
64 Value of the soil
65 Initiative (of the pioneering type)
69 Others

70 Values of Jewishness generally
71 Spiritual Jewish wealth
72 Jewish consciousness
73 Attachment to nation's past
74 Attachment to Jews of the Diaspora
75 Relationship to religion
76 Maintenance of religious commandments
77 Exclusiveness of ethnic culture
78 Belief in God
79 Other Jewish values

80 Social ideologies generally
81 Socialism
82 Communism
83 Economic liberalism
84 National freedom
89 Other political, economic, social values

99 "Values"